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*Studia Byzantina Upsaliensia*

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# RECEPTIONS OF THE BIBLE IN BYZANTIUM

Texts, Manuscripts, and their Readers

Edited by

REINHART CEULEMANS

BARBARA CROSTINI



UPPSALA  
UNIVERSITET

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Cover: MS Paris, BnF, gr. 74 (11<sup>th</sup> cent.), f. 113<sup>v</sup> (detail): Jesus reading in the synagogue  
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# Abbreviations

AASS	<i>Acta sanctorum quotquot toto orbe coluntur, vel a catholicis scriptoribus celebrantur quae ex latinis et graecis, aliarumque gentium antiquis monumentis.</i> Ed. J. Bollandus, G. Henschenius et al. Mult. vols. Antwerp – Brussels 1643–1940.
AP	<i>Anthologia Palatina</i>
BHG	F. Halkin, <i>Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca</i> . Third edition. Brussels 1957; <i>Novum auctarium Bibliothecae Hagiographicae Graecae</i> . Brussels 1984.
CANT	M. Geerard, <i>Clavis Apocryphorum Novi Testamenti</i> . Turnhout 1992.
CPG	M. Geerard, J. Noret, F. Glorie & J. Desmet, <i>Clavis Patrum Graecorum</i> . 5 vols. Turnhout 1974–2018.
DBBE	Database of Byzantine Book Epigrams ( <a href="http://www.dbbe.ugent.be">www.dbbe.ugent.be</a> )
GA	Gregory-Aland number ( <i>Die griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments</i> , 1908–; <a href="http://ntvmr.uni-muenster.de/liste">http://ntvmr.uni-muenster.de/liste</a> )
INTF	Institut für Neutestamentliche Textforschung (Münster)
ITSEE	Institute for Textual Scholarship and Electronic Editing (Birmingham)
Mansi	<i>Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio</i> . Ed. J.D. Mansi. Mult vols. Florence – Venice 1759–1798 [repr. Paris 1901; Graz 1960].
NA28	<i>Novum Testamentum Graece</i> . Ed. Eb. Nestle, E. Nestle, B. Aland, K. Aland et al. 28 <sup>th</sup> revised edition. Stuttgart 2012.
NETS	<i>New English Translation of the Septuagint and the Other Greek Translations Traditionally Included under That Title</i> . Second edition. New York – Oxford 2009.
NKJV	<i>New King James Version</i>
NRSV	<i>New Revised Standard Version</i>
PG	<i>Patrologiae cursus completus. Series graeca</i> . Ed. J.-P. Migne. Mult. vols. Paris 1856–1866.
RGK	E. Gamillscheg, D. Harlfinger & H. Hunger, <i>Repertorium der griechischen Kopisten 800–1600</i> . Mult. vols. Vienna 1981–1997.



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# WHY THE BIBLE IN BYZANTIUM MATTERS

REINHART CEULEMANS & BARBARA CROSTINI



IT IS OUR project in this volume to address methodological questions for the study of the Bible in Byzantium and to provide a paradigm for the role that such study should play within the discipline of Byzantine studies as a whole. With this aim in mind, our introduction is thus structured in two parts, the first addressing theoretical concerns in this discipline, the second providing an overview of the volume as a guide to the reader.

## 1. APPROACHES TO THE STUDY OF THE BIBLE IN BYZANTIUM

### 1.1 *The Bible in Byzantine Studies*

As late as 2010, Paul Magdalino and Robert Nelson could affirm in the introduction to their pioneering volume, *The Old Testament in Byzantium*, that theirs was the first scholarly attempt to address this topic in book form.<sup>1</sup> Why had the Bible until then received so little attention in Byzantine scholarship? These authors pointed to trends in research, in turn steered by the changing scholarly background and formation of researchers, as part of the answer to this rather astonishing neglect. Moreover, the compartmentalization of religion into its own sphere allowed scholars to proceed undaunted into Byzantium without delving more deeply into its spiritual baggage. While the Christian aspect was routinely mentioned, spirituality and Scriptures remained confined to the theological room where they properly belonged.

Nor was this situation characteristic of English-language scholarship alone. The lack of attention at other European institutions was the by-product of the immense attention given to Latin-speaking Christianity and the Western middle ages for obvious reasons of location and cultural continuity that still impact on the direction of research.<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless, the gradual emergence of Byzantine studies on the academic arena has increased the visibility of this cultural sphere, together with that of other

<sup>1</sup> Magdalino & Nelson 2010, 1.

<sup>2</sup> The blindness towards the Greek sphere is typical in Saebo 2000. Several important studies of Western exegesis still do not have a counterpart dealing with the East: Bischoff 1954 (historical development), de Lubac 1959–1964 (hermeneutics), Smalley 1983 (on the impact of which, see Ocker & Madigan 2015).

Eastern Christianities.<sup>3</sup> One positive outcome has been to stimulate comparative studies. Moreover, awareness of the work of translations into Semitic languages such as Syriac and Arabic, as well as into Armenian, Georgian and Slavonic, paints a significantly more varied pre-Reformation landscape than what we may have been used to considering. For example, research into the linguistic combinations in bilingual manuscripts provides evidence of otherwise neglected intercultural exchanges.<sup>4</sup> Furthermore, getting out of a methodological impasse in which medieval Byzantine sources were only studied as repositories preserving older fragments, one observes growing awareness of the fact that studies of the pre-modern reception of the Bible cannot be limited to the earliest phase of Christianity.<sup>5</sup>

While the 2010 volume on the Old Testament stresses the impact of biblical imagery and typology on Byzantine history, the companion 2016 book on the New Testament<sup>6</sup> is in comparison more directed to the material history of the Bible's transmission and dissemination. The latter focus is not coincidental: manuscript studies have emerged as an important field that generates much activity. One of the focal points these Dumbarton Oaks volumes have in common is the attention they pay to the daily use of the Bible and to how common people (and not just learned men) were exposed to its texts. Several articles consider the liturgy in general, and more particularly focus on liturgical books such as the *prophetologion* and the Gospel Lectionary. Furthermore, the use of the Bible in hymnography and its preaching mediated through sermons and saints' Lives offer precious avenues to understanding how biblical figures were perceived and used in the collective imagination. Such an approach is particularly welcome, as these topics, several of which are also treated in the present volume, have long been overlooked.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>3</sup> This shift is visible in the new edition of the *Cambridge History of the Bible*: Marsden & Matter 2012 pay more attention to Byzantium than did Lampe 1969 (see Ceulemans 2015). See also the inclusion of Congourdeau 2017 in a more recent collected volume for signs of a growing attention to the Byzantine reception of the Bible. On a more general level, the relevance of the study of Byzantine civilization to historical research is argued by Cameron 2014 (to whom the title of our essay winks).

<sup>4</sup> See for example Albrecht 2018 (Greek/Coptic) and Pasini 2002 (Greek/Arabic); further references in Crostini 2012, 52–54. Important in this regard are the Damascus finds (D'Ottone 2013, 69–74) and those of the Cairo Genizah (de Lange 2015, *passim*). General information on bilingual manuscripts can be found throughout Bausi et al. 2015.

<sup>5</sup> It has been characteristic of research on pre-modern reception of the Bible to remain limited to the late antique period, as pointed out by Krueger & Nelson (2016, 15) and further observed by Krause (2017). See now Blowers & Martens 2019.

<sup>6</sup> Krueger & Nelson 2016 (see Crostini 2017).

<sup>7</sup> According to the liturgical scholar R.A. Taft, “from the liturgical point of view, at least, Byzantine lectionary studies are still in their infancy” (quoted by Nelson 2016, 92–93).

Without denying the innovative impulse that the Dumbarton Oaks Colloquia have given to this subject, it is also true to say that they have themselves benefited from a change of attitude in the study of history in general, and of Byzantium in particular. New theories and methodologies have stressed that the religious aspect of a culture or epoch can be profitably studied from a socio-historical as well as an anthropological perspective, and such contextualizing approaches have allowed some room for the ecclesiastical sphere to come to the fore. Monastic history started to take shape on the Byzantine scene with the monumental corpus of *typika* made available in translation.<sup>8</sup> Meanwhile, hagiography gradually emerged from oblivion, albeit confined to a minor historiographical genre and reluctantly admitted into more general discussions.<sup>9</sup> As Derek Krueger has shown, both monastic and hagiographical writings are key sources for the transmission and use of the Bible in Byzantium.<sup>10</sup> Conversely, knowledge of the Bible can allow access to their intended meanings in those new contexts. It is therefore at the meeting point of these two disciplines that the hermeneutical efforts must hinge.

The ‘material turn’, heeding calls to interdisciplinarity,<sup>11</sup> has travelled some of the way towards filling the gap between disciplines. Theologians and palaeographers met to flesh out the profile of important biblical codices and to chart the Bible’s manuscript transmission in ever greater detail.<sup>12</sup> Online displays of biblical manuscripts have raised the public profile of ancient Bibles and at least in theory made them available to a much larger public.<sup>13</sup> Not only digitization of single manuscripts, but also databases have extended our access to biblical materials.<sup>14</sup> And, while Byzantine minuscule manuscripts, once neglected by textual critics, have now entered the limelight in editions of the Greek Bible in Münster (INTF) and in Göttingen (Septuaginta-Unternehmen),<sup>15</sup> the research tools these projects have created are in turn exploited in other fields, such

<sup>8</sup> Thomas & Hero 2000.

<sup>9</sup> On the emancipation of hagiography in Byzantine scholarship, see Efthymiadis 2011, 1–11. Further work remains necessary (see Efthymiadis 2019).

<sup>10</sup> Krueger 2010 and 2016.

<sup>11</sup> For a similar methodology in a related field, see Jokiranta et al. 2018.

<sup>12</sup> For example McKendrick & O’Sullivan 2003 or Lied & Maniaci 2018.

<sup>13</sup> Next to the Sinaiticus Project at the British Library (codexsinaiticus.org), see now the online version of Codex Zacynthius (<https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/collections/codexzacynthius>).

<sup>14</sup> Ongoing projects include *Paratexts of the Bible* (<http://www.paratextbib.eu/>, referring back to Pinakes as overarching repository: <https://pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr/>) and the *Database of Byzantine Book Epigrams* (<https://www.dbbe.ugent.be/>).

<sup>15</sup> Further work remains necessary: an update of Rahlfs 1914 for the manuscript transmission of the Septuagint beyond the eighth century is overdue. The epigraphic documentation also deserves more attention (Felle 2006 being limited to the eighth century as well).

as in the combination of textual families and art-historical dating of illuminated ornament.<sup>16</sup>

### 1.2 *Receptions and Retrospections*

Attitudes to the Bible reveal shades of Christianity. Even as some scholars start questioning the usefulness of the term ‘reception’ as a hermeneutical category, it is in hearing or reading, in copying or illuminating, and most importantly in commenting the Scriptures that both active and passive receivers of these operations actualize God’s word for themselves and others according to the needs of their times.<sup>17</sup> Above all, ‘receptions’ acknowledge differences in outlook. By choosing the plural form in this book’s title, we emphasize the necessity for this diachronic study to remain open to plurality and transformation, while not precluding discovery of (at times surprising) continuities. Beyond the observation *that* different people read the same text differently,<sup>18</sup> the question *how* it may be possible to reconstruct the fault lines of allegiances via a different handling of the biblical text needs urgently to be probed.

One could say that the spectre of Gibbon still looms large on the Fall, but also on the Survival, of the Roman Empire. It is hard to reconcile a view of Christianity as the greatest evil with the study of a pan-Christian empire. In trying to shake off this bias and its nefarious consequences—among which the unwarranted division between a ‘classical/secular/pagan’ and a ‘religious/sacred/Christian’ sphere—, Byzantine scholarship can benefit from the changes of perspective in early Christian and late antique historiography. In particular, the move from single to plural ‘Christianities’ and the conscious discarding of ideas informed by anachronistic retrospection should impact the study of the Bible in Byzantium and transform the perspective from which Byzantine exegesis is approached.

Karen King and Judith Lieu have, among others, consistently debunked certainties in applying labels to early religious groups, whether Jewish, Christian or Gnostic, producing a nuanced picture and diversifying the landscape of previously rigid identities.<sup>19</sup> The salutary trend in such revisionist scholarship should be extended to definitions of Byzantium. Pushing forwards the blurring of boundaries that Daniel Boyarin recognizes for Late Antiquity could pave the way to rediscovering a more authentic Byzantine world than artificial retrospective continuities have so far allowed.<sup>20</sup> While

<sup>16</sup> Maxwell 2016. On a more general level, see Irigoin 2000. The essays in sections 4–5 of our volume exemplify this approach.

<sup>17</sup> For a similar approach to an earlier period, see Allen & Dunne 2019.

<sup>18</sup> Rosenblatt 1993.

<sup>19</sup> Lieu 2004 and King 2008.

<sup>20</sup> Boyarin 1999 and 2004.

this rewriting is far from accomplished in this volume, one can detect in it the seeds that we hope will eventually lead to a more thorough differentiation of the Byzantine 'Christian' world beyond the assumed East-West dichotomy.

In a recent reflection on the methodology appropriate to writing the history of early Christianity,<sup>21</sup> Markus Vinzent opts to "move away from concepts like 'Christianity', 'Judaism', 'religion' and 'the Church'".<sup>22</sup> A comparable process of critical retrospection can forestall some of reception's pitfalls, where, despite the drive to contextualize within a given period rather than abstract a 'pure' meaning for a text or an event, one may nonetheless succumb to the teleological drive of seeing history unfold just as we have it in the present (presentialism).<sup>23</sup> In the case of definitions of 'Jewish' and 'Christian', of vital importance when studying the Bible in Byzantium as we shall see, this process is far from accomplished.<sup>24</sup>

The realization that Byzantine Christianity is hardly a monolithic, let alone a proto-Orthodox, entity, allows one to capture the peculiarity of texts or their interpretations as showing different 'colours' and discourses. For example, the divergent interpretations of the apostle Paul or the apparently contradictory attitudes to the text of Revelation as an apocalyptic work can function as specific markers of the place of individuals, factions or historical points on this spectrum.<sup>25</sup> A good example is how Basil of Neopatra's commentary on Daniel functioned in the debates between Photios, Arethas, Leo Choirosphaktes and himself.<sup>26</sup> Another significant thread can be evinced from Krueger's surprise that, in the *Life of Eutychios*, Eustratios of Constantinople quoted "many verses [...] from the Epistle of James, and especially [...] a key passage from it that recurs in Pseudo-Dionysios".<sup>27</sup> These observations, presented by Krueger as worthy of special note, point to the Jerusalemite beginnings of 'Christianity' under the guidance of James, the brother of Jesus, and to how the use of this paradigm identified

<sup>21</sup> Vinzent 2019, 5–76. As his subtitle *From Reception to Retrospection* advises, his methodology has turned from one to the other, which primarily implies a reversal of the chronological flow backwards, from now to then, rather than vice-versa.

<sup>22</sup> Vinzent 2019, 61.

<sup>23</sup> This criticism is brought to reception theory by Muehlberger 2017. Transposed to the Bible, the unfolding of its meanings through history is both an *Überlieferungsgeschichte*, a handing down within the particular conditions and rules of a manuscript culture, and a *Wirkungsgeschichte*, a more encompassing process of appreciation that jostles the material out of its deep-rooted origins to reshape it into a tradition. For the latter, see Bockmuehl 2012, 8–10.

<sup>24</sup> See also section 1.4 below.

<sup>25</sup> For these two cases, see Constanas 2016 and Shoemaker 2016.

<sup>26</sup> Ubierna 2014.

<sup>27</sup> See the very interesting remarks in Krueger 2016, 188 and n. 37. The verse in question is Jas 1:17.

a particular constellation within the larger community of Christians.<sup>28</sup> None of these emphases can be given for granted, and further study is needed to thread together the path of biblical texts with their Byzantine histories.

### 1.3 *Seeking Byzantine Identity in the Bible*

The structure of this volume does not follow the division between ‘Old’ and ‘New’ Testament, because the Bible is conceived of as a unified book. The Greek Septuagint stands fused with the Gospels as embodied in the emblematic early pandects such as Codex Sinaiticus, or in the frequent combination of the Psalms and (parts of) the New Testament.<sup>29</sup> The physical presence of this continuity is matched by scholarly awareness of the intertextuality between the testaments, expressed in the formula, which is also the title to a collection of essays, ‘Torah in the New Testament’.<sup>30</sup> Reception in this case is not a matter of (embarrassing) appropriation of someone else’s sacred text. The joint journey of collected Scripture in Greek reflects a more subtly intertwined mesh of composition around a common patrimony of reflection on man, the cosmos, and the eschaton. Byzantine works such as Kosmas Indikopleustes and the *Sacra Parallela* are based on such undivided understandings.<sup>31</sup>

That the Bible is found extensively in the fabric of Byzantine lives, or, as Claudia Rapp states in her introduction to a more recent collected essays volume in this field, that it “had sunk deep into the cultural DNA of Byzantium”,<sup>32</sup> only partly justifies the study of this topic. What needs to be more tightly explained is a rationale for why the Bible as text cannot be confined to the theological area, nor the Bible as object remain among the ornaments of Byzantium. Why should the Bible enter more prominently into our discussions of Byzantine identity? What can looking at the Bible in the detail of its texts and images show about a Byzantium that cannot be equally or rather more clearly gleaned from other sources? What kind of Bible are we looking at? The discussion here shifts from an extrinsic observation about the limitations of scholarly expertise and direction to an intrinsic plane, where the results of the Bible’s exploration need to demonstrate an impact beyond the narrow field of scriptural studies.

In order to demonstrate such usefulness one must counteract the more active pursuit of the alienation of Byzantine studies from religious discourse, of which the

<sup>28</sup> See for example the *Homily on St James* by Niketas the Paphlagonian (10<sup>th</sup> cent., BHG 766a), where James is called τὸν δὲ τοῖς ἐκ περιτομῆς ποιμένα (ed. Lebrun 1997, 161.20).

<sup>29</sup> Such combinations of collections of biblical books, several of which transcend the Old/New Testament distinction, are more frequent than pandects, which are altogether rare. A study of the pandects is in preparation by Patrick Andrist.

<sup>30</sup> Tait & Oakes 2009. For the evolution of this scholarship, see Ellis 1991, 54–74.

<sup>31</sup> Kominko 2013; Evangelatou 2008.

<sup>32</sup> Rapp 2019, 10.

Bible is part. According to this view, the Christian mantle in which Byzantine things shine is but a veneer conveniently worn over a core of pragmatic principles, themselves exclusively derived from the '*romanitas*' of the Byzantines themselves. On this secularized view, therefore, to really understand Byzantium one must simply be shorn of that mantle covering. This attitude is similar to, but less humble than, Mango's bafflement at Byzantium's 'distorting mirror' where at least the dangers and peculiarities of being misled by puzzlingly contrived sources were clearly flagged up.<sup>33</sup> In Anthony Kaldellis's *Romanland*, the process of reading beyond the sources is more confidently handled and the ruthless, conquering and dominating instincts that Byzantium inherited and consciously re-proposed from the Roman world are held up as the true essence of its very being.<sup>34</sup>

It is salutary to unmask false continuities that distort our understanding of the past, whether perpetrated purposefully or inevitably (which factor alters their quality if not their outcome). But what is disturbing in Kaldellis's new landscape is the univocal aspect of Byzantium's inhabitants which are hardly as coherent or as easily pushed to the margins as Kaldellis makes them.<sup>35</sup> Conversely, when 'Bible' and 'Byzantium' are perceived as bracketed within another type of colonial (or post-colonial) continuum, that of triumphant Orthodoxy, an equally indistinct effect is achieved.

The complexity and variety present within the Bible itself necessarily breaks open such schematic and narrow confines. It is indeed a complex code needing constant cracking. The history of reading and interpreting the Bible spreads its roots necessarily outwards. The Bible can say (or be made to say) practically anything because of its breadth of narrative scope by which it encompasses a range of different attitudes. The malleability of biblical discourse transpires from many essays in this volume. The dialectics of approach to the biblical text, which relies on beliefs about its status, exemplify just how difficult and engaging it is to take a body of writings perceived as God's word and to interrogate it with respect of lived reality—whether it is about contingent experience or about one's understanding of cosmic history past and future.

To think that our understanding of Byzantium could do without stopping to reflect on—to give a salient example—Photios's exegetical considerations written to Amphilochios misses the core of the Byzantines' attitude towards central issues that cannot be (should not be) bypassed when addressing key questions of identity. The importance of this text is not given solely by Photios's status as (controversial) patriarch (s. 858–867, 877–886). Rather, the reason why our awareness of the types of interpretation of Scripture is fundamental to the understanding of Byzantium is that it acts

<sup>33</sup> Mango 1975.

<sup>34</sup> Kaldellis 2019 (and earlier Kaldellis 2015, 165–198).

<sup>35</sup> As pointed out by Beihammer 2020.



as a hinge between what is and what should be (in God's ideal world) by reviewing the source of such knowledge.

If education to read begins with the Psalter (and Homer),<sup>36</sup> articulation of ideas thrives in the practices of analyzing and debating the finer points in understanding biblical texts. Photios's hermeneutics of the Wisdom tradition establishes a way to proceed with ordering life in intellectual structures that are, in fact, at the opposite end from the literal methodology championed, *inter alia*, by Julian the Apostate.<sup>37</sup> Such diametrically opposed poles of attraction fragment monolithic *romanitas*. Their witness provides a necessary contribution to informing our grasp of the dynamics of this empire.

While a blanket and anachronistic notion of Christianity may blur the contours of such dynamics, looking at its details of the Bible's transmission and its interpretation in Byzantium with sharper eyes—rather than ignoring this theological side altogether—could work as a useful strategy for differentiation and distinction. The Bible's form and contents can yield discriminating signs of an evolving civilization.

#### 1.4 *The Jewish Question*

How Byzantium was heir to Late Antiquity passes not only through its *romanitas*, but also via the Jewish presence on the whole Byzantine territory. At the heart of the re-evaluation of the type of Christianity encountered in Byzantium lies the question of its relation to Judaism which was, to a large extent, negotiated around Scripture. As we saw in the historiography of the earlier period, the labels 'Christianity' and 'Judaism' come with a baggage attached that critical methodology has attempted to strip off. In Byzantium, the first tends to slip silently into the 'Orthodox Church', the second into the spectre of anti-Jewish polemics. Both categories distort the earlier picture.

While current theories on identity formation underscore the role of 'othering' in socio-historical processes of self-definition, another order of considerations has appeared on the horizon of debate concerning ancient expressions of anti-Jewish sentiment, beginning with the *loci classici* of the Gospels and Pauline literature. A revisionist trend is currently re-evaluating 'early Christian' literature's anti-Jewish bias in light of the fact—most obviously foregrounded in studies on the historical Jesus—that there were simply no 'Christians' at that time. Not only was Jesus Jewish, together with his

<sup>36</sup> See Antonopoulos & Chrysos (forthcoming). It is good to point out, as a reminder, that the Bible and classical literary heritage go hand in hand in Byzantine education, also on a higher level (see e.g. the presence of a *schedos* on some Psalms in the textbook published by Vassis, Kotzabassi & Polemis 2019). This awareness should be reflected in scholarly research on the Bible in Byzantium.

<sup>37</sup> See Gábor Buzási's and Meredith Riedel's essays in this volume. Conostas (forthcoming), however, considers Photios a literalist.



family, but so were his disciples and the evangelists, who wrote to make sense of this figure *from within* the biblical perspective. The Jewish dimension of Byzantine Christianity must not be ignored by the scholar who studies Byzantine receptions of the Bible.

The anti-Jewish character of much of Byzantine literature should not mislead one into believing otherwise. Reading such anti-Jewish bias as ingrained largely stems from acquiescence to a particular interpretation of the Gospels. Abel Bibliowicz clarifies how “the earlier stratum [of the New Testament] reflects the debate *among Jews* about who Jesus was (messiah or not),” while “the later one reflects the debate *among Gentile believers* about ‘what belief in Jesus ought to be’ (Jewish, Pauline-Lukan, Pauline-Marcionite, or Gnostic), and about who Jesus was (human, divine, or both).”<sup>38</sup> The enshrinement of types of anti-Jewish debate in the writings that became canonical after the third century provided the fuel for further controversy. While the tone of anti-Jewish polemic escalated, the causes for the later increase of animosity lie not in the development of anti-Jewish sentiment per se, but rather in the urgency of distinctions and definitions within the ecclesiastical and political arena, as the reflection of “factional agendas” that provides “windows into the conflicts and debate of the authors’ generation.”<sup>39</sup> Such a revised perspective makes perfect sense of the history of ‘Christian’ controversies. One may understand the Christological heresies as continued debates within the understanding of Christ’s coming narrated by the Gospels and sifted through this ‘Jewish’ perspective. This understanding is relevant also for discerning between various polemical voices in Byzantium speaking often through biblical allusion and exegesis of specific passages. Contrasting opinions also became visible in the circus factions,<sup>40</sup> a more concrete manifestation than any found in the Latin Church.

This approach invites one to re-evaluate the anti-Jewish polemics even in vitriolic expressions such as the famous homilies by John Chrysostom, or in the writings of Ephrem the Syrian, as a kind of internal ongoing diatribe.<sup>41</sup> The genre of anti-Jewish dialogues became stylized to the extent that scholars debate whether any particular composition could be regarded as authentic historical record, or must be considered

<sup>38</sup> Bibliowicz 2013, 97 (our italics).

<sup>39</sup> Bibliowicz 2013, 93. Although Bibliowicz’s groupings of confronting factions could be subject to further scrutiny of detail, his publication is valuable in systematically analyzing all early anti-Jewish writings and discerning which voices can be heard behind specific accusations, in an attempt to unwind the anachronistic perspective.

<sup>40</sup> See the provocative article by van den Horst 2003.

<sup>41</sup> See Shepardson 2008, arguing “that Ephrem’s anti-Jewish rhetoric was not necessarily aimed at contemporary Jews, but rather at contemporary Christians with whom Ephrem had theological differences” (Koltun-Fromm 2009, 76).

fictional.<sup>42</sup> As literary compositions whose theological content is shaped in the form of *erōtapokriseis*, dialogues feature among the question-and-answer literature that also articulated spiritual writings and religious catechisms.<sup>43</sup> The dialogue signals, in other words, a mode of engagement considered essential, whether for missionary purposes, or in order to clarify one's own—non-supersessionist—position.<sup>44</sup>

Acknowledging the Jewish factor means acknowledging the preponderance of the *ex circumcissione* dimension of Byzantine Christianity,<sup>45</sup> which lasted well into the middle ages and periodically fought hard for its own survival. The recognizable presence of a community '*ek peritomēs*' and the active dealings of their well-connected networks would better explain the evident persistence of 'Jewish' vestiges in Byzantium, from relics of the 'Old Testament'<sup>46</sup> to symbols of Jewish cult (the Temple, the menorah, the lulav and ethrog etc.) in Byzantine iconography in both manuscripts and monumental art up to the fourteenth century.<sup>47</sup>

As a small indication of this under-researched presence, we may note that the title of extracts from Philo's *On the Contemplative Life* in a tenth-century codex reads: Φίλων περὶ τῶν ἐκ περιτομῆς πιστευσάντων ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ χριστιανῶν ἅμα καὶ μοναχῶν (MS London, BL, Add. 36821, f. 198<sup>v</sup>). In this work, Philo describes a proto-monastic community and its activity of praising God through song. The title indicates that the Byzantines identified Philo's Egyptian community as '*ex circumcissione* believers', both 'Christians' and monks. This manuscript is the famous copy of Pseudo-Dionysios with commentary by Maximos the Confessor.<sup>48</sup> Philo's spiritualizing hermeneutics was also the seed that germinated into Christian typological and allegorical exegesis.<sup>49</sup>

The characteristic of Philo's proto-monastic community was that of singing the Psalms (and the Odes).<sup>50</sup> Similarly, when Athanasios of Alexandria describes Antony's first monastic community, he pictures these men on the hills praising God with

<sup>42</sup> On the actual function of these *adversus Iudaeos* texts having been not polemical but catechetical, see Déroche 2012 and Crostini 2015. On the literature itself and its transmission, see Külzer 1999 and Andrist 2016.

<sup>43</sup> Efthymiadis 2017.

<sup>44</sup> Azar 2016.

<sup>45</sup> Compare with the programmatic picture that can be found in the fifth-century Roman church of Santa Sabina: its mosaic represents the encounter of the *ecclesia ex circumcissione* with the *ecclesia ex gentibus* (Mimouni 1998), presumably to the effect of sponsoring, founding and inhabiting together that cultic building (Sheckler & Winn Leith 2016, 276).

<sup>46</sup> Magdalino & Nelson 2010, 12, call these "Old Testament memorabilia".

<sup>47</sup> Revel-Neher 1998; Crostini (forthcoming).

<sup>48</sup> D'Agostino 2013, 55–56.

<sup>49</sup> Magdalino and Nelson 2010, 27, appear to characterize a Jewish attitude to the Bible as a literal one, but this needs much qualification.

<sup>50</sup> *On the Contemplative Life* § 80. On the Odes see Newman 2007, 122.

psalms.<sup>51</sup> When the history of the Septuagint Psalter is understood as having passed from the hands of the bishop (and his cathedral liturgy) to the monks,<sup>52</sup> its roots in the Philonic community of Therapeutae are bypassed and forgotten, and, with them, the vital link of that movement to first-century (or earlier) beginnings.<sup>53</sup> This remark is strengthened by the conscious side-lining of other traditions of psalm singing which would have been more fitting to the developing new religion because they incorporated New Testament topics and actors.<sup>54</sup> The case of monasticism, of the place of the Psalter in Christian spirituality, and of the attitude to the interpretation of the Bible all converge to signal a particular continuity which we would do better to mark rather than ignore. As late as the eleventh century, Michael Psellos, scholar and monk, thought he could still work towards converting the invading Turks by referencing the Psalms.<sup>55</sup>

These points stress the importance of situating the Septuagint in Byzantium side by side with the tradition of the Gospels, which goes some way towards explaining the slight imbalance in favour of the Old Testament in this volume. Certainly, if Byzantines were ‘antinomian Christians’, as Magdalino and Nelson plainly state in the introduction,<sup>56</sup> they would have no commerce with anything Jewish. But what about the long-standing tradition of *deuterōsis* of the Church canons (canon law) or, for that matter, the endless rewritings of Roman laws?<sup>57</sup> There is nothing natural in the assumption of antinomianism. Here is where the evidence from studying the transmission of the Septuagint/Old Testament forces a revision. Situating the Septuagint in Byzantium is not only a useful key to the politics of the Empire as a second Israel. It is also the preserver of this empire’s plural identities.

<sup>51</sup> Cf. Hägg 2011, 24: “their solitary cells in the hills were like tents filled with divine choirs—singing Psalms, studying, fasting, praying [...]” (citing the *Life of Antony* 44, 2, transl. Meyer 1950, 57).

<sup>52</sup> Parpulov 2010, 80, who, relying on P.F. Bradshaw’s definition (1982), introduces the Psalter in the Greek East as “a hymn book of the ‘secular church’ [that] became the prayer book of monasticism”.

<sup>53</sup> O’Neill 1989. For a critical review of the status of the Therapeutae, see Taylor & Davies 1998.

<sup>54</sup> A case in point is a Manichean tradition of psalms that at least displayed a Christian content, dealing with the life of Christ and his disciples, but did not become mainstream. See for example Sala 2017. The larger question here is that of the overlap of ‘Gnostic’ groups with monastic-type sectarian communities, and their broader identification within the Jewish-Christian spectrum (see Wilson 1995, 195–221).

<sup>55</sup> See Moore 2005, 220 (no. [707] THE.164H), a letter written to the sultan Malik-shah in 1073–1074.

<sup>56</sup> Magdalino & Nelson 2010, 19: “It is natural to assume that the Torah had no place in a society founded on antinomian Christianity and Roman jurisprudence”.

<sup>57</sup> See for example the importance of In Trullo (ed. Nedungatt & Featherstone 1995), mentioned by Magdalino & Nelson 2010, 18.

### 1.5 *Selection, Presentation and Function*

Magdalino and Nelson cautiously wondered whether the particular favour that the 'Old Testament' (Septuagint) enjoyed in Byzantium started waning with the passing of the centuries. They doubted whether, even at its apex, it ever got as pronounced as in the Carolingian West.<sup>58</sup>

Part of their argument rests on the perceived reduction of the import of the Old Testament through the creation of the liturgical anthology of the *prophetologion*. According to its perception as a diminished form with respect to the complete text of the Bible, the *prophetologion* is considered a popularization that also betrays the original message of the whole. But if anthologies such as liturgical compendia can be seen as a reduction from a whole, they could also, from another point of view, be considered a way to save an unmanageable text from oblivion and to parcel it out for broader distribution.<sup>59</sup> To keep the integrity of the Bible on the map of religious practice, it had to be chunked down to bite-size portions so that, despite the dangers of incompleteness, the advantages of a focused but still reasonably wide-ranging reading could be reaped.<sup>60</sup>

Obviously, selection comes with strings attached.<sup>61</sup> Uncovering the precise aims of florilegia, the actual principles behind the selection of passages, unless these are clearly stated, can be tricky too. For example, the tradition of *testimonia* opens the question of the use for these scriptural 'armouries'. Is the selection made by Eusebios of Caesarea indeed the reliable collection of a learned mind, or does it suffer from the (unexposed) agendas and biases of this official historian?<sup>62</sup> Similarly, lectionaries did not replace Bibles; their function and audience were, in part, separate, but that does not exclude complementarity.

The way in which the transmission of the Septuagint, and its specific presentation in the manuscripts, serves a programmatic function cannot be ignored. It achieves this aim by using its Jewish background in a productive and pointed manner. In the eleventh century, the illustrations to MS Vat. gr. 752 present the Three Jewish revisers of the Bible as teachers of Scripture and picture them, surprisingly, in Sinope in Pon-

<sup>58</sup> Magdalino & Nelson 2010, 30.

<sup>59</sup> This view gains traction if one considers the possibility that there had never been a Eucharistic Old Testament lection in the Constantinopolitan rite (as argued by Engberg 2016).

<sup>60</sup> The rarity of pandects (see n. 29 above) speaks to the necessities of repackaging the long narrative of the Bible into other formats for ready consumption. Research is needed on the partial transmission of the Greek Bible (which, one needs to keep in mind, is the standard one as far as the manuscript tradition goes): different combinations of biblical books relate to the function of the manuscripts attesting those combinations.

<sup>61</sup> As Sysse Engberg's contribution to our volume shows.

<sup>62</sup> Studied by Corke-Webster 2019 and by Sébastien Morlet in various publications (see also his contribution to our volume).

tus: this might well be a Byzantine reply to the Alexandrian origins of the Septuagint translation claimed in the *Letter of Aristeas*.<sup>63</sup> While it is true, to give another striking example, that the Christian manuscript transmission, taking its point of departure in Origen's *Hexapla*, testifies to a view on the Greek biblical versions that is very different from the Jewish (even Judeo-Greek) tradition, both meet at several occasions.<sup>64</sup> This results in the inclusion, in Christian manuscripts of the Septuagint, of contemporary Jewish versions ('*to hebraïkon*' and '*to ioudaïkon*'). This kind of annotation articulates an open mind and an interest in Jewish Greek Scripture that easily transcends the more standard citation (meaningful in itself) of readings from Aquila, Symmachus and other versions gathered by Origen.<sup>65</sup> A short treatise, transmitted as a preface in catena manuscripts but also recycled by authors such as Photios, lists the different Greek versions of the Hebrew Bible: in it, the Antiochene text, which in the case of the Psalms became the standard Byzantine text, is upgraded to the status of a new translation. This status and its having been significantly positioned last in the list of texts in this treatise suggests that it functioned as a signal for the Byzantine appropriation of the Septuagint.<sup>66</sup> Another key text for this process is the *Letter of Aristeas*, detailing the origins of the Septuagint translation at Alexandria. It is presented as a programmatic introduction in the most popular catena on the Octateuch.<sup>67</sup>

In view of the above, we hope to have shown that engaging with the Bible in Byzantium is neither a private, nor a self-serving affair. Becoming attentive to the role of the Septuagint in this perspective is equivalent to engaging in the multicultural role it had in keeping alive the intersection between Judaism and Christianity of the origins, to which Islam was later added as another pole of tension and exchange. In order to discern what is at work where in such a complex landscape, in so far as it is possible to do so, the criteria must be set out carefully. For example, while attitude to images can function as a measure of discernment, it can also constitute a point of confusion

<sup>63</sup> Crostini 2019a.

<sup>64</sup> See Ceulemans 2012.

<sup>65</sup> Ceulemans 2017a, 757–758. That this requires further attention is argued in Ceulemans 2017b, 520. In this sense, one can trace within the history of the Bible in Byzantium what has been remarked for Origen and Jerome: “[while] distinctively Christian theology was being developed out of and even away from the originally Jewish Scriptures, thus taking Christianity away from its Jewish roots, important links were periodically re-established with the Bible of Judaism. This meant that [...] Christianity never completely lost its grounding in Judaism” (Salvesen 2003, 233).

<sup>66</sup> See Ceulemans (forthcoming).

<sup>67</sup> In one of those manuscripts (Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı, G.İ. 8 from the twelfth century), the *Letter* was not only accompanied by a full miniature cycle but also by a paraphrase written presumably by Isaac Porphyrogenitos in the twelfth century (ed. Ouspensky 1907, 2–14; a new edition is being prepared by Valeria Lovato; see also Lowden 2010, 111–115 and Iacobini 1993).

when a 'Jewish' tendency is too strictly equated with a position of absolute iconoclasm. What Thomas Noble calls the Carolingian *via media*<sup>68</sup> probably represents an attitude towards representation that encompasses a certain degree of figurative language and visibility, to the exclusion of other forms of picturing God that would seem more directly opposed to a conception of the divinity's total otherness, and the consequent apophatic attitude. Weitzmann's theory of a figurative Jewish background to Byzantine art has been vindicated in the finds at Dura.<sup>69</sup>

Producing illuminated codices of the Bible is a case in point, despite the rarity of illustrated early manuscripts.<sup>70</sup> In these books, narrative illustrations, as well as the typological figurations connecting different narratives, perform a role akin to words and thereby enhance communication of God's salvific plan rather than present his Being in a direct manner, with the aim of adoration. A good example is that of the illuminated Octateuchs whose narrative images accompany a catena commentary. While a blind copying of the same models for the sake of keeping a tradition immutable gives no space to the present needs for such reproducing activity,<sup>71</sup> the fact that a specific figurative tradition could serve to mark out an identity within the space of a larger group would justify the wish to exhibit certain patterns rather than others. In this perspective, recognizing the antiquity of motifs acquires a value for the present time. This realization reconciles Weitzmann's methodology with Lowden's more stringent demands for present significance.

The need to approach biblical manuscripts as monuments rather than as objects having the function we expect of books also needs to be stressed. Like the Carolingian bibles from Tours,<sup>72</sup> their purpose is more prominently that of symbolic reminders of the status of the monarch and of his allegiance to a specific faith than liturgical or private reading materials. Therefore, debating whether the considerable effort and expense in producing them resulted in objects of devotion or scholarly aids seems to be misplaced, particularly in the case of luxury productions such as the Leo Bible.<sup>73</sup> This monumental value does not detract relevance from their text. Though parts of it might be unreadable,<sup>74</sup> the choice of texts and commentary, often closely connected to

<sup>68</sup> Noble 2014.

<sup>69</sup> Weitzmann & Kessler 1990.

<sup>70</sup> Serdar Dinçer 2019.

<sup>71</sup> Lowden's criticism of Weitzmann: Lowden 2010.

<sup>72</sup> Nees 1999, 139: "This new representational significance [...] became [...] a sign of Frankish orthodoxy". Bibles were used as diplomatic gifts.

<sup>73</sup> Canart 2011 and Rhoby 2018, 471–492.

<sup>74</sup> This conclusion was the disappointing and puzzling result of Leontien Vanderschelden's closer scrutiny of the catena to the Paris Psalter (Vanderschelden 2020; see also her contribution to our volume).

the images, act together as signposts for which tradition the product is adhering to and flagging as its own.

The unity, coherence and importance of the Greek Bible were periodically reaffirmed through extraordinary plans to copy it in luxury editions. For example, the giant-format codices produced in the eleventh-century West, the so-called Atlantic bibles, affirmed the status of the Bible in order to “enact a solidarity of Christian belief with the East, based on the Scriptures”.<sup>75</sup> How we see or present a biblical book affected the understanding of its function. The Bible’s symbolic impact can best be appreciated from a multicultural perspective in which Jewish customs and significances are firmly on the horizon.

#### 1.6 *Further Desiderata*<sup>76</sup>

The present volume looks back to previous collected essays volumes as foundational and demonstrates in its contributions the successful impact that they have had in drawing the contours of this subject for present scholarship. Nevertheless, besides further work in the directions charted by them, a noticeable gap is evidenced in the field of Byzantine exegetical literature, which would be appropriate to see addressed in future scholarship. As Maximos Constas has recently declared in his helpful overview of that literature, “[late] Byzantine biblical exegesis is still unexplored territory”.<sup>77</sup>

Much needs to be done with exegetical literature, which scribes, scholars and monks of Byzantium expressed in a wide variety of genres: commentaries, homilies, question-and-answer literature, scholia, hagiography, monastic and ascetic works etc.<sup>78</sup> It furthermore includes Byzantine collections of earlier exegesis; it would be wrong to limit this anthological corpus to catenae.<sup>79</sup> These diversified genres form the corpus par excellence in which Byzantines expressed, relying to different degrees on earlier

<sup>75</sup> Crostini 2018, 81. It is possible to regard the contemporary programmes of producing extraordinarily illuminated Octateuchs as an ideological pendant to such pointed re-proposals of the physical Bible.

<sup>76</sup> In this section, we focus on desiderata relating to the study of Byzantine exegetical literature in the strict sense. Other suggestions for research are made elsewhere in this introduction (esp. notes 15, 60 and 65 above and 91, 92, 94 and 112 below).

<sup>77</sup> With these words Constas concludes his forthcoming overview, continuing as follows: “Many important exegetical works remain unedited and unknown, and many edited works have never been translated and lack basic studies. Whereas certain aspects of late Byzantine theological culture (notably, Hesychasm) have for decades received sustained attention, there are almost no studies dealing directly with late Byzantine biblical hermeneutics”.

<sup>78</sup> Constas (forthcoming) well exemplifies this diversity. See also Ceulemans (forthcoming).

<sup>79</sup> See, for example, the selection and collection of those letters of Isidore of Pelusion commenting on the New Testament and the Psalms, attested in manuscripts from the twelfth century (Évieux 1977, 51–52).



exegesis, a variety of explanations in order to elucidate the literal/historical and the analogical/spiritual meanings of Scripture.

The limited number of publications on this exegetical corpus reflects an absence of intensive research in this area (with the surprising exception of *catenae*, which have generated much recent interest).<sup>80</sup> A comprehensive and up-to-date overview of the corpus does not exist. Even today, the starting point for anyone who wishes to approach this body of literature is still Hans-Georg Beck's standard handbook of Byzantine theological literature.<sup>81</sup> As might be expected, this handbook, impressive for its times, can only provide a distorted and incomplete picture of the corpus of exegetical literature and certainly of other forms of reception of the Bible in Byzantium, such as those studied in our volume.<sup>82</sup> This territory needs to be charted further: a comprehensive outline is necessary.<sup>83</sup>

Several exegetical works and Byzantine exegetes are generally known to be of much importance but fail to become, for several reasons, the object of (project) research. This leads to surprising patterns in the available scholarship, such as the oversight of the exegetical output of well-studied authors<sup>84</sup> or the lack of treatment in recent handbooks.<sup>85</sup>

<sup>80</sup> Suggestions for further research on *catenae*, which move beyond questions of textual criticism, are offered by Dorival 2018, 293–297.

<sup>81</sup> Beck 1959.

<sup>82</sup> Topics such as the *prophetologion* or book epigrams on the Bible, treated by Sysse Engberg and Rachele Ricceri in our volume, are not mentioned in Beck 1959. Some of the Byzantine works that are of interest to the student of the reception of the Bible are absent from Beck 1959 but can be found in other handbooks, such as Hunger 1978 or Beck 1971. These works include, without being limited to, poetry (e.g. the *Metaphrasis* of the Psalms by Manuel Philes, of which now an edition and study are undertaken by Anna Gioffreda), legal literature (e.g. the *Nomos Mosaikos*, on which, see recently Humphreys 2015, 171–179 and Chitwood 2017, 114–118), chronographical literature (see e.g. Sakel 2016), lexicography (e.g. glossaries on biblical books, most of which are unedited; see Pavlidou 2005 on Paul) and rhetorical treatises (on which see Bady 2014, 23–36).

<sup>83</sup> Conostas (forthcoming) is without a doubt an improvement, but constrained in the limits of an article-length treatment. Three treatises on Ezekiel by Nicholas Kabasilas are an example of omission (Congourdeau 2018). A continuation of the *Clavis Patrum Graecorum* into the Byzantine period would be most useful (including an *index biblicus* on the model of that in CPG vol. 5). The entries on biblical figures in the BHG are already a useful starting point (BHG not being bound to the eighth-century chronological limit of CPG).

<sup>84</sup> Psellos's commentaries on Scripture are included in the editions of his *Theologica*, but have so far received relatively little attention. A study of his poems on the Psalms (some of which are spurious) is also lacking but is undertaken by Rachele Ricceri.

<sup>85</sup> Fortunately, vol. I/2 of *La théologie byzantine* (ed. C.G. Conticello) is scheduled to include chapters on Photios, Euthymios Zygadenos, Niketas of Herakleia, Theophylact of Ohrid as well as a "Répertoire des exégètes byzantins".



Studies that occasionally turn to these works tend to focus on aspects other than the exegetical content.<sup>86</sup>

These exegetical works are in need of reliable texts: it goes almost without saying that the effort to provide critical editions of texts, whether unpublished or poorly edited, must remain at the core of the study of Byzantium. This effort does not come without problems of various kinds, ranging from strategic and practical (especially in the case of very large works, such as those by Zygodenos and Theophylact, or almost any Psalter commentary for that matter) to theoretical and methodological. Difficulties often reside in the material itself, especially considering its bulk, for which electronic solutions and coordinated projects may provide an answer.<sup>87</sup>

Modern editions offer detailed identification of quotations from the Bible, even though such biblical indices were not always included.<sup>88</sup> Yet even this process can be tricky. While for example some quotations from the New Testament are unmistakable, others rely on intertextuality with the Old Testament as the work of identification of ‘Torah in the New Testament’ has shown (see also p. 6 above). Keeping pace with the evolution of New Testament criticism, and not only in terms of the establishment of a critical text, will, we argue, offer tools for understanding what Byzantium was doing with its biblical material, how the quotations that are identified and accumulated in patristic indexes connect with each other and become significant within a mentality, a politics, a theological type of statement. Hybrid places between the Septuagint and the Gospels, such as the Odes or the manuscripts combining Gospels and Psalter, are particularly significant. Digging deeper in these traditions will be an important source of information to retrace the varieties of Christianity—the Christianities<sup>89</sup>—that at all times populated the Byzantine world.

Besides advocating technical advances and philological efforts, we hope to have made clear how these studies of exegetical texts and trends impact on the socio-historical contextualization of their authors and intended readers. Despite its size, this volume can hardly claim comprehensiveness. We nonetheless trust that its signals will be picked up in future scholarship making of the Bible a precious indicator of Byzantine thought and life.

<sup>86</sup> For example Kipidou 2013 on Michael Glykas’s *Aporiai* on Holy Scripture.

<sup>87</sup> On problems of methodology, see in general Göransson, Iversen et al. 2016.

<sup>88</sup> See also n. 94 below.

<sup>89</sup> The plural consecrated by Ehrman 2003.

## 2. THIS VOLUME

The twenty papers in this volume, fifteen in English and five in French, range from the fourth to the fifteenth century and are arranged in five sections according to a typology of reception of the Bible. Within each section, the papers are ordered overall chronologically.

### 2.1 *Politics of Interpretation*

The first section of the volume focuses on approaches to biblical exegesis often determined, as the authors argue, by worldly, practical aims pursued through commenting on the Bible.

**Gábor Buzási** discusses how Emperor Julian (331/2–363), famous for his programmatic revival of classical religion (or ‘paganism’), read the Bible as a foundation for his political strategies. In discussing the extant fragments of his work *Against the Galileans*, Buzási argues that Julian manipulated his interpretative methods to suit his shifting ends: while from the outset he approached the Bible from a literal perspective, he also furtively introduced a hidden sense emerging from the biblical text when convenient for his argument. Such mixed methodology shaped by the immediate goals was not exclusively Julian’s: it is found applied every time the Bible comes into play from a polemical or apologetic perspective. This kind of manipulation shows how malleable the word of God can be even when, as Julian claims, it is read only for its literal meaning.

Buzási’s contribution is valuable in establishing the Bible at the centre of late ancient political thought and life. Rowing somewhat against this tide, **Paul Blowers** proposes to read George of Pisidia’s exegesis of the Hexaemeron as a theological work—rather than simply as a panegyric of Emperor Herakleios (575–641) devoid of any concern for the exegetical tradition of the creation account. Blowers’s approach stands at the opposite end from the recent keenness in Byzantine studies (and in studies of Western exegesis, for that matter) to point out the essentially non-religious dimension in works of biblical interpretation.<sup>90</sup> The analysis of specific passages brings Blowers to observe that George inscribes his work into the Greek exegetical tradition and shows himself aware even of particularities and subtleties of earlier commentaries on the Hexaemeron. Without denying that political propaganda was George’s primary aim, Blowers argues that the theology of the biblical commentary is not mere ornament, even comparing George to his contemporary, Maximos the Confessor. Here the process of identification between Byzantines and Israel in terms of imperial ideology is

<sup>90</sup> See the comments on the Paris Psalter as a vehicle for promotion of the Macedonian emperors in Magdalino & Nelson 2010, 23–24. For a similar analysis of Latin exegesis, see de Jong 2000 and Shimahara 2018.

already fully at work. In connecting theology and politics intimately, Blowers is pointing at the shaping of Byzantine identity through the biblical narrative.

While the intended readership of George's poem on the Hexaemeron was that of courtly circles, the lessons read in the liturgy reached a broader audience assembled in the house of prayer and thereby could be thought to shape, through their choices, common opinion. Looking carefully at the tradition of the *prophetologion*, **Sysse Engberg** shows how one reading from Isaiah was changed because of its connection with the iconoclastic politics of Leo V, and later changed back because it had lost its controversial character of being closely associated with the Leo episode at the high point of iconoclasm. The conservative character of the collection makes this alteration all the more remarkable. These fascinating observations allow us to glimpse the extent to which a liturgical collection such as the *prophetologion* was in fact swayed by religious politics and shaped by the contemporary historical context. At the same time, the full ambiguity of the biblical text, in this case a passage from Isa 40, is exposed by the subtle changes in emphasis that adding or removing verses can bring to the balance of a text. With the *prophetologion* being an important means of public exposure of the Old Testament in Byzantium, such interaction between liturgy and imperial power had immediate impact on how the Bible was digested in everyday Byzantine life.

**Meredith Riedel** focuses on one specific question-and-answer text in Photios's *Amphilochia*, explaining the patriarch's subtle dynamics in handling and reconciling together divergent biblical texts. This exercise in resolving *aporiai* in the Bible was part of a long established tradition that aimed at restoring coherence, and hence credibility, to the Scriptures. But with her analysis of *Amphilochia* 9 Riedel also aims at grounding Photios's exegesis in contemporary concerns, revolving around the orthodox view of man's nature as opposed to the recent distortion of it by the iconoclasts. Here again the necessity to reconcile opposites has an apologetic end, since contradiction jeopardizes the trust in the Bible as the Word of God. Further research on the *Amphilochia* will offer opportunities to gain knowledge of how biblical Wisdom was reconciled by one of the most prominent Byzantine thinkers of all times. Riedel adumbrates the importance of the Wisdom tradition in Byzantium.<sup>91</sup> It is remarkable indeed that Photios

<sup>91</sup> The history of Byzantium as a Wisdom tradition has not yet been written, but the premises to begin its tracing are gradually in place. It is not coincidental that in *Amphilochia* 9 Photios refers to the Psalms and to Proverbs, that the opening miniature on the Paris Psalter represents Sophia to the right hand of David, that the Byzantine emperor sits on Solomon's throne, the epitome of the wise man or sage, and that Constantinople's primary temple, the 'Great Church', has a dedication to Hagia Sophia. If, in the traditional interpretation of the Trinity, Wisdom is Christ, Christ nevertheless takes a back seat with respect to such female personifications and even stands behind other prophetic characters of the Sapiential tradition. As Leo Purdue points out, "the sapiential imagination shaped a cosmology and a social world that were theologically

does not connect his ontological problem on the status of man with any teaching from the Gospels. This observation invites attention to the philosophical dimensions of Byzantine theology,<sup>92</sup> which in turn raises the question about how theological Byzantium actually was. After all, it is not as though theology were something foreign or uninteresting to most Byzantines.<sup>93</sup>

These four papers bring us deep into the intersection between politics and theology, and while each contribution raises only some specific issues, the section clearly opens the door for more rewarding research into the self-perception of Constantinople's leading thinkers vis-à-vis the interpretation of the Bible.

## 2.2 *Quotations*

The second group of essays in the volume have in common a quotation approach to the text of the Bible: plucked from various books, key sentences were used in different contexts and to various ends.<sup>94</sup>

A first, early instance is that of *testimonia* illustrated with reference to Eusebios of Caesarea (265–313) by **Sébastien Morlet**. Collections of *testimonia* included selections of individual biblical citations considered particularly pertinent to demonstrating specific aspects of Christian belief. They belong to the earliest forms of biblical interpretation. Morlet argues that while *testimonia* may not belong to the standard exegetical genres, they were in practice very influential. Morlet points to the role that early Christian *testimonia* might have played as a substrate in later *adversus Iudaeos* literature. Selecting as samples three dialogues from the sixth to the ninth centuries, he investigates how their inclusion of quotations as listed in *testimonia* is influenced (or not) by Eusebios—not exactly a neutral authority himself. According to Morlet,

coherent, aesthetically attractive, and morally compelling” (2008, 5). Note that in late Byzantium, exegetes such as Matthew Kantakouzenos and Malachias the Monk (on whom, see now Martínez Manzano 2019) composed an exegetical oeuvre almost exclusively dealing with the Sapiential books of the Old Testament.

<sup>92</sup> These topics require further research. Gutas and Siniossoglou consider the Bible to provide “a set of unnegotiable premises” to the religious “Roman Orthodox” point of view in stark contrast with a philosophical outlook (2017, 273). Biblical exegesis, however, reveals a firmer intertwining of the disciplines of philosophical and theological enquiry than the modern sceptical conception of philosophy as alien to the search for God allows for.

<sup>93</sup> See the illustrative comments by Steven Runciman and John Meyendorff cited by Riedel (p. 100).

<sup>94</sup> As mentioned above, the treatment of biblical quotations in patristic writings is an important area that requires further attention. Documentation is key: the digital continuation of the *Biblia Patristica* is very welcome (Bibliindex: <http://www.bibliindex.mom.fr/>). In its wake useful publications follow, such as Badilita & Mellerin 2015 and Stavrou & van Rossum 2017. See now also the ITSEE citations database ([www.birmingham.ac.uk/itsee-citations-database](http://www.birmingham.ac.uk/itsee-citations-database)). Literature beyond the sixth century tends to receive less such attention.

Eusebios was an innovator when it comes to using *testimonia* in the context of learned biblical exegesis. Normally, however, the criteria for the groupings of quotations is not made explicit and can only be inferred from their contents (or from the rubrics inserted in the manuscripts, whose reliability is open to question). As an expression of the early phases of Christianity, if not of the pre-Christian phases, the inclusion of *testimonia* by learned Christian authors right down to the Byzantine period offers a privileged view on diachronic receptions of the Bible.

Dealing from another angle with the Jewish question, **Alexandru Ioniță** finds the interplay between anti-Jewish contents in Byzantine liturgy (still preserved in current Orthodox liturgical practice) and themes from hagiography.<sup>95</sup> He retraces such intertextuality from liturgical texts to the hagiographical genre in a specific work that has attracted increasing recent attention, the *Life of St Basil the Younger* (BHG 263). The crystallization of these—for us embarrassing—anti-Jewish formulae is indirectly supported by the message of the *Life*, though there remain a number of unresolved questions as to its dating and textual tradition which the author cannot address in this paper. Departing from a dating of this *Life* to the tenth century, Ioniță points out some textual parallels with invectives against the Jews found in ninth- and tenth-century hymnography. Ioniță's conclusion is that Basil lacked subtlety in exegesis. He points to the contended meanings of the Pauline key text, Rom 9–11, to show that the pro-Christian interpretation of the apostle's passage on which the hagiography thrives was nowhere originally intended. The wooden reproduction of quotations in the anti-Jewish polemics is shown to rely on both abstraction from the context and prejudicial understanding from the point of view of the victorious party.<sup>96</sup>

Less contentious is the use of Scripture in the paper by **Emmanuel Van Elverdinghe** about Armenian colophons, the topic of his recently completed thesis. Increasingly well known for their wealth of detail and historical information, these paratexts are here studied from a literary point of view. Van Elverdinghe points out how deeply imbued these scribes were in biblical culture, to the extent that it was second nature for them to express themselves through its language when speaking about the process of writing their manuscripts. Even scribes whose culture was not particularly elevated resorted to biblical allusion and periphrasis to elevate the tone of their conclusive notes. Van Elverdinghe reveals many intriguing examples of this intertwined thought-world. He not only postulates a semi-conscious process of assimilation, but even suggests that there was a conscious attempt at *imitatio* of the biblical paradigm on the part of Armenian writers that would be worth exploring more fully along the theoretical

<sup>95</sup> For this corpus, see also Timotin 2010.

<sup>96</sup> Recent research from Orthodox scholars confirms attention for this concern. See for example Bucur 2017.

parameters newly described for similar dynamics in Byzantine literature.<sup>97</sup> He gives fascinating examples of what he calls subconscious ‘echoes’ of such Christian education, reflecting more deeply on the message conveyed by these para-literary compositions, at times even rising to the level of poetry.

One topic regarding which the division in scholarship between biblical and Byzantine studies is particularly manifest is the form of the biblical text used by the Byzantines.<sup>98</sup> **Panagiotis Athanasopoulos** carefully analyzes the form of biblical quotations contained in the *Summa* by Thomas Aquinas as translated into Greek by the Byzantine theologian and scholar Demetrios Kydones (1320–1398). He further compares Kydones’s treatment with the way in which some decades later Gennadios Scholarios (1405–1473) made use of Kydones’s results. By looking in detail at these late Byzantine citations of the Bible, Athanasopoulos distils undiluted information that is of immediate pertinence to understanding of the reception of the biblical text. In both cases, Kydones and Scholarios, the impression is that the Latin text of the Bible had equal status with respect to the Greek Septuagint in the eyes of these scholars. While working philologically with both versions, neither felt the need to emend or question the status of Thomas’s quotations of the Bible, revealing an effort of faithfulness in translation and trust in its authority.

### 2.3 *Rewritten Bible*

That the creativity of writers was actively engaged through their exposure to the Bible is further substantiated by the next group of essays, witnessing to a phenomenon whose dynamics are unpacked in scholarship on rewritten Bible.<sup>99</sup> In fact, this *modus operandi* began within the Bible itself, and perhaps the best example of such redactional work is the sourcing of the historical narratives from the books of Kings into Chronicles.<sup>100</sup> Rewriting that history is a blend of faithfulness and change. For example, the figure of Manasseh is famously developed and inverted from the greatest of sinners to an

<sup>97</sup> See Van Elverdinghe’s references to standard studies by Herbert Hunger and Ingela Nilsson (p. 150).

<sup>98</sup> Well-known is the habit of biblical textual critics to ignore Byzantine literature when it comes to identifying the precise form of the biblical text cited in exegetical and other works—often backed by the argument that beyond Late Antiquity the textual tradition of the Bible is so diluted that no sensible conclusions can be drawn from bringing in Byzantine data. Paralyzing has proven the aphorism of Krumbacher 1897, I:123 (“Für die biblische Textkritik hörte jedes Verständnis auf”). But see Ceulemans 2013.

<sup>99</sup> In recent biblical scholarship, the concept of rewritten Bible is found to offer a useful approach to the textual plurality of the Hebrew Bible / Old Testament (Qumran, the Septuagint, Targumim and other versions and translations) and of para-biblical literature.

<sup>100</sup> Abadie 2003.

example of repentance.<sup>101</sup> Similarly, one of the most influential authors to produce an authoritative biblical paraphrase, Josephus, cannot be said to act from a neutral perspective. Rather, the emphasis that the stories take in his narrative serves his aims of appeasing the Roman authorities and found influential echo in the Byzantine world precisely because of its message.<sup>102</sup> Somehow that message was agreeable to people like Photios, who seems to have promoted Josephus while condemning his rival, Justus, to a successful *damnatio memoriae*.<sup>103</sup> The type of rewritings contemplated by the three papers in this section include both prose and verse, and contain a thread of pedagogical or catechetical intent under apparently purely literary appearances. Thus, while quotations remain unaltered in their textual content, these rewritings more freely adapt, insert, excise, exchange, and alter the sequence, language and even contents of the Bible, while keeping it firmly as their point of reference.

**Francesca Barone** studies one example of a derivative synopsis in order to capture its debts to the tradition as a whole. Synopses of the Bible are a fascinating corpus of texts, although they never attained hugely popular acclaim in scholarship. In essence, these summaries express early Christian concerns over the composition of the biblical canon. But it was in the Byzantine period that they blossomed, where they were recycled and served as essential paratexts which the modern approach to the Bible has regularly overlooked.<sup>104</sup> Barone identifies a synopsis preserved only in a fourteenth-century manuscript now in London as a shorter version of the *Barberini Synopsis*, which itself combines elements from earlier ones. Barone homes in on the specific interest of these texts by editing for the first time an unknown section of this work about the canonical status of the Wisdom of Solomon. Interestingly, the London manuscript is the only *Synopsis* among those studied by Barone to incorporate reworked sections of Josephus's *Jewish Antiquities*.

**Guillaume Bady** provides the first edition and translation of the Psalm verses attributed to Niketas the Chartophylax and consisting of 358 verses describing the 150 Psalms. The manuscript, Athos, Pantokrator 234, dated between the twelfth and the thirteenth century, is almost a 'diminutive' manuscript, according to the famous description of Annemarie Weyl Carr:<sup>105</sup> it measures only 165 x 115 mm. The small size suggests that the manuscript was a personal object, whether copied as a token for a special occasion or merely kept for private use.<sup>106</sup> In either case, the commissioning of

<sup>101</sup> Knoppers 2011; Cielontko 2019.

<sup>102</sup> Kampaniaki 2018 and 2020. See also Wander 2014.

<sup>103</sup> Bowman 1987, 365.

<sup>104</sup> Ceulemans 2017c, 364–368.

<sup>105</sup> Weyl Carr 1980.

<sup>106</sup> Parpulov 2012 and Crostini 2019b.



such manuscripts was likely tailored to particular contingencies, and therefore probably reflected the personal tastes of the prospective owner, for whom it was personalized by these verses. From another diminutive, fourteenth-century copy, Paris, BnF, gr. 1630, Bady transcribes the liturgical notes copied together with the verses, concluding that they, too, point to a personal use of this book with a markedly penitential slant. This paper also contributes to knowledge of the scribe Chariton from the Hodegos monastery in Constantinople, studied earlier by Inmaculada Pérez Martín, by detailing further the verses concerning the Odes and other epigrams copied in this manuscript, some of which were perhaps his own compositions. Bady describes the purpose of the Psalm verses as primarily didactic, since they provide amplification to the words and role of the psalmist (a “mise en abyme”, in his words). Nevertheless, the spiritualizing style of allusions combines to form a kind of literary game (“un jeu littéraire”) more than an earnest moral exhortation, or a faithful copy of the words of the psalms themselves. This style of composition is perfectly attuned to the literary tastes of the twelfth-century Constantinopolitan learned circles.<sup>107</sup>

With **Rachele Ricceri**’s study on the manuscript transmission of the *Metaphrasis of the Psalms* attributed to Apollinaris of Laodikeia (d. 382), we turn both backwards and forwards in time in the examination of the rewritten Psalter. Ricceri focuses on the visual presentation of this late antique work, often referred to as the ‘Homeric Psalter’, in its late Byzantine manuscripts—in which it is alone extant—as well as on accessory texts that accompany it in order to infer information about the reception of the *Metaphrasis* in Byzantium. She observes that in the manuscripts the *Metaphrasis* surprisingly does not play second fiddle to the Psalms themselves: when it is accompanied by elements from the original Greek Psalter (which is not always), it is in fact the latter which is reduced to a paratext. In this sense, the *Metaphrasis* appears as a full substitute of the Psalms themselves, even enjoying pride of place. As such, it fulfils the intentions of its prologue, to represent more fittingly the poetic style of the Hebrew original of David’s prayers. Thus, Ricceri’s claim needs to be considered when pondering the context in which the composition originated, demonstrating the usefulness of closely observing the practical details of a text’s physical transmission, even one long remote from the text’s initial life. Along the same lines, Ricceri assembles detailed observations based on manuscripts concerning book epigrams on the Psalms which were recycled to accompany the *Metaphrasis*, as well as portions of the *Metaphrasis* that became headings for psalms in different contexts (and at times even for different psalms). Together, these texts were a resource pooled by manuscript makers to personalize, distinguish, and embellish their products. Like Bady, Ricceri too takes John Geometres’s paraphrase of

<sup>107</sup> Nilsson 2014.



the Odes as a point of comparison for the metrical compositional techniques displayed by the *Metaphrasis*'s transmission and adaptations. The particular tenacity of survival of these approaches to the biblical text is worthy of further investigation.<sup>108</sup>

#### 2.4 *Visual Exegesis*

The next cluster of five papers takes illuminated manuscripts as the primary object, but without losing sight of the meaningful interaction between images and text.<sup>109</sup> It is, paradoxically, easier to describe the Byzantines as closely coordinating text with images than to accept the intermedial efforts of scholars. There is an unspoken bias that art-historians deal with images, which, they argue, are hooked to texts, but, conversely, philologists cannot equally resort to the visual to clarify their texts because, perhaps, they shouldn't need to. This section on 'Visual Exegesis' opens precisely with one such attempt, which in retrospect appears not only justifiable, but even necessary.

**Anne-Catherine Baudoin** retraces the exegesis of the 'Blessed Man' of Ps 1:1 to the textual and visual sources that identify this figure with Joseph of Arimathea. Her essay spans a *longue durée*, from late antique to medieval exegetical practice, showing how the exegetical concentration on even a single psalm verse has ramifications across a range of literary forms (from gloss, to commentary, to treatise and homily), and across linguistic borders, from Slavonic to Latin to Greek, and back again through the language of visual interpretation associated with each of these traditions. Baudoin offers us a glimpse into this narrative tradition by editing a part of an unpublished text, the *Rewritten Narrative of Joseph of Arimathea*. This short narrative shows the confluence of many different sources and exemplifies the reshaping of tradition by their inventive use and reuse. It reveals how this activity is not narrowly focused on Christ-typology or questions of dogma, but more comprehensively embraces additional characters and their narratives. But what also strikes the reader of this piece, besides such transformations, is the essentially unified thrust of the Joseph tradition, despite its hinging on barely a few scriptural references. Through the uncovering of unobvious, marginal traditions still available to us in the form of details in images, or strands of thought, Baudoin regains something of the fourth-century substratum of this typology that resurfaces time and again in the medieval traditions, including their transfer through the Byzantine to the Slavic world.

Dating Greek manuscripts remains a huge problem, where relative placing within a continuum in which only a few firm dots are known for sure forces the scholar into at best informed guesswork. **Kathleen Maxwell** accepts this challenge with respect

<sup>108</sup> Note that the *editio princeps* of the *Metaphrasis* in 1552 also stimulated the composition of biblical metaphrases and Greek translations in the West (Andrist & Lukinovich 2005, 675).

<sup>109</sup> On this interaction, see for example Brubaker 2007.

to some illuminated early manuscripts of the Gospels, pointing out that the critical mass of studies on these issues is still meagre. She adopts some of the online resources from the INTF to try establishing, through percentages in textual variants, the relative position of these illuminated manuscripts. This methodology is astute, but time consuming, and its results depend on the very small number of variants that unfortunately do not offer a clear order of transmission between manuscripts. Consequently, the discriminating lines are very thin and uncertain. It is necessary therefore to proceed with traditional tools also, such as the careful description of the palaeographical and art-historical features of the codices in question. Maxwell feels confident enough to propose an alternative dating than the one commonly used for the illuminated Gospels, Paris, BnF, gr. 63, as compared to the Gospels of Dionysios, now in Messina. She draws new materials into the equation, namely some recently published illuminated codices from Tirana. Combining all data together, Maxwell concludes that the Messina Gospels must be earlier than MS Paris, gr. 63, the first belonging to the early years, while the latter at least to the second quarter, of the tenth century.

**Élisabeth Yota** re-evaluates and re-examines the Byzantine tetraevangelion, doing so with a panoply of examples that she orders typologically and in terms of iconographical content. Yota's analysis proceeds chronologically from famous late antique examples, such as the Rossano and Sinope Gospels, to the thirteenth-century cycles that mirror the calendar of liturgical feasts. She provides detailed information about the iconographies contained, offering a useful resource to approach them even in a didactic context. What is striking in Yota's detailed treatment is not simply the sheer bulk of illustrations produced and preserved in Byzantine Gospels, but also their remarkable singularity in choosing what to represent and where (in contrast to the fixed image of the four evangelists' portraits that most of us rely on when thinking of the Byzantine Gospel book). Yota speaks of original choices and singular omissions, and her observations, when digested, could lead to fruitful discussions. Nor are changes explainable simply in terms of chronology, as the example of MS Parma, palat. 5 shows, with its unexpected *Maiestas domini* surrounded by the four symbols of the evangelists, and painted in the second half of the eleventh century. Interestingly, Yota suggests that some paratexts to the Gospels, such as the *hypotheses*, may have influenced the subjects represented as pendant to the evangelist portraits in the Gospel frontispieces. The panorama of illustrations available in Byzantine Gospel manuscripts complicates our understanding of the dynamics of production, and the ultimate functions, of what might be thought of as the most important book in Byzantium.

The final two essays in this section turn to non-Greek traditions and open a window into the reception of Byzantium's reception of the Bible. **Engelina Smirnova** brings us back to the Slavonic tradition of glosses on the Psalter, which has some links

to Baudoin's paper, but takes us beyond the first Psalm through the depictions of several other scenes where central beliefs of the Christian faith are set out in pictures. Smirnova attempts to draw an overarching narrative about what she defines as 'Christian enlightenment' as the key to the message of the fourteenth-century Simonov Psalter, now in Moscow, and argues (also by drawing a parallel with the Ostromir Gospels, copied in 1056/7 at Kiev for the Saint Sophia Cathedral of Novgorod) for its close mirroring of an eleventh-century lost model produced on Byzantine antecedents. The inventive, pointed use of captions drawn from the commentary text uplifts the exegetical apparatus to the same level of catechetical importance as the biblical word itself.<sup>110</sup> This method of illustration provides the captions with a high degree of performativity in the mouth of the characters depicted, to whom they are indirectly attributed.<sup>111</sup> The miniatures perform exegesis by layering references and connecting the verses of the psalms to images, inscriptions and captions.

**Massimo Bernabò** presents the fascinating line-drawings illustrating a copy of the apocryphal Infancy Gospel in Arabic. This paper book, copied and illustrated in thirteenth-century Mardin, is now kept in the Laurentian library in Florence (MS Orient. 387). Bernabò emphasizes how the non-canonical subject-matter allows attention to everyday life details to be displayed besides more standardized scenes from the life of Christ. Even conventional iconographies, such as that of the Ascension, are depicted in a syncretistic way which is in need of further explanation from the point of view of art-historical evolution. The expressive quality of the images leads Bernabò to hypothesize a connection with theatrical performance, enshrined in conventional poses already from the late ancient comic tradition.

In this section, the art-historical dimension is treated as an enrichment of the respective texts, and modern commentators profit from the combined appreciation of these two aspects in their analysis of the manuscripts. Where the biblical text is expressed and interpreted in both words and pictures, an extra effort at communicating the contents of the Christian faith is being made. Perhaps there lay the key to the successful transmission of beliefs and ideas across cultures that is worth recapturing and retracing thanks to these extant witnesses.

### 2.5 *Technical Exegesis*

The essays in the final section of the volume require a special interest in textual criticism and manuscript transmission, and concern the work of scribes and compilers in

<sup>110</sup> For a similar use of commentary text as captions to a manifestly pedagogical end, see Peers 2016.

<sup>111</sup> Barber 2007.

assembling instruments through which the Bible is read. Even more specifically, these essays deal with how these instruments are made available in manuscript copies.

**Theodora Panella** re-examines around forty catena manuscripts of Galatians, identified by Karl Staab in 1926. She uses both external presentation criteria and the presence of added textual material to revise Staab's classification into types and divide his groups further into sub-groups. Panella envisages three stages in the development of the Pauline catena: the original 'Urkatene', an expanded version with 11 extra fragments, and a further expanded version with 27 extra fragments. She concludes that, at the present state of research, the transition from the second to the third version cannot be understood in terms of a chronological progress. This remark opens the way for questioning what type of relation there is in effectively two parallel versions of the catena on Galatians, as both are witnessed in tenth-century manuscripts. One possible clue might seem to be the presence, or absence, of the so-called Photian fragments. Although Panella is careful in saying that the attribution to Photios needs further study, she provides interesting clues as to the status of this paratext in the transmission that could point to different exegetical preferences: after all, the interpretation of Paul's Epistles was a key point in understanding the nature of Christianity especially with respect to its Jewish origins.<sup>112</sup> One fragment commenting on Gal 1:13, mentioned in this essay, deals precisely with this issue. In showing the complex web of relationship between the manuscripts in the reception of these groups of comments and scholia, Panella demonstrates the continued use and interest of both the text and the manuscript witnesses themselves. Despite its technical quality, Panella's paper touches on several layers through which reception is mediated, including the scholarly classificatory lens through which these texts are now perceived. By refining Staab's classifications, Panella attempts to impart a new vigour into the study of these catena traditions.

In her contribution, **Laurence Vianès** proposes that the catenae on the Major Prophets that are traditionally attributed to an enigmatic John Droungarios and are dated to the seventh/eighth century might in fact be older and be datable to the second half of the sixth century instead. Arguably more significant than this retro-dating is the hypothesis that lies behind it: that these texts were compiled by anti-Chalcedonian supporters of Severos of Antioch (d. 538). In proposing this hypothesis, Vianès expands the view that Marcel Richard had put forward already in 1956 about a miaphysite catena to Psalms. Moreover, she suggests that catenae on several books of the Old and the New Testament may also originate in the same pro-Severan circles. Quite rightly, Vianès claims that a conciliatory view with regard to orthodoxy could have been equal-

<sup>112</sup> Pauline exegesis in Byzantium deserves further research (see also Constanas 2016). For example, the excerpts from Photios and Arethas published by Staab 1933 still await substantial treatment.

ly forthcoming from a miaphysite viewpoint. While it remains generally true that the compilers of catenae favour no specific dogmatic orientation, this case demonstrates that such an 'ecumenical' stance was in fact launched by anti-Chalcedonian scribes, while there remain occasions when doctrinal motives do become apparent. In this way, Vianès's essay underlines the existence of different currents within Christian exegetical practice, reflecting theological differences. Even if divergence could not always be openly expressed, it resisted and survived in less obvious places, such as catenae. The traditional synergy of philology and codicology (both of which comprise an assessment of illuminations, as exegetical language and as technical realization) gives in this case precious fruits.

The contents of exegetical catenae are further explored in the paper by **Leontien Vanderschelden**. Her doctoral work focused on the catena of one of the most precious, beautiful and well-known of Byzantine psalters, the Paris Psalter (MS BnF, gr. 139 from the tenth century). Vanderschelden questions many assumptions through a detailed philological study of the exegetical fragments for Ps 11. One of her most important results has been to undermine the widespread and often repeated opinion that the Paris Psalter can be considered a 'twin' of another luxury psalter, that made for Basil II now in the Marciana Library in Venice (MS gr. Z. 17).<sup>113</sup> Vanderschelden retraces the evolutionary phases of the catena. Here too the successive editions are identified in terms of additions to the fragments that comprise each catena, distinguishing three types of 'Palestinian catenae' according to Gilles Dorival's explanatory model. Vanderschelden too refines this model through more detailed textual analysis resulting in a revised diagram of the evolution of the catena leading to the text of MS Paris, gr. 139. This article offers an edition of the catena to Ps 11 and provides an English translation.

Biblical scholarship has produced much literature on uncial manuscripts such as the codex Vaticanus. Far less attention, however, was ever paid to the notes, marginalia and restorations that key biblical manuscripts received in the course of the centuries. Such signs can shed light on the life these books lived in the course of the Byzantine period.<sup>114</sup> Looking at the writing style but also at their contents (which include notes concerning polemics with the Jews), **Mariachiara Fincati** suggests that the exegetical marginalia of codex Marchalianus of the Prophets (possibly late seventh or early eighth century) might have been introduced by John Kamateros (d. 1206), who, after a rhetorical career, served as patriarch of Constantinople at the time of the Latin siege. Situating a specific milieu for Marchalianus's whereabouts in its afterlife as a codex helpfully turns what in biblical studies was an abstract entity into a very concrete copy

<sup>113</sup> Parpulov 2010 and 2012.

<sup>114</sup> See Versace 2011 and 2018, next to the literature mentioned in Fincati's contribution.

of the Bible that circulated and was read and annotated in a particular, identifiable society and context. Fincati's analysis shows that the source for these annotations was a catena to the prophets in the case of the first set, while the second set of marginal notes resorted to extracting passages from a commentary by Pseudo-Chrysostom. In both instances the annotator reworked rather than quoted his sources. His work, though largely derivative of the catena tradition, also reflects the type of compositional methods of the catenists themselves: it was a personal writing, showing the future patriarch employing a very ancient manuscript for his own study of the biblical text. Beyond the technicalities, even this kind of textual combing can yield a more exact knowledge of Christian-Jewish relations in Byzantium. Without a doubt, more exciting discoveries can be made in this field.

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The essays in this volume constitute, from one perspective, possible models and avenues for future research. Pointing at first-hand studies dedicated to manuscripts, images, and texts, they stress the synergy necessary between philology, palaeography and codicology as the basis for the wider discourse of reception and material culture. Two important challenges come to the fore: how to deal competently with the sources and material witnesses, and how to attribute to such evidence due circumstantial weight in the Byzantine present while appreciating their value as ancient texts. Thus, the history of the Bible in Byzantium is coloured by this tension between receptions and retrospections and steered by the need for understanding the present through the past, and vice-versa.

Taken together, these essays show the Septuagint as a place for study in and beyond its function as a basis for faith. As such, the Greek Bible is a place of encounter, of debate, of dialogue, of understanding, rather than an immutable, heavy weight on a society's unchanging conscience. While the dichotomies between learned or unlettered, clerical or secular, man or woman, reflect real differences, the approaches of these essays elude these neat categories where they suggest that, differently packaged, Scriptures had a way of reaching beyond the pulpit to the ears of the people. This process should drive the directions of research, rather than vice-versa. Only by grasping the direction of this movement is it possible to gain insight into the struggles of the medieval world towards the preservation and diffusion of Scriptures into the fabric of society. We offer these essays as possible (and, we are conscious, very partial) inroads into these dynamics, and we hope that, by bringing them together in this volume, we will have stimulated further research on Byzantine approaches to the Bible.

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# POLITICS OF INTERPRETATION





# JULIAN THE APOSTATE AS A BIBLICAL LITERALIST

GÁBOR BUZÁSI



IN THIS PAPER I re-examine the exegetical strategy developed by emperor Julian in his *Against the Galileans* (*Contra Galilaeos* = *CG*), focusing on the extent and the reasons of his insistence on the literal sense of the Bible. I argue that by downplaying the deeper dimensions of the biblical text, Julian proceeds more cunningly than it may seem. What he wants to communicate is that the Bible is not a unique literary corpus with a higher claim of truth but, like many others, one in need of an interpretation. Deprived of a coherent interpretation, the plain sense of the Bible loses much of its attractive power, while the interpretation which makes it powerful is taken from the Greeks labelled by Christians as ‘idolaters.’<sup>1</sup>

Through his biblical criticism Julian leaves only two reasonable options for Christians: they can either acknowledge their debt to the pagans and, above all, to their gods, who endowed their worshippers with insights so compelling that they attract people even when mediated by the Bible. Alternatively, if they do not accept this invitation to convert to the religion of their ancestors, they may follow the plain sense of Scripture and observe the Mosaic law with its highly elaborate rituals.<sup>2</sup> Should they even refuse the second offer to become proselytes, Christians are left with one option only: to admit that they are the followers of a marginal group of fishermen and tax-collectors from first-century Galilee, radicalized by a charismatic visionary and his propa-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. frg. 6.8–9 (= 49a) where Julian mentions Plato, ironically reproducing Christian accusations, as one “who paid homage to images” (ὁ τοῖς εἰδώλοις λελατρευκώς). References to *CG* follow the edition of Masaracchia 1990 (the 107 fragments are now also available in the new edition of Cyril’s refutation, ed. Riedweg 2016 and Kinzig & Brüggemann 2017). Unless indicated otherwise, translations of Julian are those by Wright 1913–1923. Biblical translations are taken from NETS, but modified.

<sup>2</sup> On the rituals, see section 3.3.2 below. For Julian’s praise of the Law, see frg. 58.9–11 (= 238b–c). Joining Judaism was not merely a theoretical option: see Wilken 1983 on Judaizing Christians in Antioch (where *CG* was composed) in the time of John Chrysostom.

gandists.<sup>3</sup> Therefore, Julian's literalism was part of his argumentative strategy by which he wanted to convert Christians to Hellenism or, as a second-best option, to Judaism.

## 1. INTRODUCTION

Emperor Julian, the last non-Christian emperor of Rome, was a keen reader of the Bible although far from a benevolent one. Before his secret apostasy at about the age of twenty (ca. 351), the young cousin of Constantius II received a thorough education in the Scriptures, a knowledge he was to make ample use of in his anti-Christian campaign that he launched as soon as he became sole emperor (December 361).<sup>4</sup> His sudden death in a major Persian campaign only one and a half years later (June 26, 363) inevitably rendered the action and communication of these initial months of a potentially long rule final and emblematic; thus, in the memory of subsequent, increasingly Christian, generations Julian remained the adversary *par excellence* of the Church and archenemy of Christ.<sup>5</sup>

This dubious status, which has contributed to Julian's fame ever since, was largely secured by *CG*, his voluminous work against the Christians. This refutation of the central doctrines of Christianity subjects its fundamental documents to systematic and merciless criticism. The reverberations of Julian's pagan exegesis of the Bible were so massive that they prompted a whole series of refutations. The most important one, by Cyril of Alexandria, which preserves almost all the extant fragments of Julian's work, was written at least sixty years later.<sup>6</sup> Although Julian was not the first pagan to enter into a critical engagement with the Bible, he was the only former Christian in the position to support his criticism by public action.<sup>7</sup> Due to this unique perspective Julian's argumentative strategies and exegetical solutions deserve careful attention.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>3</sup> See sections 2 and 3.6 below. The name 'Galileans', consistently used by Julian, obviously epitomises this argument. Cf. Gérard 1995, 74–75.

<sup>4</sup> On Julian's early life, studies and conversion see Rosen 2006, 70–121; Tanaseanu-Döbler 2008, 57–109. For his knowledge of the Bible, see Bouffartigue 1992, 156–170. Relevant sources are: Sozomenos, *Church History* 5, 2, 10; Gregory of Nazianzos, *Or.* 4, 23; Eunapios, *Lives of the Philosophers* § 473 (= 7, 1, 7–8).

<sup>5</sup> On the Persian campaign, death and reception of Julian (from the beginnings to the twentieth century) see Rosen 2006, 345–462. It is interesting to observe that Pope Benedict XVI mentions the Apostate with remarkable sympathy in his 2006 encyclical letter *Deus Caritas est*, §§ 24 and 31.

<sup>6</sup> A detailed recent summary of research on *CG* and Cyril's *Against Julian* can be found in the preface, by Ch. Riedweg and W. Kinzig, to Riedweg's edition of 2016, xi–ccxxix.

<sup>7</sup> On the pagans and the Bible in a broader context, see Kinzig 2013.

<sup>8</sup> On Julian and the Bible see Aziza 1978; Braun 1978; Malley 1978; Meredith 1980, 1140–1147; Wilken 1984, 176–196; Rinaldi 1989; Bouffartigue 1992, 156–170; Smith 1995, 189–207; Ried-

When Julian entered the scene, the Bible had been the battleground of religious debates for several centuries. The frameworks within which contests for its proper meaning took place had been largely laid down. Although questions of canonicity and controversies about textual and translation variants still remained part of the arguments, debates could focus on the proper interpretation of established texts.<sup>9</sup>

One of the most characteristic features of Julian's biblical interpretation is his insistence on the plain sense of the text. This may be familiar for the modern critical reader in many ways, but not for most of Julian's Christian colleagues who discovered more profound meanings in the same texts.<sup>10</sup> By exposing the literal meaning the emperor certainly wanted to create the impression that he was only recovering the original sense, removing external additions and manipulations. The meaning thus recovered definitely contradicted the mainstream Christian interpretation, which Julian presented as diverging from the natural sense and as an attempt to manipulate the masses by appealing to their baser needs.<sup>11</sup> As we shall see, Julian's own exegetical procedure in *CG* was no less manipulative.<sup>12</sup>

weg 1999, 2005, 2008a, 2008b, 2011 and 2012; Cook 2002, 277–334 and 2004, 248–344; Thome 2004; Boulnois 2008a and 2008b; Scrofani 2008; Hunt 2012; Kinzig 2013, 765–770; Ugenti 2012; Veres 2016; Yadin-Israel 2019.

<sup>9</sup> See the overview in Hauser & Watson 2003a.

<sup>10</sup> It is remarkable that Julian composed *CG* in Antioch, the centre of Christian literal exegesis. The origins of Antiochene literalism are a matter of dispute; I follow Thome (2004, 13) and Boulnois (2008b, 116 n. 22) in maintaining that it was precisely Julian's exegesis which gave a significant impetus to Diodore of Tarsos, a contemporary of Julian, to elaborate a non-allegorical alternative to mainstream allegorical exegesis represented by Philo and Origen and abused, in Thome's view, by the Apostate. If a literal approach had already been significant in Antioch before the arrival of the emperor (362), then his insistence on the literal sense and its absurdities might have been intended partly as a caricature of the method in the same vein as *Misopogon* was a satirical criticism of the Antiochians themselves. On Diodore as an opponent of Julian, see Hunt 2012, 256–257.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. frg. 1.4–5 (= 39b): “making full use of that part of the soul which loves fable and is childish and foolish” (ἀποχρησαμένη δὲ τῷ φιλομύθῳ καὶ παιδαριώδει καὶ ἀνοήτῳ τῆς ψυχῆς μορίῳ). See also Julian's charge of social demagoguery in *Ep.* 89b, pp. 173.20–174.7 (references to the *Letters* always follow Bidez 1972).

<sup>12</sup> Riedweg summarizes an important manipulative strategy of exegetical debates in the following way (2012, 442–443): the opponent is denied the use of techniques by which their reference text is updated to the expectations of the audience, while one is free to employ any kind of intellectual acrobatics in order to elicit the expected meaning from one's own reference text. Although originally Riedweg inferred this principle from Julian's interpretation of biblical myths, its relevance is more general: see Riedweg 2005 and 2008a, 189 n. 15.

2. THE AIM AND STRATEGY OF *CG*

Before taking a closer look at Julian's literal reading of the Bible, it will be useful to sum up the aims and the plan of *CG*.<sup>13</sup> These are laid out in what was probably the beginning of the work, and their contours may be recognized with a fair certainty in the extant text despite its fragmentary state.<sup>14</sup>

In a clearly programmatic sentence Julian sets out to target “the fabrication (σκευωρία) of the Galileans”, i.e. the New Testament and the doctrines of the Church, as a “fiction of men composed by wickedness” containing “nothing divine”.<sup>15</sup> The central message of this “fabrication” is the false belief that “the monstrous tale” (τερατολογία)—a reference to the incarnation, death, resurrection and divine status of Jesus—“is truth”.<sup>16</sup> This is further confirmed by other extant statements of the emperor. In a letter to Photinos (a Monarchian bishop of Sirmium in Pannonia who denied the divinity of Christ) Julian confirms that by composing his anti-Christian treatise he was planning to demonstrate “that the new-fangled Galilean god [...] has been stripped by his humiliating death and burial of the divinity falsely ascribed to him”.<sup>17</sup> Thus, it was the divinization of Jesus, a mortal being, that the pagan emperor found most provocative (“monstrous”), and, vice versa, the alleged incarnation of a divine entity.<sup>18</sup> Hence, the ultimate objective of Julian's anti-Christian work was to separate Jesus the man (whose historicity Julian does not question) from Christ the god. The whole argument is meant to prepare the way for this conclusion.

<sup>13</sup> For a structural analysis, see Riedweg's preface to his edition of Cyril's *Against Julian* (2016, xciii–cviii).

<sup>14</sup> Frgg. 1–3 (= 39a–b, 41c–42a, 42c–43b).

<sup>15</sup> Frg. 1.2–5 (= 39a–b): [...] τῶν Γαλιλαίων ἡ σκευωρία πλάσμα ἐστὶν ἀνθρώπων ὑπὸ κακουργίας συντεθέν. Ἐχουσα [...] οὐδὲν θεῖον [...]. That this is a reference to the New Testament is clear both from the context (the Old Testament was not ‘fabricated’ by Christians and parts of it Julian considered praiseworthy) and from Julian's use of the same or similar words (σκευωρία, τερατολογία) when referring explicitly to the New Testament: frg. 51.3–5 (= 218a). See Gérard 1995, 74–75.

<sup>16</sup> Frg. 1.5–6 (= 39b): τὴν τερατολογίαν εἰς πίστιν ἤγαγεν ἀληθείας.

<sup>17</sup> *Ep.* 90, p. 174.21–23 (= 55 Wright), preserved in the Latin translation made by Facundus of Hermiane in sixth-century Constantinople: “et illum novum [...] deum Galilaeum, quem aeternum fabulose praedicat, indigna morte et sepultura denudatum confictae [...] deitatis.” Cf. Hunt 2012, 256–257. That this is the main aim of *CG* is also confirmed by Libanios, *Or.* 17, 178. See Williams 2006 on Photinos.

<sup>18</sup> *Ep.* 90, p. 174.13–14 (= 55 Wright): “he whom one holds to be a god can by no means be brought into the womb” (“bene faciens nequaquam in utero inducere quem credidisti deum”). Cf. *CG* frg. 65 (= 276c). The incarnation of divine entities was not incompatible in principle with Julian's Neoplatonism (cf. his *Hymn to the Sun* 154c–d on the descent and ascent of Romulus/Quirinus). What he found absurd was the claim that the creator of the world (cf. frg. 64.35–39 = 262d) should assume human flesh and identity.

Julian plans to achieve his goal, first by dividing Christianity into two main components (one Jewish, another Hellenic/pagan), and then subdividing each into a noble and an objectionable part.<sup>19</sup> In the case of Judaism, it is the practice which is commended, while the theory (theology) is regarded as faulty at best.<sup>20</sup> As for the Hellenic component, by contrast, theories are fine but the practice is to be criticized<sup>21</sup> (it is part of the emperor's program to improve on this shortcoming). Julian argues that Christianity is an amalgam of the worst in each: the exceptionalistic, arrogant and intolerant attitude of the Hebrews, on the one hand, and the frivolity and vulgarity of the pagans, on the other.<sup>22</sup> What is valuable in both—the elaborate rituals of the Jews and the high-minded ideas of the Hellenes—Christians are accused of having equally abandoned.<sup>23</sup>

The main line of the argument may be reconstructed as a chronological dramatization of the above dissection of Christianity, describing the evolution of this emphatically new religion as a series of apostasies. According to Julian, those who are now Christians (or their ancestors) were originally adherents of Hellenism: a universal religion in various local manifestations, all of which share certain myths, rituals ('theurgy'), and the belief in a plurality of gods.<sup>24</sup> Jews departed from this initial commonwealth by declaring that their particular God was the god of the whole world<sup>25</sup> and a jealous one who did not tolerate his followers to worship other gods<sup>26</sup>—a theological position which Julian calls 'atheism' and therefore inferior to the religions of the tolerant 'pagan' commonwealth.<sup>27</sup> Christianity is an apostasy in more than one sense: in addition to joining the separatist religion of Moses,<sup>28</sup> the followers of Jesus

<sup>19</sup> Frg. 3 (= 43a–b). Details of this summary are elaborated in section 3 below.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. also frg. 48.3–7 (= 205c–206a), where Neumann 1880 emended ἀνθρώπων (Masaracchia, line 3) to τοῦδαίμων, accepted by Wright but rejected by Masaracchia. In any case Julian clearly refers to the hostility of certain Old Testament passages against the cults of the gods.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. also frg. 58.20–27 (= 238e).

<sup>22</sup> Frgg. 3 (= 42e–43b) and 58 (= 238a–c).

<sup>23</sup> Frg. 3.5–8 (= 43a).

<sup>24</sup> Cf. frgg. 7 (= 52b–c) and 11 (= 69b–d); the emperor's statements on the origin of philosophy in *To the Uneducated Cynics* 182c–d are relevant for religions as well. Julian's idea about Hellenistic universalism may be compared to what Jan Assmann calls the 'translatability' of religious contents before the introduction of a 'Mosaic distinction' between true and false religion (2010, 18–23). On theurgy, see n. 61 below.

<sup>25</sup> Frg. 19.11–20 (= 99d–e).

<sup>26</sup> Frg. 30 (= 155c–e).

<sup>27</sup> For 'atheism' in *CG* see frgg. 3.11 (= 43b) and 55.8–11 (= 229d, twice). The term is attested several times in Julian's other extant works.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. frg. 58.1–9 (= 238a–b). Julian must be speaking about a logical rather than a chronological sequence since those pagans who converted to Christianity normally did not convert to Judaism first.

abandoned the Jews as well,<sup>29</sup> in consequence of which Christianity is twice removed from the religion shared by the rest of humankind. The ensuing position is even worse than that of the Jews since they at least share with others a sophisticated system of sacrificial and dietary laws, while Christianity is characterized by a complete lack of such regulations.<sup>30</sup> The terminal phase of this decline of piety, in Julian's reconstruction, is contemporary Christianity, which departed even from the New Testament, claiming, without any grounds, that Jesus is god from god, through whom the cosmos was created.<sup>31</sup> Contemporary Christians, in Julian's tendentious presentation, worship corpses (a reference to the cult of saints) and recur to intolerance and even violence.<sup>32</sup>

It is clear even from this short summary that the aim to destroy the Christians' claim of Jesus's divinity involves the discussion of a great number of related topics from both the Old and the New Testament. What seems to be common in Julian's attitude to all of them is an aversion to the idea of particularism and exceptionalism, whether in the form of a unique deity incarnated in a specific time and place, the election of one nation from among the many, or the claim that revelation has a singular channel and manifests itself in a privileged textual corpus. Before drawing our conclusions, let us consider Julian's main exegetical arguments in their own right.<sup>33</sup>

### 3. LITERAL INTERPRETATION APPLIED TO VARIOUS GROUPS OF BIBLICAL TEXTS

Julian intended to substantiate his overarching strategy through exegetical reflections on the biblical text.<sup>34</sup> We cannot analyze all the remaining fragments, nor would even

<sup>29</sup> Frgg. 3.6–8 (= 43a) and 58.1–3 (= 238a–b).

<sup>30</sup> Frg. 73 (= 314a–b). Cf. frg. 58.9–11 (= 238b) and section 3.3.2 below.

<sup>31</sup> Frgg. 64.8 (= 261e) and 65.1 (= 276e) ("god from god"); 64.8–9 (= 261e) (the cosmos was created through Christ). In these passages Julian quotes the Nicene Creed and, although we do not have direct evidence, as a Caesar he might have presided over local councils as Constantius II did (cf. Hunt 2012, 254 and 259). In Julian's reconstruction, the development of Christian theology is not a growing convergence with Hellenism with deep roots in Hellenistic Judaism (as many of his Christian contemporaries believed and most modern historians also suppose) but on the contrary, an increasing separation from it. That this is a tendentious and highly speculative perspective is evident from the very effort of Julian to disentangle Hellenism from 'Galileanism'.

<sup>32</sup> Frgg. 81.4–5 (= 335b) (corpses); 48.3–7 (= 205e–206a) (religious violence). On Christian violence, see Hahn 2004.

<sup>33</sup> It is not the aim of this article to discuss Julian's exegesis in detail. References to more comprehensive and detailed studies are given in the notes.

<sup>34</sup> To some extent, Julian applied textual criticism of the Bible to support his literal reading. In his refutation of an allegedly messianic prophecy (Gen 49:10), he discusses alternative translations based on Hebrew textual variants: frg. 62.25–27 (= 253e). Elsewhere he suspects biblical passages to be later additions or manipulations, either by Moses or by Ezra (frg. 34 = 168a).

an overall analysis allow us a total overview of the work as its greater part is lost.<sup>35</sup> However, we can identify general tendencies and particular methods adapted to various types of biblical texts. Recognizing Julian's implicit classification of biblical passages is a key to understanding his exegesis of the Bible and, in particular, of the various ways in which he takes advantage of its plain sense. The categories discerned by the emperor are largely based on the canonical divisions of the biblical books as well as on a differentiation between what we may call literary genres: myths, scientific (cosmogonic) accounts, laws, historical narratives, gospels and epistles.

### 3.1 *Old Testament Myths*

One group of biblical texts which Julian subjects to scrutiny he categorizes as 'myths' or fictitious narratives (*mythos*).<sup>36</sup> All of the stories he refers to are part of the primeval history covering the biblical time span from the creation of the world to the dispersion of the nations after the flood (Gen 1–11). In the extant fragments the emperor concentrates on the stories of Adam and Eve (Gen 2–3), Cain and Abel (Gen 4), the sons of God who descended to the daughters of men (Gen 6:1–4), as well as the tower of Babel (Gen 11:1–9).<sup>37</sup>

Julian's discussion of paradise is directly connected to another fragment in which he exposes the absurdity of some Greek myths in order to point out that their biblical counterparts are no better than these.<sup>38</sup> The argument here rests on the similar character of Greek and Hebrew myths: neither is better, in principle, than the other. The plain sense of both is paradoxical and blasphemous, and both are in need of exegesis to uncover their deeper sense. It is in this context that Julian inserts a much discussed ambiguous sentence on the possibility of hidden meaning in the case of biblical myths.<sup>39</sup>

<sup>35</sup> Cf. Riedweg 2016, xciii–cviii.

<sup>36</sup> See frgg. 17.11 (= 94a); 20.13 (= 106c); 23.34 (= 135c). Cf. also frg. 15.4 (= 86a) on Greek myths.

<sup>37</sup> Frgg. 13–17 (= 75a–b, 80c, 86a, 89a–b, 93d–94a) (Adam and Eve); frg. 84 (= 346c–347c) (Cain and Abel); frgg. 67–68 (= 290b–291b, 296a) (sons of God); frgg. 23–27 (= 134d–146c) (tower of Babel). On these passages, see Cook 2004, 258–275, with references to Malley 1978 and Rinaldi 1989.

<sup>38</sup> Frg. 4 (= 44a–b). See frg. 15.3–4 (= 86a): “And in what do such legends as these differ from the myths that were invented by the Hellenes?” (καὶ τί διαφέρει τῶν παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησι πεπλασμένων μύθων τὰ τοιαῦτα;). On the Orphic origin of these myths, see Riedweg 2011. Elsewhere Julian criticizes more classical Greek myths (Homer and Hesiod) as well since “besides what is divine they also contain much that is human” (ἔχει γὰρ μετὰ τοῦ θεοῦ πολὺ καὶ τὸ ἀνθρώπινον, *Hymn to the Sun* 137c, ed. Nesselrath 2015, 148.18–19).

<sup>39</sup> Frg. 17.10–12 (= 94a): τούτων τοίνυν ἕκαστον εἰ μὴ μῦθος ἔχων θεωρίαν ἀπόρρητον εἶη, ὅπερ ἐγὼ νενομίκα, πολλῆς γέμουσιν οἱ λόγοι περὶ τοῦ θεοῦ βλασφημίας. Wright translates τοῦ θεοῦ as “God” which is certainly legitimate (there is an ambiguity in Julian's text about the identity of the biblical deity) and in most cases we also need to follow this practice. But here it may convey the



Accordingly, unless every one of these legends is a myth that involves some secret interpretation, as I indeed believe, they are filled with many blasphemous sayings about the god <of Moses>.

With several scholars, I agree that in this passage Julian does allow for the possibility of a hidden sense in the case of the Bible.<sup>40</sup> This is confirmed by another remark, in his exposition of the tower of Babel:<sup>41</sup>

Furthermore, Moses also consciously *drew a veil over* this sort of enquiry, and did not <in fact> assign the confusion of the dialects to God alone. For he says that God did not descend alone, but that there descended with him not one but several, and he did not say who these were. But it is evident that he assumed that the beings who descended with God resembled him.

This supposition of a meaning intentionally hidden is all the more telling as otherwise Julian takes pleasure in mocking the literal sense of the story.<sup>42</sup> Here, however, seeing the opportunity to point to an implied sense favourable to his agenda (suggesting that Moses, in agreement with the rest of mankind, clandestinely believed in a plurality of the divine), he is ready to make this sense explicit.<sup>43</sup> This barely hidden meaning, however, cannot properly be called allegorical since it takes the letter of the text (the grammatical plural used by God) at face value.<sup>44</sup> In this respect, the case is similar to the story of the sons of God interpreted as angels or subordinate deities (Gen 6:1–4);<sup>45</sup> to the scapegoat ritual on the Day of Atonement (Lev 16);<sup>46</sup> or to Abraham presented

wrong impression by depicting Julian as agreeing with Moses on the belief that the god of the Bible is *the* ‘God’. For Christianizing tendencies in Wright’s translations of pagan authors, see Greenwood 2016 (on ‘creed’, ‘rites’ and certain Trinitarian formulae).

<sup>40</sup> Cf. Pépin 1976, 466–470; Stern 1980, 545; Bouffartigue 1992, 161 and 385; Cook 2004, 264–267; Riedweg 2005; Boulnois 2008b, 115–116. Much of the debate revolves around the interpretation of the phrase “as I indeed believe” (ὅπερ ἐγὼ νενόμικα): see Riedweg 2005. In his *Church History* (3, 36), Socrates in the fifth century goes as far as to limit the targets of Julian’s attack to those Christians who do not believe, like the emperor did, in the secret meaning of the Bible.

<sup>41</sup> Frg. 27.3–8 (= 146a–b): “Ἐτι δὲ καὶ ὁ Μωυσῆς ἐπεκάλυπτε τὸ τοιοῦτον εἰδῶς οὐδὲ τὴν τῶν διαλέκτων σύγχυσιν ἀνατέθεικε τῷ θεῷ μόνῳ. Φησὶ γὰρ αὐτὸν οὐ μόνον κατελθεῖν οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ ἓνα συγκατελθεῖν αὐτῷ, πλείονας δέ, καὶ τούτους οἵτινές εἰσιν οὐκ εἶπεν· εὐδὴλον δέ, ὅτι παραπλησίους αὐτῷ τοὺς συγκατιόντας ὑπελάμβανεν (*italics mine*).

<sup>42</sup> Cf. frg. 23.28–30 (= 135c): “For such a tower will need countless bricks as large as the whole earth, if they are to succeed in reaching to the orbit of the moon” (ἀπείρων γὰρ δεήσει πλίνθων ἰσομεγεθῶν τῇ γῇ ξυμπάσῃ τῶν δυνησομένων ἄχρι τῶν σελήνης ἐφικέσθαι κύκλων). On this passage, see Cook 2004, 271–272 and Niehoff 2011, 77–92.

<sup>43</sup> On the interpretation of this passage, see Philo, *Conf.* § 171 identifying the addressees with God’s powers (δυνάμεις). Cf. Yadin-Israel 2019, 238.

<sup>44</sup> Gen 11:7: “Come, and let us go down, and confuse their tongue there” (δεῦτε καὶ καταβάντες συγχέωμεν ἐκεῖ αὐτῶν τὴν γλῶσσαν). The plural in the Septuagint reflects that of the Hebrew (הבה נרד).

<sup>45</sup> Frgg. 67–68 (= 290b–291b, 296a).

<sup>46</sup> Frg. 70 (= 298e–299c). See section 3.3.2 below.



(again, starting from the letter of the text) as a Chaldean theurgist: an expert in astrology, augury and sacrifices.<sup>47</sup> These examples reveal that occasionally Julian was ready to move beyond what Christians and Jews regarded as the plain sense of certain biblical texts, thus taking a first step towards discovering more profound meanings in it, even though these semantic dimensions cast a very different light on the same texts.

### 3.2 *Creation Narrative*

Julian discusses the Mosaic account of creation (Gen 1) separately,<sup>48</sup> although it is part of the primeval history and has a number of features characteristic of biblical myth. Instead of the principle followed in the exegesis of the latter (i.e. arguing that they are no less paradoxical than their Greek counterparts), here Julian prefers to arrange a virtual competition between Moses and Plato, since both narrate cosmogony by attributing a (fictitious) speech to the Maker.<sup>49</sup> The emperor comments on the Mosaic account briefly, again insisting on its plain sense deprived of its deeper meaning or context, highlighting contradictions and insufficiencies.<sup>50</sup> Plato's account in the *Timaeus* receives a more detailed and favourable (as well as highly intriguing) explanation.<sup>51</sup> Incidentally, Julian's exegesis of Plato is not allegorical either, although it deviates from what one might call the plain sense of the text.<sup>52</sup> The consequences of Gen 1 taken in a literal sense were probably no less absurd and repulsive to the Christian reader than those derived from the letter of Greek myths: in Julian's interpretation, Moses's god is reduced to the status of the creator of the material world ("the disposer of matter"),

<sup>47</sup> Frgg. 86–88 (= 354a–359a). On Abraham, see Cook 2004, 275–282.

<sup>48</sup> Frgg. 5–10 (= 45e, 49a–e, 52a–c, 57c–58e, 65a–66a) and 18 (= 96c–e). Julian's distinction between Gen 1 and Gen 2–3 corresponds to the modern source critical analysis into P (Priestly) and J (Yahwist).

<sup>49</sup> Cf. *Timaeus* 41a7–d3. The 'Maker' in the *Timaeus* is called 'Demiurge' while in Genesis 'Creator'. It is clear that for Julian the biblical God, just like Plato's Demiurge, is not the highest deity (see Cook 2004, 253 n. 32).

<sup>50</sup> For example: the absence of angels or superior beings in the creation account (frg. 18.5–10 = 96c–d). That this was a serious difficulty already in Second Temple Judaism is testified by the *Book of Jubilees* 2, 2.

<sup>51</sup> Cf. Opsomer 2008, 127–134 and Riedweg 2008b. Julian's interpretation is intriguing because it is an application of his Iamblican metaphysics and cosmology (best documented in his prose hymns to the Sun god and to the Mother of the gods) to Plato's text. Julian can present Plato's cosmogony as far more refined and up to date than that of Moses because the cosmological model predominant in the period was ultimately based on Plato, whereas the biblical account of creation cannot be reduced to Gen 1.

<sup>52</sup> Julian, who subscribes to the doctrine of the eternity of the world (cf. *Hymn to the Sun* 145d and 146b–c) does not mention, for example, that, in the literal sense, Plato declares the cosmos to be created in time (*Tim.* 28b7 γέγονεν, quoted in frg. 8.5 = 57c).

which flatly contradicts the Nicene, and in fact any existing Christian, creed, where God is the creator of things visible and invisible (“heaven and earth”).<sup>53</sup>

### 3.3 *Old Testament Law and Monotheism*

In the same way as Julian separates the creation narrative from the rest of primeval history, he divides the legal material of the Pentateuch (mostly Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers and Deuteronomy) into the Decalogue, on the one hand, and the more specific commandments, on the other.<sup>54</sup> Interpreting the Ten Commandments in their plain sense, he is quick to underline that most of them agree with the laws of any other nation (another argument for the compatibility of Judaism with the Hellenic commonwealth of religions), except for two: the prohibition to worship other deities, i.e. exclusive monotheism, and the observation of the Sabbath.<sup>55</sup>

#### 3.3.1 *Monotheism and Intolerance*

In the extant fragments Julian elaborates only the problem of biblical monotheism, a blasphemous idea for him both because it unnecessarily offends other deities (which, in Julian’s view, are manifest and real) and because it attributes jealousy to God, a character trait that is most blameworthy even in men.<sup>56</sup> He regards the violent reaction of Phineas in defence of monotheism (Num 25) not only as a blasphemous misrepresentation of God but also as a dangerous example for humanity.<sup>57</sup> To be sure, in a different context, Julian cites another commandment (Exod 22:28[27]) which mitigates the

<sup>53</sup> Frg. 6.33–37 (= 49e): “It follows that, according to Moses, God is the creator of nothing that is incorporeal, but is only the disposer of matter that already existed. For the words ‘And the earth was invisible and without form’ can only mean that he regards the wet and dry substance as the original matter and that he introduces God as the disposer of this matter” (ὥς εἶναι τὸν θεὸν κατὰ τὸν Μωσέα ἀσωμάτων μὲν οὐδενὸς ποιητὴν, ὕλης δὲ ὑποκειμένης κοσμήτορα. Τὸ γὰρ ἡ δὲ γῆ ἦν ἀόρατος καὶ ἀκατασκεύαστος [Gen 1:2] οὐδὲν ἕτερόν ἐστιν ἢ τὴν μὲν ὑγρὰν καὶ ξηρὰν οὐσίαν ὕλην ποιοῦντος, κοσμήτορα δὲ αὐτῆς τὸν θεὸν εἰσάγοντος). ‘Heaven’ is thus taken by Julian in the literal and material sense. Elsewhere he ascribes important demiurgic functions to the Sun who transmits the eternal transcendent reality to the realm of time and space through its light and motion (*Hymn to the Sun* 146b–c).

<sup>54</sup> Frgg. 29–36 (= 152a–d, 155c–e, 159e–161c, 168a–d, 171d–172a) (Decalogue and its implications); frgg. 69–75, 83 (= 298a–299c, 305b–306b, 314a–e, 319c–320c) and 83 (= 343c–344a) (specific laws). This is also the division maintained by Philo of Alexandria in his treatises *On the Decalogue* and *The Special Laws*.

<sup>55</sup> Frg. 29 (= 152a–e). See Cook 2004, 289–291.

<sup>56</sup> Frgg. 30 (= 155c–156a) and 32 (= 160b–c). See Cook 2004, 291–294.

<sup>57</sup> Frgg. 33 (= 160d–161c) and 35–36 (= 168b–c, 171d–172a). While in the present context Julian harshly criticizes Moses’s exclusive monotheism, he uses it as an argument against the divinity of Christ (frg. 64.14–22 = 262a–b and frg. 69 = 298a–c). For a discussion of the jealousy of God, see Cook 2004, 305–307; Riedweg 2008a; Boulnois 2008a.

conflict between what he considers to be the tolerant polytheism of Hellenism and the impatient monotheism of Judaism: the prohibition to curse other gods—at least in the version of the Septuagint (οὐ κακολογήσεις θεούς: “You shall not revile *gods*”), which is an interpretative translation of the more ambiguous Hebrew text (לֹא תִקְלֹל אֱלֹהִים, “You shall not revile *Elohim*”).<sup>58</sup> Yet the biblical emphasis on election and exclusivity is an opportunity for Julian to claim that, if this be so, then Moses’s god is but one of the *ethnic* gods and cannot be identified even with the creator of the material cosmos, as inferred from the biblical creation narrative discussed in section 3.2 above.<sup>59</sup>

### 3.3.2 *Sacrificial Rituals and Dietary Laws*

Julian considers sacrifices and dietary laws, articulated primarily in Leviticus, as the most admirable aspect of Mosaic law.<sup>60</sup> Here again, he has every reason to expound them according to the letter. First of all, in his Iamblichean concept of religions, these laws are a common ground between the Hebrews and the nations.<sup>61</sup> Moreover, the sacrificial ritual of the Hebrews is ancient, another asset for Julian: it derives at least from Abraham the Chaldean, featuring as early in the biblical narrative as the story of Cain and Abel (Gen 4).<sup>62</sup> Julian is pleased to point out the polytheistic overtones of the scapegoat ritual on the day of atonement (Lev 16),<sup>63</sup> taking the opportunity to deny

<sup>58</sup> אֱלֹהִים (*Elohim*) may equally mean ‘gods’, ‘God’ or even—according to some interpreters (cf. Sarana 1991, 140)—‘judges’; see frg. 58.13–17 (= 238c). See Malley 1978, 343–344; van der Horst 1993; Yadin-Israel 2019, 236–237.

<sup>59</sup> Frg. 19.35–37 (= 100c, not included in Wright): “We are to hold that the god of the Hebrews is not at all the maker of the entire cosmos who exercises authority over the All, but his status is reduced, as I said, and his rule is to be conceived as limited, as one among the other gods” (προσῆκει τὸν τῶν Ἑβραίων θεὸν οὐχὶ δὴ τοῦ παντὸς κόσμου γενεσιουργὸν ὑπάρχειν οἶσθαι καὶ κατεξουσιάζειν τῶν ὅλων, συνεστάλθαι δέ, ὡς ἔφην, καὶ πεπερασμένην ἔχοντα τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀναμιξ τοῖς ἄλλοις νοεῖσθαι θεοῖς, translation mine).

<sup>60</sup> Cf. frgg. 58.9–11 (= 238b–c) and 69.11–14 (= 298c). See also 71 (= 305a–c) and, for a less enthusiastic opinion, 47.8–11 (= 202a).

<sup>61</sup> Frg. 72.15–21 (= 306a–b). In a most interesting statement, Julian explains the significance of rituals as a substitute for prophecy: frg. 45 = 198b–d. On the theurgic-ritual aspect of later Neoplatonism, see Tanaseanu-Döbler 2013, esp. 136–148 on Julian.

<sup>62</sup> Frg. 84 (= 346e–347c). The Chaldeans are one of the ancient nations, and antiquity has a positive value in Julian’s world view (see *Ep.* 89b, pp. 153.18–154.1 and other references to innovation: *καινοτομία*, *καινοτομέω*). Unlike Abraham, Cain and Abel are probably not considered to be entirely historical; at least that would contradict Julian’s anthropogony expounded in *Ep.* 89b, pp. 159.24–160.12, where he maintains that many human beings were created simultaneously.

<sup>63</sup> See the ambiguous term ὁ ἀποπομπαῖος (“the one to be sent off”) in Lev 16:8 and 16:10, for Hebrew *Az’azel* (אִזְאֵזֶל), which may be interpreted as the name of a spiritual entity; Julian interprets it as ἀποτρόπαιος (δαίμων), “(a daimon) averting (sins)”.

its Christological interpretation<sup>64</sup>—a third, but clearly the most important advantage of his reading of the Hebrew rituals in a literal sense. Christians interpreted the Jewish sacrificial legislation in general in light of the sacrifice of Christ.<sup>65</sup> Since, however, Julian denies that Jesus was either divine or the promised Messiah of Israel, he refuses to regard Jesus's death as a meaningful sacrifice. Therefore, he holds the Christians accountable for not sacrificing at least according to the Mosaic legislation (itself part of the universal sacrificial practice of mankind), without which they necessarily remain impure.<sup>66</sup>

The emperor points out, correctly, that Jews do not refrain from sacrificing in principle but only because the Temple of Jerusalem, the only place where they are permitted to sacrifice, happens to be in ruins.<sup>67</sup> The fact that Jews do not sacrifice is a potential flaw in Julian's argument since according to the *actual* state of affairs this fact aligns the Jews with the Christians rather than with the Hellenes, despite their theoretical agreement with the latter, which the emperor is so eager to underline.<sup>68</sup> Thanks to his imperial position, however, he could offer a remarkable solution to this exegetical difficulty: the actual rebuilding of the Temple of Jerusalem. If we may believe the historical sources (the polemical bias is apparent in most of them), Julian made sure to begin this project as soon as possible—a clear sign of the theological-political significance he attributed to this problem. Although the building project eventually failed, it remains a striking embodiment of Julian's insistence on the literal sense.<sup>69</sup> Likewise, circumcision should be performed according to the flesh, i.e. in the literal ('carnal') sense: circumcision according to the heart is not a meaningful alternative for Julian.<sup>70</sup>

<sup>64</sup> Frg. 70 (= 298e–299d). Riedweg 2012 offers a rich analysis of Julian's interpretation of Lev 16 and Cyril's response to it; see also Scrofani 2008, 4–5 and Cook 2004, 298–299.

<sup>65</sup> Cf. Heb 9:23–28.

<sup>66</sup> See Scrofani 2008, 5–6.

<sup>67</sup> Frg. 72 (= 305d–306b), esp. 72.9–13 (= 305e–306a) (on contemporaneous Jewish substitutes for the Temple sacrifice). In modern biblical scholarship, the centralization of the cult is considered to be a part of the Deuteronomic reform attributed to Josiah (see Collins 2014, 170–172). It is noteworthy that the Mishnah discusses Temple ritual, based on the Hebrew Bible, in great detail, as if the Temple could be rebuilt at any time.

<sup>68</sup> Cult centralization is the only point of Jewish sacrificial law which Julian criticizes (frg. 76 = 324c–d), obviously since it made it more difficult to integrate Judaism into his Hellenic ecumenism.

<sup>69</sup> On the rebuilding of the Temple and its reception, see Hahn 2002a. For the physical (corporeal, carnal) as a metaphor of the literal, see Philo, *Migr.* §§ 89–93 with Buzási 2019, 48–49.

<sup>70</sup> Frgg. 85.5–14 (= 351a–b) and 86.2–5 (= 354a). Julian's interpretation does not take into consideration the fact that a spiritual interpretation of circumcision was already advocated by some of the Old Testament prophets (such as Jer 4:4).

Julian's literal interpretation of Moses's dietary laws is motivated by similar considerations as those behind the appraisal of the sacrificial legislations of the Pentateuch. Julian once again emphasizes the unalterable eternity of these ordinances, and rejects Peter's vision abolishing the distinction between clean and unclean animals (Acts 10:9–17) as a fabrication.<sup>71</sup>

In general, as far as one can judge from the extant fragments, Julian's strategy in the case of rituals and dietary regulations is to extol Jewish traditions to the disadvantage of Christians. Yet he does not compare Jewish traditions to pagan practices, although such comparison would certainly have presented no difficulty for him: for example, in a different context he proves to be very well versed in the rituals and dietary traditions associated with the vernal festival of Attis.<sup>72</sup> There Julian also gives abundant explanation of the symbolism and theology of such rituals, which highlights the probability that he could have explained the Hebrew laws in a similar way had he chosen to.

### 3.4 *Historical Narratives of the Old Testament*

If the literal sense of the Mosaic legislation could be emphasized because it served as a proof that Christians had abandoned the most valuable part of Jewish religion (to cherish instead what is the most negative in it), the plain sense of the historical narratives is useful for Julian in his comparison of the Hebrews and the Hellenes: the latter ('we') are superior in every historical achievement to 'them', therefore joining 'us' is a more rational decision than joining them.<sup>73</sup> Therefore, the historical narratives of the Old Testament (not only the historical books from Joshua to Chronicles but also narrative sections of the Pentateuch) are presented as historical reality. Vengeful Phineas is inferior to his much milder Greek and Roman equivalents (Num 25);<sup>74</sup> King Numa, who introduced the sacred ordinances in early Rome, is praised in a way that certainly implies that he surpasses Moses;<sup>75</sup> and the Hebrew nation as a whole is portrayed as inferior to the Romans ('us'), because the Hebrews have been subordinated to them.<sup>76</sup> In short, for Julian the historical narratives of the Old Testament report plain historical facts with some political relevance but without a more intricate message. Julian is not interested in the theological reflexions on history found in the narratives and prophetic

<sup>71</sup> Frg. 74 (= 314c–e). On the idea of purity in dietary laws, see Scrofanì 2008, 6–8.

<sup>72</sup> *Hymn to the Mother of the Gods* 173d–178d. Cf. Scrofanì 2008, 12.

<sup>73</sup> Frgg. 37–40 (= 176a–c, 178a–c, 184b–c, 190c–d), 51 (= 218a–c) and 53 (= 221e–222a).

<sup>74</sup> Frgg. 33 (= 160d–161b) and 35–36 (= 168b–c, 171d–172a). Cf. Cook 2004, 302–307.

<sup>75</sup> Frg. 42 (= 193c–e).

<sup>76</sup> Frg. 49 (= 209c–210a). Julian considers Romans to be the descendants of Greeks in cultural, political and religious terms (cf. *Hymn to the Sun* 152d–153a).

books of the Old Testament.<sup>77</sup> In a specific sense, however, these narratives are placed in a historico-critical perspective in so far as biblical characters are compared with their pagan counterparts. In the extant fragments only Solomon is a departure from Julian's literalism: the narrative about the wisest king (esp. 3 Kgdms 11) prompts Julian to make an effort to show that he was also a polytheist, i.e. a 'believer' rather than an 'atheist'.<sup>78</sup> Yet, even in this case the reinterpretation is minimal: it consists mainly in the positive evaluation of Solomon's reverence to other gods.

The bottom line in Julian's interpretation of the historical narratives of the Old Testament is clear: the Greek gods (with equivalents in the pantheons of other peoples) gave the Hellenes greater gifts than the god of the Bible did to the Hebrews.<sup>79</sup>

### 3.5 *Old Testament Prophecy*

Prophetic texts, the last group of Old Testament literary genres, are interpreted in a literal and historical sense with yet another purpose: to disprove their messianic relevance and especially the idea that they should point specifically to Jesus as the promised saviour of Israel. The prophecies examined in the surviving fragments include those of Moses and Balaam from the Pentateuch, as well as Isaiah, the most significant prophet in the Christian perspective to announce the coming of the Messiah.<sup>80</sup> Julian's general assessment of biblical prophecy is twofold: on the one hand, he emphasizes its common origin with inspired oracles of other nations; on the other, he considers the Old Testament prophets as poor interpreters of an otherwise noble deity, thus highlighting once again the superiority of pagan culture to that of the Hebrews.<sup>81</sup>

### 3.6 *New Testament*

The explicit objective of the emperor in composing *CG* was to delegitimize Jesus and Christianity.<sup>82</sup> The literal interpretation of Old Testament passages, although significant for Julian's religious agenda in their own right, mainly prepared the way for his attack on the New Testament, the foundational document of Christianity. Valerio Ugenti rightly observes that as we move on to passages criticizing the New Testament (of which fewer survive than of those discussing the Old), the tone suddenly changes: most protagonists are mentioned with insulting epithets, and the exegesis is not only

<sup>77</sup> Cf. the modern concept of Deuteronomistic history and its theological vision: Collins 2014, 185–186.

<sup>78</sup> Frg. 54 (= 224c–e). See Cook 2004, 315–317.

<sup>79</sup> Frg. 57 (= 235b–d).

<sup>80</sup> Frgg. 62.10–27 (= 253b–d) and 67.17–33 (= 290d–291a) (Moses); 64.9–16 (= 261e–262b) (Balaam); 64.29–43 (= 262c–e) (Isa 7:26 and 7:37).

<sup>81</sup> Cf. *Ep.* 89b, p. 163.12–25.

<sup>82</sup> See section 2 above.

literal but also myopic and malevolent.<sup>83</sup> In every case, Julian highlights contradictions on the literal level: in Jesus's genealogy, in his temptation and transfiguration, in his prayer on the Mount of Olives, the resurrection narratives, John's claims of Jesus's divinity, or in Paul's constantly changing positions.<sup>84</sup> It is particularly illuminating how the emperor makes every effort to argue that Paul's most unfavourable words to the Corinthians (1 Cor 6), describing them as originally vulgar and base people, cannot be understood in any other sense than literal. The aim is clearly to substantiate Julian's general tenet that Christians were recruited from the most indecent elements of society.<sup>85</sup>

In the same fragment (still in the context of 1 Cor), Julian also strives to limit the relevance of baptism to the material realm: physical water cannot cleanse impurities of the soul. The implication is once again clear: animal sacrifice is essential, as we have seen in the context of the ritual ordinances.<sup>86</sup> However, it is remarkable that a follower of Iamblichus and his theurgist disciples should deny the symbolic power of a material act.<sup>87</sup> In fact, Julian himself gave an elaborate interpretation of the spiritual effects of material rituals and believed in the possibility of a radical transformation of the personality in the act of conversion.<sup>88</sup> The double standard and the manipulative strategy are fairly evident here. It should be noted, however, that Julian had personal reasons for some of his criticism: when he refutes Jesus's claim to have taken away sins by countering that he had in fact given rise to more,<sup>89</sup> Julian may be thinking of his own father who he believed had been murdered by the Christian soldiers of Constantius II.<sup>90</sup> Nevertheless, even in the case of the New Testament, we seem to have at least one remarkable exception from Julian's systematic deconstruction of every deeper sense. Jerome attributes to Julian a fragment on Jesus's flight to Egypt (Matt 2:13–15), in which the Apostate claims that the narrative is a transposition of Israel's sojourn in Egypt (Gen 46–Exod 12) to the infancy of Jesus.<sup>91</sup> In other words, the passage in Matt 2, in Julian's

<sup>83</sup> Ugenti 2012, 249–250. On Julian's interpretation of New Testament passages see Rinaldi 1989, 410 and Cook 2002, 277–334.

<sup>84</sup> Frgg. 62.27–32 (= 253e) and 90 (not in Wright) (genealogy); frgg. 93–94 (= 2–3 Wright) (temptation); frg. 106 (not in Wright) (transfiguration); frg. 95 (= 4 Wright) (Mount of Olives, cf. Baarda 1988); frg. 96 (not in Wright) (resurrection); frgg. 64.22–43 (= 262b–e), 79 (= 327a–c) and 80 (= 333b–d) (Jesus's divinity); frg. 20.4–9 (= 106b) (Paul's self-contradictions).

<sup>85</sup> Frg. 59.2–16 (= 245a–c).

<sup>86</sup> Section 3.3.2 above. See frg. 59.16–24 (= 245c–d) as well as Sallust, *On the Gods and the Universe* 16.

<sup>87</sup> On theurgy in later Neoplatonism, see n. 61 above.

<sup>88</sup> *Hymn to the Mother of the Gods* 173d–178d (rituals) and *To the Cynic Heraclius* 206b (conversion).

<sup>89</sup> Frg. 107 (= 6 Wright).

<sup>90</sup> Cf. Rosen 2006, 50–53.

<sup>91</sup> Frg. 101 (= 7 Wright).



view, is a figurative adaptation of a historical narrative of the Pentateuch (thus in this case at least the encoded sense of the Gospel has been found), while standard Christian interpretation considers it as the prophetic fulfilment of an earlier historical event pre-figuring a detail in the life of Christ.<sup>92</sup>

#### 4. CONCLUSIONS: THE LITERAL SENSE IN JULIAN'S OVERALL ARGUMENT

Although Julian evaluated the different types of biblical texts in various ways, one element was common in practically all of his interpretations: his insistence on the literal sense. Admitting that, just as in other ancient texts, there may be a deeper (cosmological, psychological, metaphysical) sense in the Bible as well (especially in Old Testament myths), Julian in most cases nevertheless ignores such dimensions of the biblical text.<sup>93</sup> The suspicion that he singles out the Bible for what was from his perspective an unkind, literal reading with a specific purpose is confirmed by the following passage:<sup>94</sup>

The people of ancient times in every case tried to trace the causes of reality, [...] under the leadership of the gods—then when they had discovered those causes they clothed them in paradoxical myths. This was in order that, by means of the paradox and the incongruity, the fiction might be detected and we might be induced to search out the truth. Now I think ordinary men derive benefit enough from the irrational myth which instructs them through symbols alone. But those who are more highly endowed with wisdom will find the truth about the gods helpful though only on condition that such a man discover and comprehend it through careful examination [...] he must not be modest and put faith in the opinions of others rather than in his own mental powers.

It is clear that what “ordinary men” discover in these ancient texts is the literal sense, which may be beneficial enough but far from being their real message. These texts

<sup>92</sup> Cf. Matt 2:15.

<sup>93</sup> The deeper sense discovered by Julian in the Bible (including the New Testament) will be examined in another study. Julian's explicit interpretations are missing (cf. Cook 2004, 266); nevertheless, in more indirect references he does sometimes express his opinion about the actual meaning of the Bible. Cf. Nesselrath 2008, 218; Greenwood 2014.

<sup>94</sup> *Hymn to the Mother of the Gods* 170a–c, in an analysis of the myth of Attis (ed. Nesselrath 2015, 67.24–68.8; transl. Wright, slightly modified): ἀλλὰ οἱ παλαιοὶ τῶν ὄντων αἰεὶ τὰς αἰτίας [...] διερευνώμενοι [...] ὑφ' ἡγεμόσι τοῖς θεοῖς ἔπειτα εὐρόντες ἐσκέπασαν αὐτὰς μύθοις παραδόξοις, ἵνα διὰ τοῦ παραδόξου καὶ ἀπεμφαίνοντος τὸ πλάσμα φωραθὲν ἐπὶ τὴν ζήτησιν ἡμᾶς τῆς ἀληθείας προτρέψῃ, τοῖς μὲν ιδιώταις ἀρκούσης, οἶμαι, τῆς ἀλόγου καὶ διὰ τῶν συμβόλων μόνων ὠφελείας, τοῖς δὲ περιττοῖς κατὰ τὴν φρόνησιν οὕτως ἂν μόνως ἐσομένης ὠφελίμου τῆς περὶ θεῶν ἀληθείας, εἴ τις ἐξετάζων αὐτὴν [...] εὐροὶ καὶ λάβοι [...] οὐκ αἰδοῖ καὶ πίστει μᾶλλον ἀλλοτριᾶς δόξης ἢ τῇ σφετέρᾳ κατὰ νοῦν ἐνεργείᾳ. Note that the word Julian uses here for ‘fiction’, *plasma*, is the same term he uses to describe the New Testament (see n. 15 above).



and traditions included Greek and Roman, Phoenician, Egyptian and practically all kinds of sources. Julian did not reject in principle the possibility that Jesus and the apostles, or at least Moses and the prophets, *also* discovered “the causes of reality”, and that the texts they produced were *likewise* encrypted messages to be decoded by wise and inspired interpreters—as was indeed the practice of many Church Fathers. What Julian was arguing against was the *unique* status of the Bible as the *only* revelation of the divine. Consequently, had Christians given up their insistence on exceptionalism and conceded that their Scriptures were merely *another* way to the same universal truth, Julian would also have granted due generosity to their holy texts as well. That this was Julian’s real attitude towards the Bible may be shown by at least two of his surviving statements: his school law, as well as a key passage in *CG* itself.

In his famous *Rescript on Christian Teachers* (his ‘school edict’), issued on 17 June, 362, only a few months after his access to the throne, Julian requires that the authorities perform a thorough moral examination of teachers and professors.<sup>95</sup> What the prescribed moral excellence should consist in becomes clear in a letter in which Julian explains the statute.<sup>96</sup> Accordingly, what is expected from those educating the young is essentially an agreement between their convictions and utterances, particularly when teaching ancient literature. Those who do not believe in the values, and especially in the gods, that classical texts cultivate (the emperor obviously aims at Christians) should face the choice

either not to teach what they do not think admirable, or, if they wish to teach, let them first really persuade their pupils that neither Homer nor Hesiod nor any of these writers whom they expound and have declared to be guilty of impiety, folly and error in regards to the gods, <is such as they declare>. [...] If, however, they think that those writers were in error with respect to the most honoured gods, then let them betake themselves to the churches of the Galileans to expound Matthew and Luke [...].<sup>97</sup>

The second option offered to Christian professors clearly implies that the New Testament (and apparently the Bible as a whole) should be put to a test: if it is sufficient to convey such values and truths as Christians also hold noble and dear, Christian professors should be content with teaching the Bible rather than classical (polytheistic and idolatrous) literature; if, however, the same values and truths can only be derived via

<sup>95</sup> *Ep.* 61b, p. 72. On Julian’s school edict, see Teitler 2017, 64–70.

<sup>96</sup> *Ep.* 61c, pp. 73–75.

<sup>97</sup> *Ep.* 61c, pp. 74.17–21 and 75.8–11 (transl. Wright, slightly modified): [...] μὴ διδάσκειν ἃ μὴ νομίζουσι σπουδαῖα, βουλομένους <δὲ> διδάσκειν ἔργῳ πρῶτον, καὶ πείθειν τοὺς μαθητὰς ὡς οὐτε Ὀμηρος οὐτε Ἡσίοδος οὐτε τούτων οὓς ἐξήγγηται \*\*\* καὶ κατεγνωκότες ἀσέβειαν ἄνοιάν τε καὶ πλάνην εἰς τοὺς θεοὺς. [...] εἰ δὲ εἰς τοὺς τιμιωτάτους ὑπολαμβάνουσι πεπλανῆσθαι, βαδίζόντων εἰς τὰς τῶν Γαλιλαίων ἐκκλησίας, ἐξηγησόμενοι Ματθαῖον καὶ Λουκᾶν.

pagan sources, the belief in the singularity of the Bible as the unique source of revelation should be abandoned. Sending Christians back to “Matthew and Luke”, on this interpretation, equals to insisting on the literal sense of the Bible.

The same idea is articulated even more explicitly in *CG*:<sup>98</sup> “If the reading of your own scriptures is sufficient for you why do you nibble at the learning of the Hellenes?” What follows is not a prohibition as in the school edict but rather a sarcastic cautionary advice for Christians to keep Hellenistic culture away from their pupils as it is too seductive.<sup>99</sup> “And yet it were better to keep men away from that learning than from eating the sacrificial meat. For by that, as Paul says, he who eats thereof is not harmed, but the conscience of the brother who sees him might be offended according to you, O most wise and arrogant men!”<sup>100</sup> Julian draws a parallel between forbidden food and forbidden learning on the grounds that both belong to the gods or, in Christian terminology, to idols.<sup>101</sup> He continues:<sup>102</sup>

But this learning of ours has caused every noble being that nature has produced among you to abandon impiety. [...] It were therefore better for you to keep men from learning rather than from sacrificial meats. But you yourselves know, it seems to me, the very different effect on the intelligence of your ‘inspired’ writings compared with ours of ‘evil’ <influence>; and that from studying yours no man could attain to excellence or even to ordinary goodness, whereas from studying ours every man would become better than before, even though he were altogether without natural fitness. [...]”

<sup>98</sup> See frg. 55 (= 229b–230a). Here frg. 55.2–4 (= 229b–c), where Julian addresses the ‘Galileans’: Τοῦ χάριν ὑμεῖς τῶν παρ’ Ἑλληνισι παρεσθίετε μαθημάτων, εἴπερ αὐτάρκης ὑμῖν ἐστὶν ἢ τῶν ὑμετέρων γραφῶν ἀνάγνωσις;

<sup>99</sup> Some Church Fathers shared the (affected) worry of the emperor, which is perhaps best summed up by Tertullian’s emblematic saying on the incompatibility of “Athens” and “Jerusalem” (*Against Heretics* 7).

<sup>100</sup> Frg. 55.4–8 (= 229c–d): καίτοι κρείττον ἐκείνων εἶργειν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἢ τῆς τῶν ἱεροθύτων ἐδωδῆς. ἐκ μὲν γὰρ ἐκείνης, καθὰ καὶ ὁ Παῦλος λέγει, βλάπτεται μὲν οὐδὲν ὁ προσφερόμενος, ἡ δὲ συνείδησις τοῦ βλέποντος ἀδελφοῦ σκανδαλισθεῖν ἂν καθ’ ὑμᾶς, ὡ σοφώτατοι, φάναι. The allusion is to 1 Cor 8:7–13.

<sup>101</sup> It is noteworthy that Julian replaces Paul’s *ειδωλόθυτα* (‘meal offered to an idol’) with *ἱερόθυτα* (‘sacrificial meal’), which clearly is an intentional and religiously motivated correction. The term *ειδωλόθυτος* was indeed a polemical distortion by Jewish and Christian authors (beginning with the Septuagint: 4 Macc 5:2) of the older and more conventional *ἱερόθυτος* (cf. Aristophanes, *Clouds* 1266). Paul himself uses *ἱερόθυτος* once in the same letter (1 Cor 10:28), in which he addresses the problem of meat associated with pagan sacrifice (cf. 1 Cor 8).

<sup>102</sup> Frg. 55.8–9 and 12–17 (= 229d): Διὰ δὲ τῶν μαθημάτων τούτων ἀπέστη τῆς ἀθεότητος πᾶν ὅτι παρ’ ὑμῖν ἢ φύσις ἤνεγκε γενναῖον. [...] Ἀλλ’ ἴστε καὶ ὑμεῖς, ὡς ἔμοι φαίνεται, τὸ διάφορον εἰς σύνεσιν τῶν παρ’ ὑμῖν θεοοπνεύστων γραφῶν πρὸς τὰς παρ’ ἡμῖν τοῦ πονηροῦ, καὶ ὡς ἐκ μὲν τῶν παρ’ ὑμῖν οὐδεὶς ἂν γένοιτο γενναῖος ἀνὴρ, μᾶλλον δὲ οὐδὲ ἐπικηκός, ἐκ δὲ τῶν παρ’ ἡμῖν αὐτὸς αὐτοῦ πᾶς ἂν γένοιτο καλλίων, εἰ καὶ παντάπασιν ἀφύῃ τις εἴη (Wright’s translation, adapted to Masaracchia’s text).

Needless to say, what really unsettled Julian was precisely that the Christians teach Hellenic-pagan culture as if it belonged to them, claiming that it is the deeper and actual meaning of Scripture. Therefore, he invites his Christian adversaries for an (in light of the school edict not necessarily virtual) competition:<sup>103</sup>

“Now this would be a clear proof: Choose out children from among you all and train and educate them in your scriptures, and if when they come to manhood they prove to have nobler qualities than slaves, then you may believe that I am talking nonsense and am suffering from spleen. Yet you are so misguided and foolish that you regard those chronicles of yours as divinely inspired, though by their help no man could ever become wiser or braver or better than he was before; while, on the other hand, writings by whose aid men can acquire courage, wisdom and justice, these you ascribe to Satan and to those who serve Satan!”

In light of the above analysis, these arguments reveal quite clearly that Julian's insistence on the literal sense of the Bible was only a means to achieve his ultimate goal: to integrate Christians in his new, or rather renewed, Hellenic commonwealth of religions. He did not actually intend, as he pretended, to annihilate Christianity by deconstructing its Scripture into utter nonsense.<sup>104</sup> What he wished to achieve, and which was also a more realistic plan, was a more explicitly Hellenized interpretation of the Bible, harmonized with other religions on a Platonic theoretical foundation. Since the emperor died very soon, we have no way to assess the feasibility of his plan. A Hellenization of Christianity certainly did take place in Late Antiquity and in Byzantium, even though this did not mean an incorporation of pagan *religions* (gods and their worship) into Christianity. Some of the Church Fathers, Byzantine theologians and Renaissance Platonists, however, came close to carrying out what Julian had in mind. No wonder that the apostate emperor enjoyed a great popularity in fifteenth-century Byzantium and Italy.<sup>105</sup>

<sup>103</sup> Frg. 55.21–29 (= 229e–230a): Τεκμήριον δὲ τοῦτο σαφές· ἐκ πάντων ὑμῶν ἐπιλεξάμενοι παιδία ταῖς γραφαῖς ἐμμελετῆσαι παρασκευάσατε, καὶν φανῇ τῶν ἀνδραπόδων εἰς ἄνδρα τελέσαντα σπουδαιότερα, ληρεῖν ἐμὲ καὶ μελαγχολᾶν νομίζετε. Εἴτα οὕτως ἐστὲ δυστυχεῖς καὶ ἀνόητοι, ὥστε νομίζειν θείους μὲν ἐκείνους τοὺς λόγους, ὑφ' ὧν οὐδεὶς ἂν γένοιτο φρονιμώτερος οὐδὲ ἀνδρειότερος οὐδ' ἐαυτοῦ κρείττων· ὑφ' ὧν δὲ ἔνεστιν ἀνδρείαν, φρόνησιν, δικαιοσύνην προσλαβεῖν, τούτους ἀποδίδοτε τῷ Σατανᾷ καὶ τοῖς τῷ Σατανᾷ λατρεύουσιν. Cf. the virtual contest between Moses and Plato concerning cosmogony (section 3.2 above).

<sup>104</sup> Physical persecution was even less on Julian's agenda (cf. Gregory of Nazianzos, *Or.* 4, 57–62).

<sup>105</sup> Cf. Rosen 2006, 413–415.

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## GEORGE OF PISIDIA AMONG THE HEXAEMERAL COMMENTATORS

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PATRISTIC AND BYZANTINE commentaries on Genesis, perhaps not surprisingly, pay inordinate attention to the primeval history in Gen 1–3, and more specifically the Hexaemeron, or six-day-creation account in Gen 1. While these commentaries (in Greek, Latin, and Syriac alike) run a wide gamut from dogmatic to devotional, from philosophical to poetic, and combinations thereof, a common thread is the conviction that this story is hardly just about the precise beginnings of the cosmos, but about the whole divine ‘staging’ of salvation history and about the immanence of the world’s future (τέλος) within its beginnings (ἀρχή). Generally speaking, patristic commentators were just as likely to explore latent Christological and eschatological motifs in the Hexaemeral narrative as they were to expound on the questions it raised regarding cosmology, metaphysics, and natural philosophy and science.

By the time George of Pisidia, deacon of Hagia Sophia and imperial poet laureate under Herakleios, composed his long epic *Hexaemeron* (1,910 lines in iambic trimeter) sometime around 630,<sup>1</sup> there was thus a substantial and richly diverse body of Hexaemeral interpretation, some of it in formal commentaries or homilies on Gen 1, and some of it contained in theological treatises of various kinds. For the most part, however, political and cultural historians of Byzantium have ignored this antecedent commentary tradition and consistently treated George’s own *Hexaemeron* as a self-standing panegyric that employs the analysis of creation principally as an illustrative backdrop for extolling Herakleios’s defeat of the Persians. Herakleios, as George portrays him, is, in the very image of the Creator, a “deliverer of the world” (κοσμορύστης)<sup>2</sup> by overcoming the resurgence of cosmic chaos in the form of an imperial enemy, and by inaugurating a new and more stable order—a *new creation* as it were.<sup>3</sup> The Hexaemeral

<sup>1</sup> See the defence of this traditional dating in Whitby 1995.

<sup>2</sup> *Hexaemeron*, l. 1800, ed. Gonnelli 1998, 238. Translations from this and other ancient works are my own unless otherwise designated.

<sup>3</sup> Christ’s own inauguration of a “new creation” (νέαν πλάσιν) is explicit at *Hex.*, l. 1729 (Gonnelli, 234). Clearly it adumbrates Herakleios’s realization of a “new creation” so far as the stability of the Empire is concerned.



connection appears as well in the mostly lost ending of George's panegyric *Heraklios*, a fragment of which is preserved (by direct quotation or paraphrase) by Theophanes in his *Chronicle*:<sup>4</sup>

Now the emperor [Herakleios], having defeated Persia in the course of six years, made peace in the seventh and returned with great joy to Constantinople, thereby fulfilling a certain mystical allegory: for God completed all of creation in six days and called the seventh day a day of rest. So the emperor also, after undergoing many toils for six years, returned in the seventh to the City amid peace and joy, and took his rest.

One cultural historian of Byzantium takes the extreme view that with the *Hexaemeron*, "the religious patina of George's work should remind us that the Byzantines were masters of misleading the unwary with their polished rhetoric".<sup>5</sup> Accordingly, George is not to be taken at all seriously as a theological poet, a claim that David Olster largely rests on a solitary line from George's poem *Against Severos the Monophysite*, where he humbly confesses to Herakleios, "I have not possessed the well-versed words of dogmas, but always reveling in your military prowess, have I portrayed the fall of tyrants, the flight of enemies, and the variegated and diverse tales of your labors".<sup>6</sup> The *Hexaemeron*, Olster concludes, "is no more of a theological discourse on creation than the beginning of Constantine Manasses's verse world chronicle". It was "not a 'theological' work, nor was its intent and design anything but political".<sup>7</sup> For reasons that I will demonstrate, I must roundly reject this claim that George was in no sense a "theological" poet, only a political lackey of skilled phrase. In the *Hexaemeron* George admits his inability exhaustively to explain certain wonders of created nature,<sup>8</sup> but this is a display of piety, and of a deeper apophaticism (as we shall see), not a signal that he has no interest in being taken with theological seriousness.

Mary Whitby is more charitable toward the poem's religious dimension. "Religion," she forcefully argues, "is here certainly the instrument of political propaganda but it may also be its motivating force".<sup>9</sup> This view is a needed correction but perhaps an understatement, and vouching for the theological interest of the poem is my purpose in this brief essay. I will focus my remarks around two general observations. First, not only did George reveal in his *Hexaemeron* certain debts to antecedent patristic commentary, exempting himself from novel interpretations, he also on some points shows

<sup>4</sup> AM 6119 (ed. de Boor 1873, 327.24–328.2), transl. Mango & Scott 1997, 457.

<sup>5</sup> Olster 1991, 172.

<sup>6</sup> See Olster 1991, 160, quoting George's *Against Severos the Monophysite*, ll. 695–699.

<sup>7</sup> Olster 1991, 167 and 172.

<sup>8</sup> E.g. *Hex.*, l. 301 (Gonnelli, 136): "I have not the wherewithal to say", George concedes, concerning how the sun has dramatic effects on human skin and bodies.

<sup>9</sup> Whitby 1995, 116. For a similar sentiment, see Howard-Johnston 2011, 16–17 and 24.



a knowledge of particular theological axioms in that commentary tradition. Second, in lieu of a technical commentary of his own on the six-day creation narrative, George has produced a doxological reading of the wonders of creation that compares especially favourably to Basil of Caesarea's *Homilies on the Hexaemeron*.<sup>10</sup> What is more, however, he pursues this doxological reading using a model of interpretive 'contemplation' (θεωρία) and 'elevation' (ἀναγωγή) that heavily mimics ideas and images from the Cappadocian Fathers, Dionysios the Areopagite, and Maximos the Confessor. By this approach, creation becomes *theophanic* through and through, leading the one who contemplates it, concomitantly with Scripture, up to the Logos, Creator and Redeemer, in whose shadow stands the new κοσμορύστης Herakleios, together with the Patriarch Sergios, who is already the master expositor of scriptural mysteries in their bearing upon events in Byzantium.

George embarks on his *Hexaemeron* in a remarkably similar manner to the scriptural commentaries and other works of his more famous contemporary, the monastic theologian Maximos the Confessor, with an extended ascetical plea for divine illumination and spiritual direction (ψυχαγωγή) to overcome his clouded intelligence and speech. He needs immediate aid to overcome the "gloom" (ζόφος) that besieges him, his failure of articulation, the "cognitive blindness" (γνωστικὴ ἀβλεψία) and "cloud of anxiety" (τὸ τῆς μερίμνης νέφος) and "desolate heart" (ἡ ἔρημος καρδία) that impede him.<sup>11</sup> Similarly in the opening lines of his theologically reflective poem *On the Vanity of Life*, George pleads with the God who opened the mouth of Balaam's ass (Num 22:28) to open the closed gates of his own reasoning.<sup>12</sup> For George, as for Maximos, who speaks of the "cloud" or "veil" of the flesh that frustrates contemplation and impedes the 'passover' (διάβασις) to noetic realities,<sup>13</sup> this posture of incapacitation is not just a rhetorical convention or feigned humility. He intends to begin expressly with an appropriate repentance and theological deference in the presence of the Creator, to prepare the turf for what will be an adroit negotiation of the dialectic of accessibility and inaccessibility of the Creator-Logos. The actual addressee of the poem's prologue is not identified, and while it could conceivably be Christ himself as Creator

<sup>10</sup> See George's appeal to David in Ps 103:24 at *Hex.*, ll. 55–56 and ll. 1863–1864; cf. Basil, *Hom. on Hex.* 9, 3. On the doxological orientation of George's *Hexaemeron*, see also Gonnelli 1990, 411–412.

<sup>11</sup> *Hex.*, ll. 5–23 (Gonnelli, 116).

<sup>12</sup> *On the Vanity of Life*, ll. 1–2.

<sup>13</sup> *Ambigua to John* 10. For Maximos's own exemplification of a conscientious interpretive humility, see Blowers 2016, 71–73.

and Revealer, it is almost undoubtedly Sergios, Patriarch of Constantinople,<sup>14</sup> whom George esteems as the expert interpreter of Scripture:<sup>15</sup>

Always you nurture us with ideas and spiritually guide (ψυχαγωγείς) our weak reasonings, supernaturally touching the profound depths; and you cleanse our knowledge, exhausted from instruction, with your spiritual refreshment; and, with your wisdom and your communicative medicine, you render pliable the cords and sinews of the Scriptures, for you marvellously feel after their depths, seeking through your contacts what is hidden of their doctrines; and with your gentle and calming word you rouse stimulating meanings.

At the front end of a sustained polemic against pagan cosmology, George sharply contrasts this esteem for Sergios, authoritative interpreter of scriptural mysteries concerning creation, with the philosophical bombast of Proklos, who, whatever respect he might have paid to theological apophaticism, failed to see that it is the personal Creator of the biblical tradition whose nature is “inscrutable (ἀνεξεύρητος), hidden in mist and shrouded with a cloud”.<sup>16</sup> To Proklos’s ‘thunderous’ Neoplatonic sophistry concerning the cosmos, George opposes the scriptural account of creation, a deep “abyss of rich notions” (πλουσίων ἄβυσσος ἐννοημάτων), together with the “great power of a few syllables” (μικρῶν συλλαβῶν κράτος μέγα)—referring to the opening line of Genesis, “in the beginning” (ἐν ἀρχῇ, Gen 1:1).<sup>17</sup> This subtle latter remark carries a much deeper significance in the light of the antecedent interpretive tradition, since even if George’s poem is in no sense a technical commentary on Gen 1, he appears aware that for Hexaemeral commentators this opening phrase of the creation story erupted a virtual ‘big bang’ of theological nuances and implications. Much of the analysis and commentary on it aimed at identifying Jesus Christ or the divine Logos/Wisdom as the true ἀρχή “in whom” God created the world,<sup>18</sup> or else arguing that the temporal ἀρχή of the cosmos was concurrent with the origin of creation.<sup>19</sup> Certainly it is possible that with his acknowledgment of the “great power of a few syllables”, George is referring as well to

<sup>14</sup> So argues Whitby 1995, 116.

<sup>15</sup> *Hex.*, ll. 24–33 (Gonnelli, 116–118). Later in the poem, George places a speech on the mouth of Sergios, a prayer praising God’s action in the exploits of Herakleios (ll. 1792–1822, Gonnelli, 238–240).

<sup>16</sup> *Hex.*, ll. 81–82 (Gonnelli, 120). For an analysis of George’s use of rhetorical antithesis in his give-and-take with Proklos and the Greeks, see Nodes 1996.

<sup>17</sup> *Hex.*, ll. 57–65 (Gonnelli, 120).

<sup>18</sup> On Christ or the Son/Logos/Wisdom as the true ἀρχή in Gen 1:1, see the variable views of Theophilus of Antioch, *To Autolytus* 2, 10; Clement of Alexandria, *Stromateis* 6, 7, 58; Origen, *Homilies on Genesis* 1, 1; Origen, *Commentary on John* 1, 17, 101–1, 19, 116 and 1, 22, 132; Basil of Caesarea, *Hom. on Hex.* 1, 6; Ambrose of Milan, *Hexaemeron* 1, 4, 15.

<sup>19</sup> E.g., Basil, *Hom. on Hex.* 1, 5–6. See also the essays analyzing different interpretations of “in the beginning” in the collection *In principio : Interprétations des premiers versets de la Genèse* (Paris 1973).

the phrase “heaven and earth” in Gen 1:1 (taken over into the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed), which itself garnered substantial interpretation in Hexaemeral commentators as a signal that the creation story would comprehend everything from the highest reaches of the invisible creation to its tiniest visible parts.<sup>20</sup>

All that said, the astounding fact is that George never quotes Gen 1:1 directly, nor any of the rest of the Hexaemeral narrative for that matter.<sup>21</sup> Certainly it is doubtful that George knows or is invoking the ancient practice, which Origen claimed for Christianity from the rabbinic tradition, whereby Gen 1, among other select biblical texts, including the Song of Songs, was to be held back from novices and reserved exclusively for theologically mature readers.<sup>22</sup> Far more likely George is aware of the rhetorical discipline, exemplified especially by Gregory Nazianzen and Maximos, of “honouring in silence” a particular mystery of faith, guarding its sacrosanct character.<sup>23</sup> It is plausible that George desires to remain silent on the Hexaemeral narrative itself not only because of its treasured depth but because exposing and expounding it must be left to other experts, be it the antecedent patristic commentators or, here and now, the Patriarch Sergios.

And yet George’s actual silence on the text of Gen 1 also serves well the strong current of apophaticism that runs throughout his *Hexaemeron*. Since, as he confesses at one point “How great is that mysterious knowledge of your wise creatures, which announces in unwritten words (τοῖς ἀγράφοις λόγοις) the divine darkness (τὸν θεῖον γνόφον);”<sup>24</sup> it is better for him too, as one among creatures, to attend foremost to that witness rather than to the written words of the sacred Hexaemeral narrative. He must seek to make explicit what is only implicit in the unwritten and silent testimony of creatures to the Creator who radically transcends his creation but also freely becomes immanent within it, hidden both from above and from below. In his early analysis of the heavenly spheres in the larger architecture of the universe, George extols the Creator who has “spread out the ever-moving roof of the heavens at the spherical height of

<sup>20</sup> Cf. esp. Theophilus of Antioch in his short Hexaemeral exposition in *To Autolycus* 2, 10.13, who sees ‘heaven and earth’ as a signal of *creatio ex nihilo*; Basil, *Hom. on Hex.* 1, 7, who understands the phrase to indicate the full corporeal creation (elements and all) dormant but not yet visibly revealed; and Gregory of Nyssa, *Apology of the Hexaemeron* 3–9, who identifies ‘heaven and earth’ as the “simultaneous” or “potential” creation before its material instantiation. For other representative texts and analysis, see Blowers 2012a, 111–113.

<sup>21</sup> In his critical edition, Gonnelli 1998 does not find allusions or direct references to any passage at all from Genesis.

<sup>22</sup> Origen, *Commentary on the Song of Songs*, Prol. 1.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. Gregory Nazianzen, *Or.* 29, 8 and 45, 22; Maximos, *Amb. John* 10; 17; 20; *Questions to Thalassios*, Prol.; 21; 43; *Ambigua to Thomas* 5.

<sup>24</sup> *Hex.*, ll. 731–733 (Gonnelli, 164); cf. ll. 81–84 (Gonnelli, 120–122).

the wise coverings [or orbits], and for this structure you have laid a *base that is nowhere* (μηδαμοῦ).<sup>25</sup> But several lines later he clarifies that the base (βάσις) of the structure of the heavens is “in you [God], who are fixed on an *unfounded foundation* (εἰς βάθρον ἀστήρικτον),” or, as Gonnelli’s Italian translation has it, “su un *abisso* infondato” (“on a bottomless *abyss*”).<sup>26</sup> The Creator, who is in no place (cf. μηδαμοῦ) in the sense of not being spatially restricted, and whose being is grounded by no being, nonetheless mysteriously grounds the superstructure of the cosmos. For George, pagans may have been astounded at observing this reality but futilely tried to explain the invisible foundation of the world with the myth of Atlas holding it up by pillars.<sup>27</sup>

Though George’s discussion of the issue of the mysterious cosmic ‘prop’ is not extensive, it is one among other places in his *Hexaemeron* where he clearly parallels or even mirrors Basil’s *Homilies on the Hexaemeron*. In the first sermon in this series, Basil explores this same question with his own combination of doxology, polemic, genuine interest in natural philosophy (especially here certain theories of the earth’s foundations broached in Aristotle’s *On Heaven*), and imposed strictures on the reach of human inquiry and reason:<sup>28</sup>

If you are proposing that there is another body, heavier than the earth, that keeps it from collapsing, you should consider that that body too would have to have a similar support to prevent it from falling down. And if we are able to fashion something that supports that body, our mind will in turn fall into an infinite pattern, again and again conceiving other props for the foundations already found. And so the more we advance in this line of reason, the greater the power we are compelled to assign to each successive prop for it to be able to uphold the whole mass resting on it. For this reason, set limits on your thinking, lest the word of Job censure your curiosity in examining what is beyond our grasp, and you be asked by him, “Upon what have its bases been fastened?” (Job 38:6). But even if at some point in the Psalms you hear the words “I have established its pillars” (Ps 74:4), consider the sustaining power to be what is called “pillars” here. What does it mean that “he founded it on the seas” (Ps 23:2) if not that the nature of water is to be spread out all around the earth? How, then, can water, a fluid element that naturally flows downward, remain suspended without flowing away? But you do not consider that you are presenting an equal or an even greater rational difficulty by assuming that the earth, being naturally heavier, is suspended on itself. But even if we concede that the earth is purely self-supporting, or else admit that it rides on water, we must in no way deviate from thinking in accordance with true religion, but confess that all things alike are sustained by the power of the Creator. Of necessity, then, we must respond to ourselves and to those who quiz us about what foundation holds up this immense and unbearable weight of the earth: “The ends of the earth are in the hand of God” (Ps 94:4).

<sup>25</sup> *Hex.*, ll. 85–88 (Gonnelli, 122). The image evokes for George the Psalmist’s praise of the Creator who has “stretched out the sky like a skin” (Ps 103:2: see *Hex.*, ll. 89–91).

<sup>26</sup> *Hex.*, ll. 103–104 (Gonnelli, 122). Emphasis added.

<sup>27</sup> *Hex.*, ll. 125–130 (Gonnelli, 124).

<sup>28</sup> Basil, *Hom. on Hex.* 1, 9 (ed. Amand de Mendieta & Rudberg 1997, 16.6–17.9). Basil is interacting here with speculations noted by Aristotle, *On Heaven* 2, 13.

Clearly Basil has already paved the way for George's much shorter treatment of this issue of the foundation of the world. Theories must be taken seriously but the real beginning and end of speculation is the posture of faith and reverence for the unseen God who underlies the universe.

Indeed, George appears to be significantly indebted to Basil's view that the whole order of created nature is a grand curriculum, not just to cultivate pious recognition of the wonders of creation but to train the human subject in the ascetical and contemplative protocols for approaching the Creator.<sup>29</sup> Though Basil is hardly as renowned as his brother Gregory of Nyssa (also a Hexaemeral commentator) for expounding the *διάστημα* ontologically and epistemically separating the uncreated and created or for the intensity of his apophaticism, his Hexaemeral homilies operate with a strong sense that the "beauty" of the creation both draws us toward the Creator and keeps us at bay, setting the mind in a healthy tension between the knowable and the unknowable.<sup>30</sup> The mysteriousness of created things is a tease to induce ever higher contemplation of the inaccessible Creator, while in Scripture "the dogma of *theologia* is interspersed throughout the creation story".<sup>31</sup> At one point Basil deploys the analogy of humans entering into the "amphitheatre" (θέατρον) of creation, where, more than passive spectators, they must be athletes or "fellow contestants" (συναγωνισταί) proactively vying for insight.<sup>32</sup> Curiosity, especially the over-inquisitiveness (πολυπραγμοσύνη) that just wants knowledge without asceticism,<sup>33</sup> will not suffice.

In strategizing the same ascetical as well as contemplative quest as Basil, George for his part extols the Creator who is like a "wise prod" (ἡ σοφὴ μάστιξ) as well as an "abyss of riches" (πλούτου βάθος), applying his "cleansing fire" to humanity's "disease" (of sin and corruption) and using misfortune as a teacher, so that we might actually gain from that disease and from the seemingly punitive character of life, making them into a "basis for salvation" (ἀφορμὴ σωτηρίας).<sup>34</sup> There is an entire ascetical dimension to the quest because all of human experience of mundane life is ultimately of a moral piece with the mind's tireless pursuit of the Creator. So it is little surprise that when

<sup>29</sup> *Hex.*, ll. 598–632 (Gonnelli, 156–158). Cf. Basil, *Hom. on Hex.* 1, 5, who refers to the sensible creation as "a place of training and a school for the souls of human beings" (ed. Amand de Mendieta & Rudberg 1997, 9.12–13).

<sup>30</sup> See *Hom. on Hex.* 1, 11.

<sup>31</sup> *Hom. on Hex.* 6, 2 (ed. Amand de Mendieta & Rudberg 1997, 90.12–13), with *θεολογία* here carrying its technical sense of apophatic theology.

<sup>32</sup> *Hom. on Hex.* 6, 1 (ed. Amand de Mendieta & Rudberg 1997, 87.2–88.9). For analysis see also Blowers 2008.

<sup>33</sup> *Hom. on Hex.* 1, 9 (ed. Amand de Mendieta & Rudberg 1997, 16.14); see also the fuller quotation of this passage above.

<sup>34</sup> *Hex.*, ll. 492–499 (Gonnelli, 148–150).

he eventually examines the wonders of human nature itself—including the mind (νοῦς) and the “eye of the soul” (ὄμμα τῆς ψυχῆς) in their capacity for groping after the Cause of all things—George abruptly turns to the mind’s liability to be subverted by the devil, who induces vain thoughts (λογισμοί) and passions.<sup>35</sup> The command to “know yourself”, shared by the biblical Deuteronomist (cf. Deut 15:9) and many a Greek sage, means for George, as it did for Basil, that even in all its giftedness, human nature remains a mystery to oneself, so that it too is an object of contemplation as well as ascetical self-mastery.<sup>36</sup>

All the while, by George’s account, the Creator remains in complete command of the human approach to him through created things. Dwelling in light, he sends a darkness on the pretentious, “such that if anyone desires to use reason to search out his essence, he or she will first meet with the hostile gloom of creation as [God’s] veil, and, being panic-stricken, withdraw from the haze”.<sup>37</sup> But it is a sublime frustration. In one passage, George encourages the seeker to take his or her cues from those in Scripture (John the Baptist, Isaiah, Elijah, Daniel, Moses) who already ventured after a theophany of the Creator:<sup>38</sup>

Were one to embark on exploring all these [created] things, and, having discovered the pulse of seemingly lowly and familiar things, declare discernment; or, while making progress, take as his divine organ the voice of one crying in the wilderness of the heart (cf. Mark 1:3; John 1:23); or, approaching the tongs of the Cherub, receive from it the charcoal of speech (Isa 6:6–7); or, driving the chariot of fire and the flaming horses, traverse the road to heaven (4 Kgdms 2:11), as a driver shown to be exalted above life, his flesh not even holding him down,—then such a person would either bring down fire and suspend water by directing, diverting, and exchanging their natures (cf. 3 Kgdms 18:30–47), or by faith he would shut the mouths of lions (cf. Dan 6:22) or douse the flames of the furnace (cf. Dan 3:49–50), or he would smite the Nile and turn it into blood (Exod 7:20) and persuade the sun to shine amid darkness (for to some it was light while to others it was an ill-formed darkness) (Exod 10:22–23); or he would divide the abyss to create a strange new pathway (Exod 14:16); or in the night he would display a flaming pillar of fire (Exod 14:19–20); or he would produce bread when there is no available wheat, or assuage hunger with a rain of birds (Exod 16:11–15); or he would force a rock to emit streams of water (Exod 17:5–7); or he would extend his hands to rout enemies (Exod 17:11), the image of the symbol of the Cross; or he would behold the bush not consumed by fire (Exod 3:2–3; Mark 12:26)—all these things being cryptic figures of what was to come.

Then, having reverently genuflected like Moses, and having found smoke in the wind and darkness, and reaching the cleft [in the rock] that served as his spur, this person shall scarcely (μολίς) look upon the hidden back parts of God (Exod 33:18–33), and seeing nothing more, shall desire what is hidden all the more; for the desires of lovers are rendered idle if they quickly

<sup>35</sup> *Hex.*, ll. 734–758 (Gonnelli, 165–166).

<sup>36</sup> Cf. *Hex.*, ll. 625–637 (Gonnelli, 158); cf. Basil’s more expansive discussion, the *Homily on “Be Careful to Yourself”* (CPG 1847).

<sup>37</sup> *Hex.*, ll. 589–597 (Gonnelli, 156).

<sup>38</sup> *Hex.*, ll. 831–872 (Gonnelli, 172–174). On the “insatiable” desire for the Creator, see also *Hex.*, ll. 1678–1688 (Gonnelli, 230).

gain what they desired. And with everyone who searches after the essence of God, the more he beholds, the more he squints his eyes. For if someone with acquisitive pupils stares down into the deep or up at the blazing disk of the sun, and dulls his pupils the more intently he gazes, what sort of all-seeing mind will endure looking on the very one who forms the light of this sun of ours?

George here has effectively led prospective seekers up to the mountain with Moses at the Sinai Theophany, in much the same way as did certain earlier episcopal preachers like Gregory of Nyssa and Gregory Nazianzen, and mystical theologians such as Dionysios the Areopagite. Indeed, the end of the passage above clearly references Gregory of Nyssa's evocative depiction of the Sinai events, with the salient paradox of Moses being simultaneously stymied by the passing presence of God and propelled to more intensive encounter, finding "satisfaction" precisely in the continuing dilation of his passionate desire for God.<sup>39</sup> Only a deacon but also an imperially commissioned poet, George here assumes the quasi-episcopal role of *theōros* (philosophical visionary) for the Christian faithful. Indeed, he echoes Gregory Nazianzen in a discourse where the bishop poses as a Moses-figure counselling his people from Sinai about orderly approach toward the Creator-God.

God is light, light the most sublime, of which all our light is but a momentary emanation of radiance penetrating the religions below, dazzling though it may appear. As you see, he tramples the gloom that surrounds us and "made darkness his covering around him" (Ps 17:12), putting it between himself and us, just as Moses also once put a veil between himself and Israel's hardness of heart (cf. 2 Cor 3:7–15; Exod 34:33; Rom 11:25) so that dark nature might not win an easy glimpse of that secret beauty of which only a few are worthy and just as easily reject it because it was effortlessly acquired; and that light might commune with light, drawing it ever upward with desire, and that a mind made pure might approach the most pure and a portion of that light reveal itself now and a portion in the time to come as a reward of virtue and of our inclination or assimilation to it while on this earth [...]

Moses himself scarcely (μόλις) saw the "back" of God because of the rock (Exod 33:21–23) (whatever may be the meaning of "back" and "rock") and this only when, after much prayer, the promise made to him was kept, except that he, Moses, the God to Pharaoh (Exod 7:1), the leader of so great a multitude, the one who displayed such miraculous powers, did not see all he wished; what escaped him was more than what met his eyes. As for you, whom did you feed from the sky? (Exod 16:13). What water did you give from the rock? (Exod 17:6). What sea did you divide with your "rod"? (Exod 14:16). What people did you lead through the waters as if to dry land? What enemies did you drown? Whom did you lead by a pillar "of fire" and "of cloud" (Exod 13:21)? What Amelek did you defeat, by stretching out your hands in prayer (Exod 17:10–12) and mystically, so long before, prefiguring the cross, that you might consider it a misfortune not to see God in his perfection and as a consequence everything seem to spin and turn upside down? From my remarks about Moses is it not clear to you that God's gifts are systematically ranked, and that there is a rule that determines their order? If you are a Moses,

<sup>39</sup> *On the Life of Moses* 2 (ed. Musurillo 1964, 110–120); cf. Dionysios the Areopagite, *Mystical Theology* 3. On Gregory's mystical-theological interpretation of the Sinai Theophany, see Laird 2004, 78–85 and Blowers 2015.



go up into the cloud and seek to talk to God and to hear his voice; and receive the Law, and become a lawgiver. But if you are Aaron, go up with him but stop outside the cloud and stay close by. And if you are an Ithamar or an Eleazar (Exod 28:1; Num 3:2) and third from Moses or one of the elders and a member of the Seventy, stand even farther away, although you are third in rank. But if you are one of the common crowd, the mountain does not admit you; even a beast which touches there will be stoned (Exod 19:12–13). Wait below and seek to hear only the voice and this only after you have cleansed and purified yourself, as you have been commanded (Exod 24).<sup>40</sup>

Besides the dialectic of preclusion and forward advance, and the paradox wherein desire for intimacy with the Creator is sated precisely by the frustration of not reaching God's essence, George similarly reiterates the familiar dialectic of divine concealment and disclosure, rooted in the Cappadocian Fathers and richly developed by Dionysios the Areopagite and Maximos the Confessor. Accordingly, there is a kind of theophanic “play” of hide-and-seek—very much a function of the divine pedagogy operative through created things—whereby the Creator's manifestations and withdrawals serve to instruct wisdom, redeem creatures from their spiritual darkness, and elevate them toward deification.<sup>41</sup> The play as such lies in the pure freedom of the Creator to remain absolutely transcendent while calibrating his presence to/in anything or everything created. George praises the Creator precisely as “you who are present from afar with motionless speed (ἐδραλῶ τάχει), known to all while remaining hard to find (δυσεὔρετος), apprehensible by all and yet unwilling to be grasped. Unknown to all, you are made known through all the things by which you are at work, toward the goal of everything seeing you”.<sup>42</sup> The divine hide-and-seek is more explicit where George praises the metaphysical dexterity, as it were, of the Creator:<sup>43</sup>

Infinitely extending your power, you appear, you hide, and you come forth; and remaining stationary you move with impulse, enduing amorphous essences with form. While you yourself transcend all things, you are beyond perfection (ὑπερτελής); for you have no beginning, you stand aloof from the end, and you stand apart also from the middle, being outside of all three and of the whole of created things, and while it is of your nature to exist outside them, you remain within them all, visible while invisible, having no boundaries but you yourself fixing the boundary of things defined by boundaries. Being without beginning and not measured with time, you create temporal things with your timeless impulse (ρόπη).

<sup>40</sup> Gregory Nazianzen, *Or.* 32, 15–16 (ed. Moreschini 1985, 116.1–120.25), transl. Vinson 2003, 201–203. On this text, and on bishops' function as *theōroi* leading their congregations in “contemplation of nature” (θεωρία φυσική) as an ecclesial (and not just monastic) discipline, see Blowers 2012a, 322–328.

<sup>41</sup> For this theme in Gregory Nazianzen and Maximos, see Maximos, *Amb. John* 71; also Blowers 2012b.

<sup>42</sup> *Hex.*, ll. 873–877 (Gonnelli, 174); cf. Dionysios the Areopagite, *On Divine Names* 7, 1.

<sup>43</sup> *Hex.*, ll. 1612–1624 (Gonnelli, 226). On the timeless divine “impulse” to create (ρόπή or ὀρμή), cf. also Basil, *Hom. on Hex.* 1, 2; Gregory of Nyssa, *Apol. Hex.* 9.



This passage has a strong parallel (perhaps inspiration) in Dionysios the Areopagite, for whom the divine game of hide-and-seek, the dialectic of concealment and disclosure, is likewise tied up with the whole scheme of divine transcendence and immanence. Dionysios credits the transcendent divinity of Jesus the Son as itself the fulfilling Cause of all created things, containing whole and parts, transcending whole and parts, and ontologically prior to whole and parts. But that divinity, claims the Areopagite, is simultaneously immanent, formative, and definitive:<sup>44</sup>

Its perfection is in imperfect created things as catalyst of their perfection. And yet, in perfect creatures it is 'imperfect' in the sense that it is both beyond their perfection (ὑπερτέλης) and prior to their perfection. *It is the form-creating Form that gives form to formless beings, but is 'formless' in beings having form since it transcends form* (εἶδος εἰδοποιὸν ἐν τοῖς ἀνείδεοις ὡς εἰδεάρχης, ἀνείδεος ἐν τοῖς εἶδεσιν ὡς ὑπὲρ εἶδος). It is the Essence (οὐσία) that pervades all created essences without being compromised, since it super-essentially (ὑπερουσίως) outstrips every essence. *It determines the boundaries of all beginnings and ranks* [of beings] while remaining superior to every beginning and rank. And *it is the measure of all beings and ages* while being beyond and before every age.

In common with Gregory Nazianzen and Maximos, moreover, George aligns the dialectic of divine concealment and disclosure not only with that of divine transcendence and immanence but also with that of God's real absence and real presence. Again in doxological language, George writes,

You are the one who is simultaneously everywhere (πανταχοῦ) and nowhere (οὐδαμοῦ), and furthermore you are Everything (πάντα) and simply One (ἐν)—for we must keep these things together. You are the utter 'One' and in no way subordinated to sensible types, while the 'Everything' combined shows that your nature is incomprehensible. On the other hand, we precisely interpret the 'One' so that the 'Everything' conveys no suspect implication and so that we render a chain [of thinking] with a fluent synthesis. That God is 'everywhere' naturally has added to it the opposing concept that he is 'nowhere', lest they be severed by division into two, and the 'nowhere' dissolve into non-being, and the 'everywhere' fit into subdivisions. Rather, let it be the case that one uses verbal nails, so to speak, wherewith 'Everything' and 'One,' and so too 'nowhere' and 'everywhere' are each bound with their opposite in speech, such that we fix a firm foundation for our dogmas.<sup>45</sup>

In the second of his *Theological Orations*, Gregory Nazianzen had already negotiated this conundrum of God's being 'nowhere' and somewhere, and addressed the dilemma of 'nowhere' potentially implying non-existence.<sup>46</sup> Maximos in his *Ambigua* added his own substantial commentary to Gregory's explanation,<sup>47</sup> and George himself appears,

<sup>44</sup> *On Divine Names* 2, 10 (ed. Suchla 1990, 134.10–16). I have italicized those assertions most vividly paralleled by George in the preceding quotation from his *Hexaemeron*.

<sup>45</sup> *Hex.*, ll. 1648–1664 (Gonnelli, 228–230).

<sup>46</sup> *Or.* 28, 10.

<sup>47</sup> *Amb. John* 18.

at least in part, to be directly indebted to Gregory for his own view. But unlike Gregory and Maximos, George is pointing his own exposition not against Eunomian Arians but, as we have already seen in his *Hexaemeron*, against those pagan philosophers and theologians who, whatever the level of their intellectual sophistication, fail to fathom the elusiveness of God of the Bible who not only presses human reason to its breaking point but also saves human beings from their ignorance, blindness, and pretentiousness. George again echoes Gregory of Nyssa in deducing that human correction and transformation come precisely through the self being stretched-but-contained by God's own infinity and elusiveness:<sup>48</sup>

For if the abyss of reason sinks into you (God), you, being exalted at the summit [of reality] still do not wish to manifest yourself. And if our minds rise to the ultimate height, you yourself turn them back in the opposite direction toward the deepest abyss, such that neither does their length escape your depth, nor their breadth have your height as its reach. Rather, the profuse flow of infinite things toward the infinite is cut short by your own extension (*παρεκτάσει*), just as, need it be said, even those things not yet created depend on your intention to be brought into being. For you are present, and, being present, you are absent. You remain yet you flee, and, like a pale shadow, when seized on you evade grasp.

George's *Hexaemeron*, then, contains much in the way of a theological tutorial on intellectual desire for the Creator, and a heuristic on the precise conditions under which the human subject investigates the created order—less to search for evidences of the Creator than to acquire religious intimacy with the Creator. The heuristic is accompanied by a substantial survey of natural phenomena, and in a number of places, as noted earlier, George echoes observations in earlier Hexaemeral commentators, especially Basil,<sup>49</sup> though analysis of all of George's sources goes well beyond the scope of this essay. Meanwhile, George does not innovate on major tenets of patristic cosmology, most notably creation *ex nihilo*, which is a presupposition of his entire poem. Against the allegation that George is no theologian, however, is his display of a knowledge of some specific nuances or subtleties in the interpretive tradition accompanying the doctrine of creation *ex nihilo*.

For example, George is aware that creation 'from nothing' was not solely the Creator's supernatural act of bringing non-existent matter into being and then forming it into a cosmos, but also an act of 'salvation' in the sense that, teleologically speaking, the Creator's original act of creation was continuous with his ongoing salvation of creation as a work of redeeming creation from chaos, rescuing it from relapsing into

<sup>48</sup> *Hex.*, ll. 1665–1677 (Gonnelli, 230).

<sup>49</sup> E.g., George's examination of the homeopathy of animals, the way in which created nature itself endows various animals with the resources to heal themselves from injuries or disease, as well as other zoological wonders (*Hex.*, ll. 916–1197), have several parallels with Basil's *Hom. on Hex.* 8–9.

nothingness, and sustaining it in its intrinsic ontological vulnerability. Athanasios, in particular, had emphasized the seamless relation of God's creative and salvific work, using precisely the image of the four elements as in natural conflict with each other, capable of throwing the cosmos into chaos and anarchy, unless they are "obedient servants" (δοῦλα ὑπακούοντα), persuaded (πείθεται) by the Creator against conflict and "amiably acquiescing in the will (βουλήσει) of him who guides them".<sup>50</sup> George, who clearly appears to know this image from Athanasios, similarly depicts the four elements as obstreperous "sisters," a "chaotic foursome" (ἡ ἄτακτος τετράς) needing to be domesticated by the divine Father in the household of creation. "Making peace" (εἰρηνοποιῶν) among seemingly irreconcilable natures, the Creator "persuades" (πείθεις) the opposing elemental powers to cohabit the world and dwell in deep and sympathetic unity with each other, realizing out of their struggle a single cosmic will (θέλημα).<sup>51</sup> George is perhaps also drawing here on the Christianized Stoic notion of σύμπνοια already developed by earlier Greek patristic thinkers, especially the Cappadocian Fathers and Theodore of Mopsuestia.<sup>52</sup>

One other example of George's awareness of subtleties in the earlier tradition of theological interpretation of creation is a brief but significant allusion, while discussing the workings of the sun and moon, to how the Creator, who himself pours forth Light that is ontologically prior to the sun, enables the sun to "enflame the faint lamp of the moon." As George adds, the Creator seeks a salutary "rhythm" (ῥυθμός) in this luminary order, one of "beautiful necessity and wise authority" (καλῆς ἀνάγκης καὶ σοφῆς ἐξουσίας).<sup>53</sup> This observation is especially intriguing, given how earlier Christian polemicists sometimes claimed that 'the One' in Platonic cosmology originated the universe out of sheer 'necessity' rather than freedom, by an inner ontological *compulsion* or 'overflow' of being. In his creation myth in the *Timaeus*, Plato himself had pondered "Necessity" (ἀνάγκη) as an "errant cause" (πλανωμένη αἰτία) of the cosmos alongside Reason,<sup>54</sup> ostensibly indicating that the elemental properties of matter would go their own way were they not reined in by divine Reason.<sup>55</sup> Interestingly, however, certain patristic interpreters of Genesis, rather than dismissing this image altogether, and recognizing that the idea of creation as a constant taming of chaos was already an abiding theme in Scripture even beyond the Hexaemeral narrative, reworked the image, positing that the biblical Creator had created the cosmos under the peculiar

<sup>50</sup> *Contra gentes* 37.

<sup>51</sup> *Hex.*, ll. 256–265 (Gonnelli, 132–134).

<sup>52</sup> For discussion of patristic interpretation of σύμπνοια, see Blowers 2012a, 218–221.

<sup>53</sup> *Hex.*, ll. 239–246 (Gonnelli, 132).

<sup>54</sup> *Timaeus* 47e–48e.

<sup>55</sup> As suggested by Sedley 2007, 114–117.

‘necessity’ or inner compulsion of his love, his deep need to express his sacrificial care for a created ‘other’ lest it relapse into nothingness. Beginning especially with Irenaeus of Lyons, but echoed in later Greek patristic authors as well, this inner compulsion of divine love, or benevolent ‘necessity’ on the part of the Creator to reveal the Word through whom he made all things, was implicit in the patristic expansion of divine ‘creativity’ to include the tasks of preserving, benefiting, and transforming the world, and in representations of the incarnation of Christ as a re-creation of the world.<sup>56</sup> This is quite likely what George has specifically in mind in his own depiction of the ‘beautiful necessity’ invested by the Creator in his creation.

All told, George’s *Hexaemeron*, in addition to its purposes for imperial panegyric, displays a remarkable grasp of earlier traditions of Christian theology of creation. Hopefully I have demonstrated something of the extent of George’s own devotion to a contemplative and ascetic approach to the marvel that is creation, even if that devotion be less to the Hexaemeral narrative itself than to the Creator behind, within, and beyond that narrative. The fruit of George’s epic, as I have noted, is a strikingly sophisticated heuristic, happily unburdened by the need to provide a novel exegesis of Gen 1. Unfortunately, I have been constrained here to assess only a few examples where George reveals his knowledge of, and deference to, very precise aspects of earlier Christian thinking on creation, but these are sufficient to indicate that his knowledge is more than superficial. My point is that the theological dimension of his verses is no mere ‘ornament’ here for extolling the Emperor as viceroy of the Creator. One reason that George looks to the *Hexaemeron* as the backdrop for dramatically eulogizing the exploits of Herakleios against Persia is that it had already been treated as a *soteriological* and not merely a cosmological narrative, an *eschatological* narrative as well as a proto-logical one. As deliverer of the world, Herakleios had once more rescued the cosmos from chaos and, out of that chaos, established a new and stable order of things. In my judgement, and in strong opposition to the suppositions that George’s work is categorically un-theological,<sup>57</sup> the poet’s appeal to the contemplation of the grandeur of creation for purposes of imperial panegyric and imperial eschatology would have fallen flat had the earlier tradition of patristic theological commentary on the *Hexaemeron* not provided strong precedent for teasing out of the story its *sensus plenior*—that is, its hidden nuances and ramifications, and its relevance to a new historical and cultural day.

<sup>56</sup> See e.g. Irenaeus, *Against Heresies* 2, 2, 4–5. Cf. Gregory of Nyssa who in his *Catechetical oration* consistently uses phrases like ‘it was necessary’ (ἐδει) or ‘necessarily’ (ἀναγκαιώς; ἀναγκαῖον) to describe the appropriateness of God’s manifestation of his creative glory. This theme is discussed also in Blowers 2012a, 86, 134, 147, 152, 175, 176 and 309.

<sup>57</sup> See n. 6 above.

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# THE EMPEROR LEO V, HIS CHOIR MASTER, AND THE BYZANTINE OLD TESTAMENT LECTIONARY

SYSSE GUDRUN ENGBERG



IN BYZANTIUM, THE Old Testament was a text to be interpreted: its purpose was to prophecy what was to come in the New Covenant. However, it could also be understood in the light of new dogmas or new currents within the vivid religious disputes of Constantinople or even, in some instances, ‘prophecy’ contemporary historical events.<sup>1</sup> A glimpse into the interaction between the sacred texts recited in church and the political and religious milieu of Constantinople can be demonstrated in an unexpected place: in the Byzantine Old Testament lectionary, called *prophetologion* or, in Slavic, *parimejnik*.

## 1. DIVERGENT VERSIONS OF AN ISAIAH READING

The liturgical book which today is called *prophetologion* was the lectionary containing the Old Testament lections read in the Cathedral rite of Constantinople.<sup>2</sup> The oldest part of this lectionary consists of pericopes from Isaiah, Genesis and Proverbs which are read on every weekday of Lent, thirty days in all. This nucleus of the Old Testament lectionary is remarkably stable, both in the selection of pericopes and in the transmission of the text itself.

The selection of pericopes from each of the three books rests on the principle of *course readings* or *Bahnlesungen*,<sup>3</sup> i.e.: consecutive readings starting from the beginning of a biblical book, but with textual omissions, or sometimes slight overlapping,

<sup>1</sup> The word ‘prophecy’ should not be taken in its strict chronological sense; in my presentation here, it almost acquires the meaning of ‘commemorate’, or ‘point to’, in the same sense in which the Church Fathers can say that the Acts of the Apostles or the Epistles ‘prophecy’ the Gospels.

<sup>2</sup> Text edition: *Prophetologium* I–II. For a general introduction, see Engberg 1987 (now outdated in some respects), Engberg 2003, 94–96 or Engberg 2005. Note that I distinguish the edition (*Prophetologium*) from the genre (*prophetologion*).

<sup>3</sup> As opposed to *lectio continua*, which is used in the Synagogue, where each lection continues exactly where the preceding one ended.



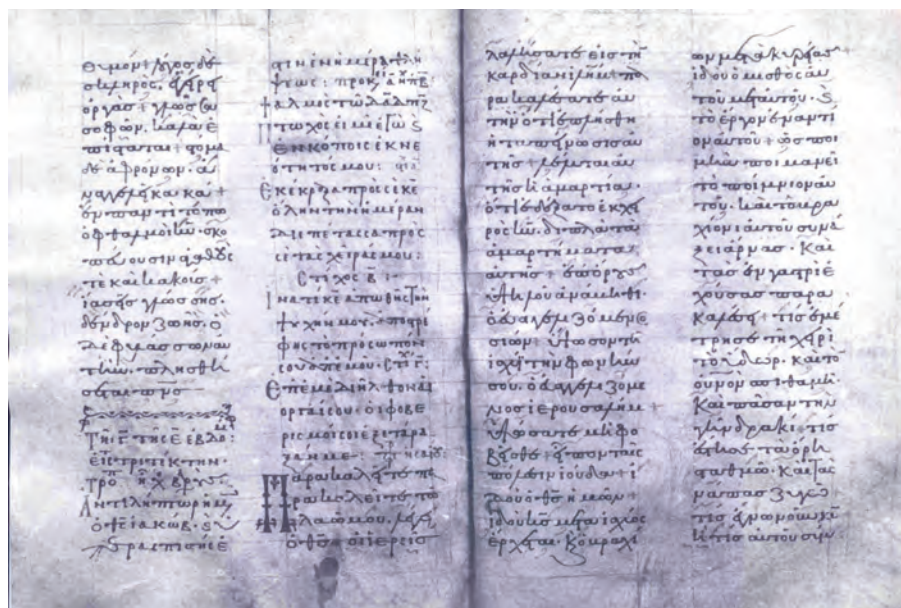


FIG. 1. The *prophetologion* manuscript Oxford, Laud gr. 36, ff. 106<sup>v</sup>–107<sup>r</sup> (eleventh century). The beginning of the longer L26a in the right-hand column on the verso side is marked by a capital Π. Image reproduced by permission of the Bodleian Libraries.

between lections. As the Lenten readings proceed through each of the three biblical books, omissions between pericopes become more frequent, and in the fifth week of Lent rather large text passages are omitted between lections:<sup>4</sup>

Monday	Isa 37:33–38:6	=	L25a
Tuesday	Isa 40:18–31a	=	L26a
Wednesday	Isa 41:4–14	=	L27a

The Lenten repertory of Isaiah readings is very stable and pericopes are normally identical in the different manuscripts. There are extremely few exceptions to this, but one does occur on Tuesday of the fifth week of Lent, in the reading L26a which exists in two different versions, one long and one short:<sup>5</sup>

<sup>4</sup> The edition of the text (see n. 2) labels each lection with a number designating the feast for which the lection is read, and with a letter indicating its position in the sequence of lections. L26a is thus the first L(ection) for the 26<sup>th</sup> feast in the edition. See also Engberg 2017a.

<sup>5</sup> *Prophetologion* 1:285–288.





FIG. 2. MS Oxford, Laud gr. 36, ff. 107<sup>v</sup>–108<sup>r</sup>. The beginning of the shorter L26a is marked by ἀρχή in the margin of the verso side, opposite the word Τίτι. Image reproduced by permission of the Bodleian Libraries.

Isa 40:1–2.9–31a	=	L26a long
Isa 40:18–31a	=	L26a short

These are not alternative choices: the manuscripts have either the shorter or the longer version, and it seems that one superseded the other at some point in time. But which version of L26a is the older one? Has an original longer version been shortened, or an original shorter version been extended? Two eleventh-century manuscripts have the longer version, but the place where the shorter version would begin is marked by the word ἀρχή in the margin, opposite Isa 40:18 (see figs. 1 and 2).<sup>6</sup>

At first glance, one is tempted to think that an original longer version has been abbreviated, but a comparison with other manuscripts makes this theory unlikely. The eleventh-century uncial manuscript Sinai gr. 8 begins the shorter version on f. 138<sup>r</sup> but stops after the first six cola, then leaves the rest of the folio empty and starts afresh on

<sup>6</sup> MSS Oxford, Laud gr. 36 and Venezia, Marc. gr. Z. 13 have ἀρχή in the margin. In MS Venezia 13 there also is a corresponding τέλος opposite the final words of Isa 40:17, which makes less sense. For a list of manuscripts used in the edition, see *Prophetologium* II:307–308.



FIG. 3. MS Madrid, Bibl. nac., Vitr. 26-2, f. 22r (detail). The choir master whispers into the ear of the emperor. Image reproduced by permission of the Biblioteca nacional de España.

f. 139<sup>r</sup> with the longer version instead.<sup>7</sup> The most logical explanation is that the scribe found the shorter version of L26a in his *Vorlage*, but then somehow discovered that it had been displaced by the longer version.

In favour of this interpretation speaks the fact that the longer version of L26a is manipulated: the passage Isa 40:3–8 has been omitted from the lection, a feature distinctive of lections created in later periods. However, the most compelling evidence that the longer pericope is the more recent version of L26a is the distribution of the two versions in the manuscripts. The short L26a (Isa 40:18–31a) is found in the large majority of ca. 150 *prophetologion* manuscripts, and also in the earliest ones: it is represented in two uncial manuscripts from the ninth/tenth century<sup>8</sup> and in thirteen manuscripts from the tenth century. The long L26a (Isa 40:1–2.9–31a) occurs in only fifteen manuscripts in all, none of which is earlier than the late tenth century.<sup>9</sup> It is safe to assume that the shorter version is the older one, but why was it changed?

## 2. AN ICONOCLAST READING

The Byzantine iconoclastic movement, which condemned the making of any image intended to represent Jesus or the saints, was said to have differed from all earlier heresies in that it was launched not by bishops or priests, but by an emperor. This is true in the case of the second iconoclastic period started in 815 CE by the emperor Leo V, whose persecution of his iconophile opponents was commented on by his contemporary Theodore of Stoudios with the words “There is one law only—the will of Caesar.”<sup>10</sup>

According to the Byzantine historians, Leo’s persecution of the icons was to some extent triggered by a remark by the choir master, or *protopsaltes*, of the imperial choir.

<sup>7</sup> *Prophetologium* II:588.

<sup>8</sup> These two manuscripts are: Vat. gr. 1456 (palimpsest) and Moskva, GIM, Sevastianov 1. The fourth-century Bible manuscript Codex Vaticanus (Vat. gr. 1209) contains lection notes dated to the ninth century by Pietro Versace. These notes mark the shorter version of L26a, in agreement with the early *prophetologion* manuscripts (although the occasion for the reading of the pericope is not specified in the Vaticanus). See Engberg 2017b.

<sup>9</sup> The long version of L26a is found in the following manuscripts: Sinai gr. 8 (10<sup>th</sup>–11<sup>th</sup> cent.); Oxford, Laud gr. 36, Sinai gr. 9 and Venezia, Marc. gr. Z. 13 (11<sup>th</sup> cent.); Sinai gr. 17 (11<sup>th</sup>–12<sup>th</sup> cent.); Athos, Dionysiou 82, Messina, S. Salv. 122 and Paris. gr. 308 (12<sup>th</sup> cent.); Athos, Philotheou 34 and Messina, S. Salv. 164 (13<sup>th</sup> cent.); Athos, Karakallou 119 (14<sup>th</sup> cent.); Athos, Lauras Γ 61 (301), Vatopediou 623 and Vatopediou 624 (15<sup>th</sup> cent.); Athos, Pantokratoros 179 (16<sup>th</sup> cent.).

<sup>10</sup> Quoted from Alexander 1977, 259. Cf. also the *Life of St Niketas of Medikion* (BHG 1341): Σκόπει δὲ καὶ τοῦτο, ὡς ὅτι αἱ ἄλλαι μὲν αἰρέσεις ἀπὸ ἐπισκόπων καὶ κατωτέρων πρεσβυτέρων τὴν ἀρχὴν εἰλήφασιν, αὕτη δὲ ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν κρατούντων (AASS, April 1, XXVIII).





FIG. 4. MS Madrid, Bibl. nac., Vit. 26–2, f. 23<sup>r</sup> (detail). Leo V intones the Christmas hymn, to the embarrassment of the professional singers. Image reproduced by permission of the Biblioteca nacional de España.

John Skylitzes describes the scene where this anonymous choir master supports Leo V in the heresy of iconoclasm:<sup>11</sup>

This sacrilegious man found a convenient moment, namely when the customary prophecy of the mighty-voiced Isaiah was recited in church for all to hear, the pericope “To whom will ye liken the Lord? And what likeness will ye compare unto him? Does not the workman melt a graven image, or a goldsmith spread it over with gold, or make it into a likeness of Him?” (Isa 40:18–19) and the rest of the prophecy; then he stood by the emperor’s ear and said: “Listen to the reading, oh King, mark the truth of it, and remain faithful to that kind of worship which the prophet suggests to you”. By saying this, he infected the emperor’s mind even further with the virus of heresy [...].

Important features of this scene are the cunning of the choir master, waiting for the appropriate biblical reading to occur, and the caution “remain faithful to that kind of

<sup>11</sup> John Skylitzes, *Synopsis of Histories* 2, 4 (ed. Thurn 1973, 17.59–67): οὗτος ὁ βέβηλος καιρὸν ἐπιτήδειον εὕρηκώς, καθ’ ὃν εἰς ἐπήκουον ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ εἶωθεν ἡ τοῦ μεγαλοφωνοτάτου Ἡσαΐου ἀναγινώσκεσθαι προφητεία ἢ λέγουσα ‘τίνι ὡμοιώσατε κύριον; καὶ τίνι ὡμοιώσατε αὐτόν; μὴ εἰκόνα ἐποίησε τέκτων, ἢ χρυσοχόος χρυσίον χωνεύσας περιεχύρῳσεν αὐτήν, ἢ ὁμοίωμα κατεσκεύασεν αὐτῷ;’ καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῆς προφητείας, παραστὰς πρὸς οὓς λέγει τῷ βασιλεῖ ‘σύνες τοῖς λεγομένοις, ὦ βασιλεῦ, καὶ μὴ λάθῃ σε τὸ ἀληθές, καὶ τοιαύτης ἔχου λατρείας, ὅποιαν σοι ὑποτίθῃσιν ὁ προφήτης;’ τοιαῦτα εἰπὼν ἐνέσταξε τῇ διανοίᾳ αὐτοῦ πλεοναῖον ἰδὼν τῆς αἰρέσεως [...]. The translation is mine.

worship which the prophet suggests to you” that he whispers into Leo’s ear, as can be seen in the accompanying image in the Madrid manuscript of Skylitzes (see fig. 3).

The same elements appear in all four historians who refer to the scene, although of course the details vary. Whereas the caption to the illustration in the Skylitzes manuscript seems to set the scene in Hagia Sophia, the chronicle named Theophanes Continuatus has it in the palatine church at the Pharos<sup>12</sup> and the line of the choir master is here elaborated into a more explicit appeal for the destruction of images:<sup>13</sup>

Listen to what the divine word says, oh King, and nobody shall regret that which you have begun; by getting rid of every image, even if it seems holy, you must remain faithful to the true worship characteristic of those who do not revere the images.

The biblical reading is identified by the quote from Isa 40:18–19 in all four historians who relate this episode. Biblical lections were identified by their incipit, and the shorter, and older, Isaiah lection for Tuesday of the fifth week of Lent (L26a), does indeed begin with the words “To whom will ye liken the Lord?”, after the standard introductory phrase “Thus says the Lord”. The historians quote only the first few verses of the lection, but the reader of the Byzantine chronicle is expected to be familiar with the continuation of the reading:<sup>14</sup>

The workman chooses wood that will not rot and the wise man seeks to prepare an image that cannot be moved. Will you not learn? Will you not hear? Was it not told you from the beginning? Have you not understood the foundations of the earth? It is he that holds the circle of the earth and the inhabitants thereof as grasshoppers! (Isa 40:20–22)

The Byzantine reader would easily associate the gold and wood of the Old Testament lection with the well-known claim of the iconoclasts that the divine could not be represented with lifeless materials such as wood and paint, and that “every likeness which is made out of any material and colour whatever by the evil art of painters” was anathema; the iconophile patriarch Germanos (715–730) was labelled “worshipper of wood” by the iconoclasts, not a positive characterization.<sup>15</sup> The vivid series of questions in

<sup>12</sup> See further section 3 below.

<sup>13</sup> Theophanes Continuatus I, 20 (ed. Featherstone & Signes-Codoñer 2015, 52.37–40), my translation. The other two historians are Genesios I, 15 (ed. Lesmueller-Werner & Thurn 1978, 13) and John Zonaras, *Epit.* 15, 20 (ed. Dindorf 1870, III: 384.11–18).

<sup>14</sup> L26a 10–20: ξύλον γὰρ ἄσθητον ἐκλέγεται τέκτων, καὶ σοφὸς ζητεῖ πῶς στήσει αὐτῷ εἰκόνα καὶ ἵνα μὴ σαλεύηται. οὐ γνώσεσθε; οὐκ ἀκούσεσθε; οὐκ ἀνηγγέλη ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὑμῖν; οὐκ ἐγνωτε τὰ θεμέλια τῆς γῆς; ὁ κατέχων τὸν γύρον τῆς γῆς, καὶ τοὺς κατοικοῦντας ἐν αὐτῇ ὡς ἀκρίδας (*Prophetologium* I:286–287). Translations from the *Prophetologium* text are mine: the lectionary text is not identical with the Septuagint.

<sup>15</sup> Γερμανῷ τῷ [...] ξυλολάτρῃ ἀνάθεμα. Both citations from the definition (ὅρος) of the iconoclastic council held in Hieria 754 CE, as printed in Hennephof 1969, 78 (no. 264).

the Isaiah lection are easily interpreted by an iconoclast as an accusation against those worshippers of wood who have the goldsmith and the workman produce images for them. By interpreting the opening words of L26a in an iconoclastic sense, the choir master manages to turn around the meaning of the whole lection and transform it into his own tool in the controversy of the images.

### 3. POLITICS AND LITURGY

It may seem exaggerated to ascribe this much significance to an Old Testament lection, but it should be remembered that there was strong interaction between liturgy and political power in Byzantium. The success of an emperor could also be measured by his liturgical performance as a singer or composer of hymns, faculties judged important enough to be mentioned by the Byzantine historians: Leo V is said to have thought highly of his voice, but to have performed poorly because he lacked rhythm and musicality, and he caused embarrassment in the church when he intoned the Christmas canon with his “rather piercing and uncontrolled voice”, as illustrated in the Madrid manuscript of Skylitzes (fig. 4).<sup>16</sup>

During the history of Byzantium, incidents in Hagia Sophia were keenly watched and interpreted, and indeed, much of the controversy in December 814 and the spring of 815 played out in Hagia Sophia: the iconophile patriarch Nikephoros held an all-night vigil (παννυχίς ὀλονυκτί) here in late 814 as an act of opposition to the emperor’s religious policy<sup>17</sup> and after his abdication, the new patriarch Theodotos chaired an iconoclast synod in the Great Church itself, shortly after having been enthroned at Easter, April 1<sup>st</sup>, 815. Just as the Imperial Palace, Hagia Sophia was a battle ground for the iconoclast controversy, and the incident with the choir master could well have played out in the Great Church when the Isaiah pericope was recited on Tuesday of the fifth week of Lent. However, the Byzantine historians are vague about where it took place: Skylitzes just says ‘in the church’, Zonaras has ‘in the church’ or maybe ‘in the churches’, whereas Theophanes Continuatus places it in the Pharos church of the Imperial Palace.<sup>18</sup> The year in which it took place is not mentioned by the historians, but in their narrative it comes *after* the enthronement of the new patriarch. It seems unlikely to have happened the year after, during Lent 816, when iconoclasm had won the day; the episode makes

<sup>16</sup> See John Skylitzes, *Synopsis of Histories* 2, 6 (ed. Thurn 1973, 18.8–9): ἐξήρχε γὰρ τῶν ὠδῶν τοῦ τέρρα καὶ ἀγρία τῇ φωνῇ and Genesis 1, 16 (ed. Lesmueller-Werner & Thurn 1978, 14.37–38): ἦν δὲ φιλότιμος πάνυ, καὶ σοβαρὸν ἐμβόων καὶ κακόρρυθμος.

<sup>17</sup> Ignatios the Deacon, *Life of Nikephoros*, ed. de Boor 1880, 166–167 and *Scriptor incertus de Leone Armenio*, ed. Bekker 1842, 354.

<sup>18</sup> References in notes 11 and 13 above.

more sense *before* Easter 815 and after the victory over the Bulgarians in 814, and it may have taken place in 814 when Tuesday of the fifth week of Lent fell on April 4<sup>th</sup>, or in 815 on March 20<sup>th</sup>.

Finally, who was this man? The text of John Skylitzes identifies him as the Head of the *psaltai* or church singers of the Imperial Palace, and the caption to the image on f. 22<sup>r</sup> of the Madrid manuscript identifies him as the choir master, as does Zonaras. But Zonaras, Genesisios and Theophanes Continuatus all describe him as the Head of all the clergy of the Palace, certainly a man with some influence. However, he does not seem to be identical with any of the protagonists of the Second Iconoclasm.

#### 4. THE ISAIAH PASSAGE AND ICONOCLASM

The passage Isa 40:18–31a is rarely quoted in the iconoclastic controversy. However, Theodore of Stoudios does discuss it briefly in a few places, where he balances quotes from Holy Scripture that seem to support iconoclasm against others which contradict them, his point being that God himself refutes statements unfavourable to the icons. In one passage of Theodore's *Antirrheticus*, 'iconoclast' quotes, including Isa 40:18, are pitched against other, 'iconophile' quotes from the Bible, and in his *Refutation of Iconoclastic Poems* he defines Isa 40:18 as "idolatry, but nullified by God Himself".<sup>19</sup> In these instances, Isa 40:18–19 is first quoted as justification for iconoclasm, but then revoked through reference to other biblical passages.

Even if Isa 40:18–31a did not play any significant role in the controversy, it must have seemed 'contaminated' by the association with the iconoclast emperor Leo and his diabolic choir master, and after the victory of orthodoxy in 843 the need must have been felt to erase the memory of iconoclasm from the lection. However, instead of choosing a completely different text from Isaiah for this day, it was apparently decided to keep L26a, but to mask the association to Leo V by adding text in front of the existing lection and thus provide it with a new incipit by which it would be identified in the future; in this way the infamous quote "To whom will ye liken the Lord?" had now become buried in the middle of the lection text. The prefixed additional text merged seamlessly with the older reading, the initial phrase of which, "Thus says the Lord," having of course been left out.

<sup>19</sup> Theodore of Stoudios, *Antirrheticus* 1, 5 (PG 99: 333C) and 1, 16 (PG 99: 345D–348A): Ἀμφοτέρωθεν γὰρ τῆς εἰδωλολατρείας τὸ ἐπικίνδυνον; *Refutation of Iconoclastic Poems* (PG 99: 457D): Καὶ τοῦτο εἰδωλολατρεία, καὶ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ δηλονότι ἀναιρούμενον.

Moreover, the added text could turn around the interpretation of the whole pericope. The new incipit of the lection, Isa 40:1, is quite different and the added text full of hope and promise:<sup>20</sup>

Comfort, comfort my people, says God. Oh priests, speak to the heart of Jerusalem and comfort her, because her time of humiliation is over, her sin is pardoned, for she has received of the Lord's hand double punishment for her sins. O Zion, who brings good tidings, get thee up into the high mountain; O Jerusalem, who brings good tidings, lift up your voice with strength; lift it up, be not afraid; say to the cities of Judah: Behold our God! [...]

The “time of humiliation and sin” would be the iconoclast period, for which there is now forgiveness after the victory of the iconophiles. The gold and the wood, out of which the image of God is made and which the iconoclasts saw as empty of spirit and life, can now be venerated as the “matter which has brought me salvation, since it is full of energy and holy graces”, just as one would venerate the ink in which the gospels were written, the paint of images, the gold and silver used to make crosses and cups for the altar, the wood of the Cross, and the body and blood of Jesus, as described in an often-quoted passage of John of Damascus.<sup>21</sup> In this vein, the whole of the extended L26a could be understood as a support of the iconophile movement.

The passage omitted from the longer version of L26a is Isa 40:3–8, which begins with the words “The voice of him that crieth in the wilderness”. This particular text was associated with John the Baptist and is, in fact, included in a reading for the vigil of his feasts of Nativity (June 24<sup>th</sup>: L67c) and Beheading (August 29<sup>th</sup>: L74a). It stands to reason that the expanded L26a avoided this passage because it was already used for the two feasts of John the Baptist, the vigils of which seem to be a rather late creation. If so, it lends support to the theory that the extended L26a was created after the restoration of the images in 843 CE.

The life of the extended Isaiah pericope L26a was not long. It appears in a handful of manuscripts from the eleventh/twelfth century and survives in another, small group of late manuscripts on Mount Athos.<sup>22</sup> The lection that prevails is the shorter, and older L26a with the incipit “To whom will ye liken the Lord? And what likeness will ye compare unto him?” The controversy over Leo V and his choir master's interpretation of Isa 40:18 must, after all, soon have been forgotten.

<sup>20</sup> L26a [1]–[15]: Παρακαλείτε παρακαλείτε τῷ λαῷ μου, λέγει ὁ θεός. οἱ ἱερεῖς λαλήσατε εἰς τὴν καρδίαν ἱερουσαλήμ. παρακαλέσατε αὐτήν, ὅτι ἐπλήσθη ἡ ταπείνωσις αὐτῆς, λέλυται αὐτῆς ἡ ἁμαρτία, ὅτι ἐδέξατο ἐκ χειρὸς κυρίου διπλὰ τὰ ἁμαρτήματα αὐτῆς. ἐπ' ὅρους ὑψηλοῦ ἀνάβηθι ὁ εὐαγγελιζόμενος σιών. ὑψώσον τῇ ἰσχύϊ τὴν φωνήν σου ὁ εὐαγγελιζόμενος ἱερουσαλήμ. ὑψώσατε μὴ φοβεῖσθε. εἶπον ταῖς πόλεσιν ἰούδα, ἰδοὺ ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν [...] (*Prophetologium* I:285; Isa 40:1–2.9).

<sup>21</sup> John of Damascus, *Discourses Against the Iconoclasts* 1, 17 (Kotter 1975, 89–90), transl. Benedict XVI 2010, 101.

<sup>22</sup> See n. 9 above.



## 5. CONCLUSION

The study of a small liturgical anomaly, compared to an episode related by Byzantine historians, demonstrates the intimate link between the religious life of Hagia Sophia and the politico-ideological situation in Byzantium. The Lenten part of the Old Testament lectionary, in which this anomaly in an Old Testament reading belongs, is extremely stable, so that changes in this fixed system of readings cannot be dismissed, but call for an explanation. The Old Testament reading from Isaiah for Tuesday of the fifth week of Lent, defined by its beginning words "To whom will ye liken the Lord?", was seized upon by a high-placed court official in order to strengthen the emperor's persecution of iconophiles. After the veneration of images was restored, this Isaiah reading, which had been compromised by close association with iconoclasm, needed to be changed. By the simple method of prefixing a new passage before the original lection, it acquired a different incipit and the critical beginning of the lection "To whom will ye liken the Lord", together with the following passage, was buried in the middle of the new, longer reading. However, after some time the iconoclast interpretation was forgotten, so that the original, shorter version could once more become the norm.

These changes demonstrate the attention paid to the Old Testament lections at Hagia Sophia and the direct political implication these readings could have. Since the function of the Old Testament lection was to 'prophecy' something outside itself, it could be interpreted in different ways by different people, reflecting contemporary and political events.

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# PHOTIOS'S HERMENEUTIC FOR WISDOM LITERATURE IN *AMPHILOCHIA* 9

MEREDITH L.D. RIEDEL



THE *AMPHILOCHIA* OF Photios is a collection of letters and treatises written by the patriarch during his first period of exile in the late 860s to explain difficulties in the Scriptures or related doctrines of the church.<sup>1</sup> Purporting to answer questions from Photios's protégé, Amphilochios, bishop of Kyzikos, these writings have never been translated into a modern language, although an excellent critical edition appeared some thirty years ago.<sup>2</sup> More than 100 of the 329 sections address questions concerning what Christians refer to as the Old Testament, and even more address difficulties in interpreting New Testament Scriptures (*aporiai*; from *ἀπορία*, perplexity). The first 75 are specifically addressed to Amphilochios and focus on mainly exegetical conundrums.<sup>3</sup>

The quality of Photios's work in this collection has given rise to the widespread acknowledgement of him as "the last creative Byzantine exegete".<sup>4</sup> His exegesis, as Michel Stavrou reminds us, should be understood as historically situated in the midst of three competing cultural realities: the recent restoration of the cult of icons, the emerging phenomenon of humanism, and Byzantine monastic theology *pace* Meyendorff.<sup>5</sup> As the leading intellectual of the later ninth century, Photios was highly educated in the Greek classical works as well as the Greek Fathers, and throughout the collection to Amphilochios he also cites scriptural sources from both Old and New

<sup>1</sup> For a fuller description of the *Amphilochia*, see Louth 2006, 209.

<sup>2</sup> Ed. Westerink 1986–1987.

<sup>3</sup> Westerink considers the first 75 questions to be the original corpus (1986, IV:xvii). He dates this group to 873–875. Hergenröther, who exhibits a modern disdain for Photios's unsystematic methodology, believed the patriarch's only original items in this work were questions 1, 21, 24, 43, 75, 77–78, 81–118, 171–173, 193–222, 235 and 246. His justification for this assessment is based on Photios's answers concerning the Pauline Epistles, which appear to imitate few identifiable prior sources, and Hergenröther's conviction that Photios plagiarized much of the other material in the *Amphilochia* (1869, III:42–48). It goes almost without saying, however, that the concept of plagiarism was foreign to Byzantine writers, and a patriarch with theological authority could make use of the wisdom of previous writers without concern for his editorial choices.

<sup>4</sup> Kolbaba 2012, 488.

<sup>5</sup> Stavrou 2017. See Meyendorff 1979, 66–79.

Testaments. Stavrou calls him an excellent connoisseur of the Scriptures.<sup>6</sup> The patriarch handles Amphilochios's *aporiai* with a confident deftness, addressing questions like 'How was the birth of Christ permitted to coincide with the massacre of the innocents?' (Q. 26) and 'Why did God create Paradise if he was going to immediately throw Adam out of it?' (Q. 51).

The tradition of theological questions-and-answers for biblical *aporiai* enjoys a distinguished history in Byzantium, with collections produced by such luminaries as Maximos the Confessor.<sup>7</sup> The goal of such works was to harmonize the difficulties and restore the credibility of the writings in question, thus safeguarding (and defending) their content as divinely revealed texts.

In this paper, I will concentrate on one question, *Amphilochia* 9, in order to mine it for evidence of Photios's hermeneutical approach. In *Amphilochia* 9, the patriarch reconciles an ambiguity in the Old Testament, and makes subtle exegetical moves to accomplish this. This particular question-and-answer concerns two apparently contradictory views of the value of humanity: one exalted, one lowly. In order to understand the contemporary significance of Photios's interpretation, one must take into consideration the contemporary political events, that is to say, the post-iconoclastic theological landscape, and the specific pressures of dealing with an emperor in the late ninth century who was deeply invested in religion.<sup>8</sup>

In what follows, I lay out the problem addressed in *Amphilochia* 9, present a translation of Photios's answer, and discuss the significance of his reply in terms of his hermeneutical approach to Wisdom literature, while considering these factors against specific pressures in the late ninth century. In doing so, I address the following questions. What is the problem Photios wants to solve here? What is his solution? And, perhaps most important, why does this matter?

## 1. THE PROBLEM

In *Amphilochia* 9, Photios applies himself to harmonizing what appears to be a conundrum in theological anthropology:<sup>9</sup>

Πῶς τοῦ θεοπάτορος Δαυὶδ εἰπόντος ἄνθρωπος ὡσεὶ χόρτος αἱ ἡμέραι αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐξῆς, ὁ τούτου παῖς Σολομὼν ἀποφαίνεται 'μέγα ἄνθρωπος καὶ τίμιον ἀνὴρ';

<sup>6</sup> Stavrou 2017, 38.

<sup>7</sup> A new edition and translation of Maximos's collection has recently appeared: Conostas 2014. For more on the tradition of *erōtapokriseis*, see Efthymiadis 2017.

<sup>8</sup> For more on the religious agenda of emperor Leo VI, see Riedel 2018.

<sup>9</sup> Photios, *Amphilochia* 9, ed. Westerink 1986, IV:43.1–3. Translation mine (biblical citations are taken from NETS, but modified).

How is it that, while the ancestor of Christ, David, says that “for a human being, one’s days are like grass” (Ps 102:15), his son Solomon declares that “a human is something great, and a man something precious” (Prov 20:6)?

It may be helpful to have the full biblical context of both sayings cited by Photios. Ps 102:13–16 reads:<sup>10</sup>

As a father has compassion for sons, the Lord has had compassion for those who fear him, because he knew our makeup. Remember that we are dust! As for a human being, one’s days are like grass (*ἄνθρωπος ὡσεὶ χόρτος*); like a flower of the field, so it will bloom, because a breath passed through it, and it will be gone, and it will no longer recognize its place.

In the original context of the LXX, the negative connotation in this psalm is clear: humanity is created from dust, and has a very short existence. The very ephemerality of human life described by David emphasizes low status. What could be less important than grass, or flowers, or dust? These things last but a moment. One day a flower is here, and the next it is wilted, finished, gone forever. David’s description of humanity as short-lived enjoys full warrant in the Old Testament scriptures. It appears not only in the Wisdom literature (e.g., Ps 38:5–6; Ps 89:6–10; Eccl 9:11–12; Job 14:1) but also in the prophets (Isa 37:27 and 51:12), the law (Gen 6:3) and even in the historical books (4 Kgdms 19:26). David’s anthropology is a firmly scriptural one.

In Prov 20, Solomon’s more dignified view of humanity is put forth. Here, the context is perhaps less helpful, but the whole proverb in verse 6 goes like this:<sup>11</sup>

A human is something great, and a compassionate man something precious, but to find a faithful man is a chore.

In Proverbs, the positive connotation is also clear: humanity is great (*μέγα ἄνθρωπος*), and compassionate humanity is precious (*τίμιον ἀνὴρ ἐλεήμων*). This is the case even though it is rare to find a person who can be described as faithful. The NETS translator of Proverbs has emphasized that the Greek of Proverbs tends to draw stark distinctions, and this observation is proved in this verse as well.<sup>12</sup> Even in a very positive description of humanity, there is yet something lacking. The value attached to humanity cannot be intrinsic; it is an assigned value, not one that is ontologically true. Although Photios does not deal directly with this aspect here, this view of humanity is connected to the

<sup>10</sup> Translation NETS (modified). It should be noted that the Old Testament as one discrete canonical collection of fixed books did not really exist in the Byzantine tradition. Rather, sections of the Septuagint (LXX) were used liturgically in shorter collections, e.g., the *prophetologion*. For more on this, see Miller 2010 and the contribution of Sysse Engberg to the present volume.

<sup>11</sup> Translation NETS (modified).

<sup>12</sup> Cook 1997.

theology of the Incarnation, impinging upon the reasons for it as well as principles of soteriology.

Although iconoclasm had been declared wrong by the Triumph of Orthodoxy in 843, there remained, unsurprisingly, people who held differing views of the Incarnation. The orthodox view, also embraced by Photios, viewed the Incarnation as an endorsement of the value of humanity as bearer of the image of God (a question addressed in *Amphilochia* 253), and therefore related to the redemption of individual persons who chose the blessedness of a spiritual way of life. In other words, the Incarnation proved that human life could not be intrinsically evil, that it was merely subject to mortality. By taking on flesh, the Christ affirmed the preciousness of humanity, and also provided what was so difficult to find: a faithful man. Indeed, to deny the validity of the icon as a true representation of Christ was tantamount to a denial of the materiality of the Incarnation.<sup>13</sup>

The essence of Prov 20:6 is that humanity has great value, or even more starkly put, that humanity is itself a supreme value, a ‘mega’ value (μέγα ἄνθρωπος). Humanity is described as worthy of honor (τίμιον ἄνθρωπος). There are no qualifiers, no caveats, just a simple declaration. Ontologically, it is a simple fact of life: the value of humanity is very high. Thus, the problem is set out. How can human life be as trivial and ephemeral as a flower’s, yet also ‘mega’-valuable just by virtue of sheer existence? Can both views, apparently opposed to each other, coexist in Scripture? This is the conundrum which Photios addresses in *Amphilochia* 9. In the following, I offer a translation and analysis of his answer to this question.

## 2. PHOTIOS’S ANSWER

### 2.1 *Translation*<sup>14</sup>

“Even when the godly David mostly disparages human nature and the wise Solomon praises it (μεγαλύνων), they do not introduce opinions that contradict each other. Nor are they the only ones to make such claims about humanity: you will find such statements also in many other places in Holy Scripture. That is to say, in one passage our human nature is elevated, while in another it is again disparaged and brought down. And this is not just in the Bible: also our Holy Fathers, who were initiated into the

<sup>13</sup> Constan 1999.

<sup>14</sup> As a historian and not a philologist equipped with the skills of precise translation, I would like to thank Reinhart Ceulemans for his invaluable suggestions that immeasurably improved this translation. I would also like to thank Maria Kouroumali for her assistance with the first iteration of this translation.

true wisdom derived from these biblical mysteries, all held differing views regarding humanity. Yet despite these differences in what they claim, they do not seem to create discord or conflict among themselves or between each other, but are rather perceived as establishing harmony (συμφωνίαν) and agreement. How it is that despite differing opinions, no conflict or contradiction to the truth ensues, it will henceforth be easy to understand.

Each person (ὁ ἄνθρωπος) is a two-fold creation (διπλὴν τὴν κατασκευήν) and lives life in a two-fold way: the first before the transgression (πρὸ τῆς παραβάσεως), the second after the breach of the command (μετὰ τὴν ἀθέτησιν τῆς ἐντολῆς). As a created being, a human is, on the one hand, clay and dust;<sup>15</sup> on the other hand, each human depicts the nature of the Almighty Lord of all beings.<sup>16</sup> Therefore, those passages that elevate humans and give them high standing point to the importance (τὸ μέγεθος) of the office given to them, and to their blessed and blissful life before the transgression. As for the passages that instead disparage and lower their standing, they bring out the painful consequences that followed after the transgression, that is, they point out clearly that every human is dust and that after death we decompose in the earth.

I say these things to make clear the primary and most important principles of the difference. From these, many other implications follow. For a person develops and grows constantly on the edge of two opposing choices: with resolve one has the potential of making progress in deification, but if one indulges the baser instincts, one loses all restraint of one's impulses.

On the one hand, choosing the path toward deification makes us worthy to receive many praises. On the other, if we choose to behave like a savage beast—I would say that such a person competes with the evil demons in wickedness—we are subjected to many censures. Especially when the mind is occupied with the pleasant and sweet things of daily life, one is overwhelmed by many sins every single day and unlikely to be capable of comprehending the meaning of the expression “vanity of vanities, all is vanity” (Eccl 1:2). On the other hand: when through reason one detaches oneself from the material world and from worldly circumstances and idle chatter, then shall we enjoy supreme spiritual happiness (εὐδαιμονίας), and even before experiencing those joys, one will revel in what one might call a present form and prelude to that abundant happiness.

Thus the father does not battle with the child, that is: the ancestor of Christ, David, does not battle with the wise Solomon, although one praises and the other disparages human nature. Likewise, Holy Scripture neither contradicts itself nor does the

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Gen 2:7 and 3:19; Eccl 3:20.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Gen 1:26–27; Ps 45:8 and 45:12 *inter alia*.

holy chorus of our Fathers contradict itself when sometimes they praise human nature but other times denigrate it and count it the very lowest and vilest estate.

How indeed could it not be the case (and you do not need my explanation to see this), that our physical passions and daily iniquities degrade our human nature, and that conversely our return to spiritual contemplation and the purity from pleasure that derives from it (ἡ δὲ πρὸς θεωρίαν ἐπιστροφή τοῦ νοῦ καὶ τὸ ἐκεῖθεν τῆς ἡδονῆς καθαρὸν), reveals that our life is blessed and happy?”

## 2.2 *Analysis*

Photios's brief discussion in reply to this problem is more philosophical than exegetical, at least in terms of the content of these particular biblical verses. He does not analyze their terminology so much as present them in a broader rhetorical context that makes it impossible to see in these two approaches a contradiction or difficulty. Perhaps because these verses are found in Wisdom literature, an interpreter is invited to analyze them at the level of ideas, or even, one might say, of theology. Photios approaches the problem with several concerns in mind.

Like some of the conundrums brought for judgement to Solomon, the question Photios seeks to answer in *Amphilochia* 9 poses an apparent contradiction between two perspectives of theological anthropology: a negative one that depicts human beings as ephemeral and unimportant as grass (ἄνθρωπος ὡσεὶ χόρτος), and a positive one that views humanity as having a high status of ontological importance (μέγα ἄνθρωπος). These two views are drawn from Wisdom literature—from the Psalms where David is stipulated in the text as the author, and from Proverbs, of which Solomon is traditionally ascribed authorship.

First, Photios must deal with the immediate question of the significance of humanity in the divine *oikonomia*. This high anthropology in Byzantine Orthodoxy is evident primarily in the theology of the iconophiles of the early ninth century, and in particular in its relation to the Incarnation. The ‘iconization’ of the invisible God in the person of Jesus Christ served to elevate all humanity, but also made possible the fundamental goal of Orthodox theology, which is *theōsis*, the deification of the human. Crediting Cyril of Alexandria for this insight, theologian John McGuckin describes this as “the perfectly close weave between anthropology and the gift of deification”.<sup>17</sup>

The question of achievability of this high status is very interesting, because it impinges directly on the concept of human identity. Photios's iconophile exegesis was appropriate for his historical moment, and his literal approach firmly rejected any alle-

<sup>17</sup> McGuckin 2008, 190.



gorical methodology for interpreting the Scriptures.<sup>18</sup> In this treatment of these two pericopes, the patriarch demonstrated fidelity to Byzantine exegetical tradition, which, following Origen, sought to understand Scripture on the basis of the assumption that it presented a unified message.<sup>19</sup>

Second, the sayings of David and Solomon had to be reconciled or harmonized without impugning either one, because of their stature as archetypal kings.<sup>20</sup> The practice of holding up such models for Byzantine rulers dates to the early years of the Byzantine empire, initiated by bishops directly addressing emperors, either in panegyric or polemic as the rulers in question variously imitated or flouted biblical *typoi*.<sup>21</sup> In the ninth century, during the period of Photios's composition of the *Amphilochia*, rulers appealed to both of these kingly models. Basil I (r. 867–886), Leo VI's predecessor and founder of the dynasty of the Macedonians, was praised as a new David.<sup>22</sup> Fittingly, his son, Leo VI (r. 886–912), was seen to fulfill the role of Solomon to Basil's David, because of Leo's renowned wisdom.<sup>23</sup>

As biblical prototypes, the wisdom of these two Israelite kings, particularly for Byzantine emperors, cannot be overstated. Photios does not explicitly mention the Davidic Basil I or the Solomonic Leo VI in his reflections here, but his agenda of harmonizing the biblical authors finds an interesting resonance in the acts of the Macedonian emperors, both of whom deposed him from the patriarchate soon after each gained the imperial throne, Basil I in 867 and Leo VI in 886.

### 3. PHOTIOS AS AUTHOR

As an intellectual who fought against heresy and falsehood wherever he found it, Photios's motivation for writing this series of treatises mostly on the subject of the Scriptures was no doubt a task to which he considered himself called. The outline of his life

<sup>18</sup> Constan 1999, 106.

<sup>19</sup> Cunningham 2016. Although Cunningham's essay is focused on preaching rather than theological *aporiai*, it offers a useful analysis of different approaches to Scripture in a liturgical context that might also help illuminate Photios's epistolary response to the bishop Amphilochios.

<sup>20</sup> For more on the importance of these biblical models for the Macedonian dynasty, see Eshel 2018, esp. 59–76.

<sup>21</sup> Rapp 2010.

<sup>22</sup> Markopoulos 1992.

<sup>23</sup> On Basil's identification with David, see Markopoulos 1994 and the introduction in Magdalino & Nelson 2010, 22–29. On Leo's identification with Solomon, see Tougher 1994 and Riedel 2018, 95–121. On Leo's reputation for wisdom, see Tougher 1997, 110–118 (with literature). See also Antonopoulou 1997.

is, as Cyril Mango has observed, “too well-known to need re-telling”.<sup>24</sup> However, since the contours of his life shed light on the patriarch’s theological interests and emphases, they are well worth briefly reviewing here for their relevance to his literary acumen.

Photios was born to a distinguished iconophile family perhaps around the year 820. His father, Sergios, held the high-ranking position of *spatharios*, an officer of the palace guard, while his uncle, Tarasios, patriarch from 784–806, had presided over the Seventh Ecumenical Council in 787, which restored icons and ended the first period of iconoclasm. Photios’s family suffered under the anathemas of the second period of iconoclasm, an experience that undoubtedly shaped his theological convictions and understanding of ecclesial power. After the Triumph of Orthodoxy restoring icons in 843 but before the advent of the Macedonian dynasty in 867, Photios had already accrued many imperial dignities and offices, including the post of professor of philosophy at the newly-formed Magnaura school.<sup>25</sup> In December of 857, after a political scandal in which Ignatios had been deposed from the patriarchate, Photios, as a reluctant but learned and neutral candidate with a good family background, was appointed to the patriarchal throne. Modern scholarship has praised him as “the most distinguished thinker, the most outstanding politician, and the most skilful diplomat ever to hold office as Patriarch of Constantinople”.<sup>26</sup> Upon the accession of Basil I in 867, Photios was deposed, another victim of politics, and sent into exile.<sup>27</sup> Within a few months, he was anathematized in Rome and again in 869 by 102 bishops in Constantinople. It was during this six-year period of exile that he wrote the *Amphilochia*, despite the loss of his library, a cause of grief to him likely more severe than exile itself. His literary output during this time comprised several hundred letters, still extant, including his replies to epistolary theological queries.

### 3.1 *Photios’s View of the Role of Patriarch*

Photios’s own view of his calling appears in his *Eisagogē*, a legal manual written in the 880s.<sup>28</sup> In the first article of Title III, the patriarch is described as “an incarnate

<sup>24</sup> Mango 1958, 3. For descriptions of Photios’s life, see Dvornik 1948. The classic study remains Hergenröther 1867–1869.

<sup>25</sup> Krumbacher 1891, 8. Lemerle has disputed whether this was the case however (1971, 146 and 263–265).

<sup>26</sup> Ostrogorsky 1969, 224.

<sup>27</sup> At the monastery of Skepe, outside of Constantinople.

<sup>28</sup> Schminck argues for the date of 886 (1986, 1–15). Van Bochove believes it to have been written 880–883 (1996). Signes Codoñer considers 879–888 the acceptable range for dating the work (Signes Codoñer & Andrés Santos 2007, 160–278). Cf. Chitwood 2017, 29 and Dagron 2003, 229.

and living image of Christ, who, by his words and his deeds, expresses the truth”.<sup>29</sup> In other words, the patriarch himself is effectively a living icon of Christ. This language, employed just a few decades after the defeat of iconoclasm as an imperial policy, is explicitly iconophile, echoing John Damascene’s well-known description of the icon of Christ.<sup>30</sup> Such strong identification entails that Photios considered his role as patriarch to be, even more so than the emperor, reflective of the truth of the Christian religion. Accordingly, his interpretation of Scripture, including his answers to biblical difficulties, have to be received as correct and authoritative. Moreover, as the *Eisagogē* elaborates, such pastoral care and concern for the orthodoxy of the empire’s faithful citizens constituted the patriarch’s primary function. The so-called ‘Photian’ council of 879–880 had, just prior to this, rehabilitated Photios after his restoration to the patriarchal throne.<sup>31</sup> The fourth session of the council recorded extraordinary praise for Photios: “The pure soul of Photios is so inspired that like the sun he illuminates all creation, even while resident at Constantinople”.<sup>32</sup>

Gilbert Dagron has been careful to argue that in the *Eisagogē* “the temporal power and a spiritual power which aimed to eclipse it were placed in false symmetry”.<sup>33</sup> By this he meant that Photios made a claim that was not sustained by the imperial authorities; Leo VI’s *Procheiros Nomos* superseded the *Eisagogē* less than twenty years later, proving that the power of the emperor remained superior to that of the patriarch, a state of affairs that endured throughout the Macedonian dynasty. This debate is relevant to this paper because Photios’s interpretation of this biblical difficulty could be construed as a warning of sorts to those who might underestimate the difficulties of being human. In other words, even the wisest king of ancient biblical reputation knew that human life was full of vanities; one might wonder, did the ruler who had forced Photios to resign the patriarchal throne also understand this? The central issue has to do with who better fulfilled the role of incarnating the divine to the people of Byzantium. For Photios, this was assuredly the patriarch, not the emperor.

This Incarnation of Christ as the patriarch could also have been inspired, as Dagron notes, by Maximos the Confessor, who wrote,

[...] the great Melchizedek, having been imbued with divine virtue, was deemed worthy to become an image of Christ God and His unutterable mysteries, for in Him all the saints con-

<sup>29</sup> Schminck 1985, 213, quoted by Dagron 2003, 231. On this legislation, see Riedel 2018, 96 and 101.

<sup>30</sup> See John of Damascus, *On Icons* 1, 9 and 1, 21, referenced by Signes Codoñer & Andrés Santos 2007, 291 n. 44.

<sup>31</sup> Meijer 1975.

<sup>32</sup> Chadwick 2003, 177, paraphrasing Section 28 of the IV<sup>th</sup> act (ed. Mansi 17: 485A: οὕτω καὶ ὁ δεσπότης ἡμῶν ὁ κύριος Φῶτιος, κἂν καθέζεται εἰς Κωνσταντινούπολιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν σύμπασαν κτίσιν δαδουχεῖ καὶ καταλάμπει).

<sup>33</sup> Dagron 2003, 7.

verge as to an archetype, to the very cause of the manifestation of the Beautiful that is realized in each of them, and this is especially true of this saint, since he bears within himself more prefigurations of Christ than all the rest.<sup>34</sup>

Melchizedek, the mysterious king of Salem and priest “of God Most High”, appears in Gen 14:18–20, where he blesses Abram before the latter became Abraham in the covenant with YHWH, the deity whose name was later revealed to Moses in Exod 3.<sup>35</sup> The name Melchizedek means ‘my king is righteousness’, but nothing more is known about him. The epistle to the Hebrews refers to Jesus Christ as a “priest in the order of Melchizedek” in the passages explaining his superior role.<sup>36</sup> Thus, Maximos describes the Old Testament figure as a proleptic appearance of the second person of the Trinity. If the patriarch himself is then to be considered another priestly incarnation of the image of Christ, his authority should thus be understood to be as weighty as that of God, his power as sovereign as a king’s, and his eloquence that of a divinely sent bearer of truth and blessing to those chosen by God. In fact, the *Eisagogē* has been said to have elevated the patriarch to “pontifical stature”.<sup>37</sup>

### 3.2 *Biblical Exegesis in the Amphilochia*

Despite Photios’s initial unwillingness to serve the church as ordained clergy, he appears to have come to view his role as patriarch very highly. This embrace of the call and understanding of his responsibilities may also be seen in the way he answers scriptural difficulties in the *Amphilochia*. His language, while complex, is also straightforward in terms of his confidence in resolving problems. Although he ends this particular answer with a rhetorical question, the theology he presents assumes a significant grasp of theological matters on the part of his interlocutor. This assumption may not have been terribly remarkable, however. After all, it is not as though theology were something foreign or uninteresting to most Byzantines. As Steven Runciman once remarked, “No one in Byzantium thought that theology was the exclusive concern of the clergy”.<sup>38</sup> His perspective is echoed by more modern scholars of Byzantine theology, like John Meyendorff, who observed that “[i]n Byzantium, theology was never a monopoly of professionals”.<sup>39</sup> Photios likely shared this view, in part because it echoes, albeit less colourfully, a similar sentiment famously expressed in the fourth century by Gregory of

<sup>34</sup> Maximos the Confessor, *Ambigua to John* 10, 20a, 45, transl. Constan 2014, I:220. See Dagron 2003, 231.

<sup>35</sup> See Gen 15.

<sup>36</sup> The writer of Hebrews quotes Ps 109:4 in 5:6, 5:10, 6:20 and 7:17; an explanation appears in Heb 7.

<sup>37</sup> Dagron 2003, 234.

<sup>38</sup> Runciman 1955, 7.

<sup>39</sup> Meyendorff 1979, 5.

Nyssa in his *Oration on the Deity of the Son and of the Holy Spirit*, where he complained about the fascination held by the citizens of Constantinople for theological details.<sup>40</sup>

The genre of Photios's work is also useful for understanding the goal of its author. Andrew Louth sees this collection as representing a Byzantine tradition of "theological pottering about with little interest in doing anything particularly new",<sup>41</sup> yet it is also a thoughtful and highly educated rumination on solving exegetical problems. Earlier works in this tradition include Maximos the Confessor's well-known *Ambigua*, written in part to counteract the subtle errors of Origenist exegesis, as well as collections like the letters of Basil of Caesarea, some of which included answers to questions from a friend also named Amphilochios.<sup>42</sup> In fact, it has been argued that Photios considered Basil of Caesarea, as well as Gregory of Nazianzos, model patriarchs whom he desired to emulate.<sup>43</sup> Like them, Photios as patriarch demonstrated that he could solve the puzzles of apparent contradictions in the Bible by means of erudition and wisdom.<sup>44</sup>

#### 4. PHOTIOS'S PHILOSOPHY OF RULERSHIP

The mirrors of princes authored by Photios might be useful in revealing his philosophy of rulership in more detail. He wrote two pieces in this genre: one addressed to Boris-Michael of Bulgaria, and one to his former pupil Leo VI.<sup>45</sup>

Soon after the conversion of the Bulgar leader, Boris, in the early 860s, Photios sent a lengthy letter to him using his new Christian name, Michael.<sup>46</sup> The letter is a triumph of Christian humanism in that it presents the foundational beliefs of Chris-

<sup>40</sup> Ed. Rhein 1996, 121.3–12. My translation: "The narrow streets, the market places, the squares, the alleyways: the whole city is full of that kind of people. You can find them among those who deal in clothes, money changers, the men who sell us food. If you would ask someone about money, he would philosophize about the Begotten and the Unbegotten; if you inquire about the price of a loaf, you are told by way of reply that the Father is greater (cf. John 14:28) and the Son subject to Him; if you ask, "Is my bath ready?"; the other person quotes you a definition about the Son having been created out of nothing".

<sup>41</sup> Louth 2006, 221.

<sup>42</sup> The title of Photios's collection of answers directed to 'Amphilochios' could have been chosen by the text's compiler deliberately to bring a lustre of authority via similarity to the great Basil of Caesarea: Louth 2006, 212.

<sup>43</sup> Podskalsky 2003, 48.

<sup>44</sup> Meyendorff refers to Photios's "predilection for Antiochian exegesis" but also his rigorous faithfulness to Cyrillian exegesis, a characterization that reveals Photios's extensive erudition as well as his qualifications for the patriarchal throne (1979, 59).

<sup>45</sup> This latter work identifies Basil I as the author, but scholars agree that it was much more likely to have come from the pen of the erudite patriarch rather than the imperial usurper. On this text, see now Tougher 2018.

<sup>46</sup> Ed. Laourdas & Westerink 1983, I:1–39.

tianity together with a list of principles for Christian rulers. These principles are primarily drawn from biblical sources, but also from classical Greek sources like Isocrates. Among the biblical sources, Photios uses primarily Ben Sira, adding a few scriptural echoes from the Gospel of Matthew. The parenetic texts written to Leo VI, putatively from Basil I, but likely written by Photios, were composed in the early 880s, and much of their content coincides with that of the letter to Boris-Michael.<sup>47</sup> In particular, much of the second text is devoted to the Christian character of a ruler, emphasizing wise and morally pure behaviour, a theme that resonates with the theological anthropology of *Amphilochia* 9.

As was typical of Byzantine exegetes, Photios expresses acute interest in the practical implications of theology. In resolving the question posed in *Amphilochia* 9, he is concerned to address myriad queries behind the problem: that is, the concern for how to live a blessed life when the reality of being human by necessity includes the struggle to overcome physical passions in the lifelong effort to progress toward deification.

In *Amphilochia* 9, Photios does not engage in an Alexandrian kind of allegorical exegesis. Nor is he attempting to claim a secret, gnostic interpretation that seeks to mystically harmonize the apparent contradiction. Rather, he is reckoning with the written record of the Scriptures as a coherent corpus, taking into account the whole, rather than simply examining the parts. Underlying this exegetical move is the assumption that the Scriptures present a unified perspective and cohesive whole, and that apparent contradictions are precisely that: merely apparent rather than substantive. Beyond this, the Scriptures represent for Photios a body of material capable of describing human nature accurately, even though humanity is by definition (in the Scriptures) fleeting and changeable.<sup>48</sup>

What is this larger picture that he presents? In accord with Greek theologians before him, his anthropology is almost entirely positive. There is no discussion of sin per se, as one might expect. There is, rather, a frank description of the friability of human life, of humanity as 'of the earth' in the sense of the stuff of creation, and the reality of the effects of mortality on physical bodies. Indeed, this duality of approach in terms of both physical fragility and spiritual honour is reflected in Photios's exegesis. It manifests the distinctively Orthodox view that humanity is saved not from sin but from mortality (a topic addressed in *Amphilochia* 70).

Although western theology has at times been understood to spiritualize the corporeal to the point of denigrating human physicality (some recent scholarship has addressed this problem),<sup>49</sup> Byzantine Orthodox theology never lost this focus on the

<sup>47</sup> Markopoulos 1998, 472.

<sup>48</sup> Ps 102:15; Job 14:2; Isa 40:6; Jas 1:10.

<sup>49</sup> See for example the excellent Jones 2007.

dignity of the body. In other words, “the constant perspective of life as a movement towards transfiguration does not denigrate the validity and beauty and immediacy of this present life.”<sup>50</sup> In *Amphilochia* 9, this dignity is expressed through the creation of humanity as a depiction of the nature of God, or what Scripture calls being made in God’s image.<sup>51</sup> The emphasis is laid on mortality as the result of the transgression, as Photios calls it, which is redeemed by the work of Christ. So, while David could rightly claim that human life is as impermanent as grass, this observation is not in conflict with Solomon’s announcement of the high value of humanity. In this way, Photios can honour both the creation account of Genesis, where humanity is proclaimed by God to be ‘very good’ (Gen 1:31), and also the statements as recorded in biblical Wisdom books from two of Israel’s most celebrated kings (Ps 102:15 and Prov 20:6).

The dots can be connected if one understands that the crux of eastern Christian faith is the miracle of the life-giving spirit granted to those who have short and apparently unimportant lives on account of the frailty of human flesh. Thus Photios, writing within the Byzantine tradition, does not have to contend with a dualistic theological anthropology, because the Byzantine Orthodox view does not embrace the concept of original sin. Although Photios’s reply here mentions the “two-fold creation” (διπλὴν τὴν κατασκευήν) of humanity, this is a reference to the two successive chronological stages represented by “before the transgression” (πρὸ τῆς παραβάσεως) and “after the breach of the command” (μετὰ τὴν ἀθέτησιν τῆς ἐντολῆς). As Photios explains, the problem is not sin, but mortality: despite the high office of divine image-bearer, each human is also dust, i.e., a human body that will eventually decompose in the earth. The key to understanding the dignity of the creation of humanity lies in the call to fulfil the office despite the weakness of the flesh. Byzantine Orthodoxy calls this the *askēsis* required to progress in *theōsis*.

## 5. PHOTIOS'S PHILOSOPHICAL HERMENEUTICS OF PRACTICAL WISDOM

The appeal to the Wisdom literature—Photios quotes Ecclesiastes here—demonstrates the patriarch’s philosophical hermeneutics that invites a focus on theological practices rather than using a strictly historical approach. Photios’s appeal to practical wisdom thus grounds his theology in a lived, embodied human existence, rather than the abstract, cerebral world of intellectuals. Indeed, as he addresses the problem of this apparent biblical contradiction, he also assumes a deeper understanding of the human

<sup>50</sup> McGuckin 2008, 195.

<sup>51</sup> Gen 1:27, 5:1, 9:6; Ps 8:5; Eph 4:24; Jas 3:9, *inter alia*.



condition as a kind of ongoing *askēsis* or athletic labour, whereby men and women prove their worth by the quality of the lives they live. McGuckin explains this approach as a “deep optimism [...] of human life as an athletic context” in the patristic tradition.<sup>52</sup> The movement described here is thus not one of deprivation—as in, for example, the denial of the body—but rather one of extension, whereby the human being attends to the call to “spiritual contemplation and the purity from pleasure that derives from it” (ἡ δὲ πρὸς θεωρίαν ἐπιστροφή τοῦ νοῦ καὶ τὸ ἐκείθεν τῆς ἡδονῆς καθαρὸν) whilst simultaneously disciplining the body. This physical discipline is not one of punishment, but one that reveals the importance of the body as something that influences the soul.

All human beings can relate to the struggle to be a good person despite the temptation to indulge baser instincts. However, it is just this conjunction of spiritual and material and the ascetic effort to discipline both that forms the “ontological ground”<sup>53</sup> of ascent via *theōsis*. Thus Photios warns his reader, in the tradition of biblical wisdom, that it is better to seek the lasting joys of heaven over the passing pleasures of the earthly life. The solution that Photios proposes here is to offer a way forward in the face of an apparent contradiction, rather than remain mired in paralyzing confusion. The existence of the struggle is simply a fact of human existence, which is both fragile and ephemeral as grass, and also precious and ‘mega’-valuable, despite being housed in jars of clay (2 Cor 4:7). Ultimately, says Photios, it is the wise understanding of this apparent contradiction that leads to true humility. And this is why the question, and its solution, matter: to help with faithful understanding as well as intelligent observance of one’s religious belief. The practical wisdom of Byzantine Orthodox theological anthropology lies in seeking to elevate one’s spiritual happiness (*εὐδαιμονία*) by means of disciplining one’s focus, that is, removing it from the vanities of mundane daily life and attaching it to the desire for deification. In this way, the patriarch harmonizes the two sayings while also instructing his reader on the correct view of human nature.

<sup>52</sup> McGuckin 2008, 189.

<sup>53</sup> McGuckin 2008, 197, discussing the analysis of Gregory of Nazianzos on the creation of humanity and the human soul.



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# QUOTATIONS



# LES *TESTIMONIA*, DE LA FIN DE L'ANTIQUITÉ À BYZANCE : REMARQUES SUR UNE HISTOIRE QU'IL RESTE À ÉCRIRE

SÉBASTIEN MORLET



AVANT D'ADOPTER LA forme des commentaires suivis, la lecture chrétienne de la Bible a d'abord pris celle d'une lecture sélective, centrée sur les textes censés annoncer, dans l'Ancien Testament, la vie de Jésus et la naissance de l'Église. Ce type de textes, baptisés *Testimonia* par la critique, se trouve déjà dans le Nouveau Testament. On les retrouve ensuite constamment dans les textes chrétiens de l'Antiquité, notamment dans les textes catéchétiques et dans les ouvrages de polémique antijuive. On pouvait les trouver également rassemblés dans des florilèges dont le premier exemple conservé est l'*Ad Quirinum* de Cyprien de Carthage, au III<sup>e</sup> siècle<sup>1</sup>. Ces florilèges pouvaient servir de base à la catéchèse ou à la polémique avec les juifs. Les *Testimonia* y étaient rangés dans des rubriques dont les intitulés correspondaient aux points fondamentaux de la foi : Que le Christ est Dieu, Qu'il devait naître d'une vierge, Que les juifs seraient rejetés, Que les nations seraient appelées, etc. Dans les collections de type thématique, le dossier sur le Christ suivait l'ordre de la vie de Jésus, depuis sa divinité puis sa naissance jusqu'à sa Passion, son Ascension, et son retour. À côté de ces collections thématiques, dont le modèle semble avoir été majoritaire, en tout cas dans l'Antiquité, on connaît un autre type de collection, comme les *Extraits prophétiques* d'Eusèbe de Césarée, où les *Testimonia* sont rangés, non par rubriques thématiques, mais suivant l'ordre du texte biblique<sup>2</sup>.

Les *Testimonia* ont fait l'objet de plusieurs études, depuis la fin du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle, mais des études centrées sur l'Antiquité, et dépassant rarement le III<sup>e</sup> siècle<sup>3</sup>. Or les *Testimonia* ont continué à être transmis et à jouer un rôle tout aussi important dans la

<sup>1</sup> La dernière édition en date est celle de Weber 1972, 3–179.

<sup>2</sup> La seule édition disponible est pour l'instant celle de Gaisford 1842. Eusèbe suit *grosso modo* l'ordre du texte biblique : le livre 1 est consacré aux écritures qu'il appelle « historiques » ; le livre 2, aux Psaumes ; le livre 3, aux autres livres poétiques ; Isaïe est rejeté dans le livre 4.

<sup>3</sup> Après l'étude pionnière de Rendel Harris 1916–1920, qui imaginait l'existence d'un unique recueil de *Testimonia*, antérieur aux évangiles, qui aurait été ensuite la source de la plupart des collections postérieures, on peut évoquer surtout Prigent 1961, qui permet de prendre connaissance de l'état de la recherche depuis Rendel Harris jusqu'à ses propres travaux, et Daniélou 1966.

culture chrétienne – à côté de la catéchèse et de la polémique, il faudrait parler également de liturgie et d'iconographie<sup>4</sup> – au-delà du III<sup>e</sup> siècle, c'est-à-dire y compris après la naissance, dans l'Église, d'une tradition de commentaire suivi du texte biblique<sup>5</sup>. Il reste donc à écrire une histoire des *Testimonia* à Byzance<sup>6</sup>.

Certains travaux peuvent d'ores et déjà y contribuer, car les études se sont plus récemment ouvertes à des époques plus tardives que le III<sup>e</sup> siècle. La synthèse de M. Albl, par exemple, couvre une période allant jusqu'au V<sup>e</sup> siècle<sup>7</sup>. Un ouvrage plus récent situe les *Testimonia* dans une histoire longue, celle des *eklogai*, qui commence en Grèce classique et qui court jusqu'à la Renaissance et au-delà<sup>8</sup>. Certains recueils de *Testimonia* tardoantiques ou médiévaux ont fait l'objet d'éditions plus ou moins récentes<sup>9</sup>, ou bien d'études préliminaires en vue d'une édition<sup>10</sup>. Parmi les études consacrées à des *Testimonia* de l'Antiquité tardive, on évoquera quelques-unes, assez récentes, sur Cyprien de Carthage<sup>11</sup> et sur la *Démonstration évangélique* d'Eusèbe de Césarée<sup>12</sup>. On signalera enfin des études ponctuelles, comme celle que P. Andrist a consacrée à un *Testimonium* classique, Dt 28,66<sup>13</sup>.

Une histoire des *Testimonia* à Byzance devrait aussi prendre en compte, à côté des recueils proprement dits, deux genres littéraires par lesquels les *Testimonia* ont été particulièrement transmis et qui profitent depuis quelque temps d'un intérêt particulier de la critique : les textes *adversus Iudaeos*, surtout, et les ouvrages catéchétiques, dans une moindre mesure<sup>14</sup>. Enfin, il conviendrait aussi de prendre en compte les interac-

<sup>4</sup> Sur ces deux points, voir par exemple Dulaey 2001 et 2007.

<sup>5</sup> L'illustration la plus évidente de la pérennité des *Testimonia* réside sans doute dans l'existence, jusqu'à la fin du Moyen Âge grec, de dialogues contre le judaïsme dans lesquels l'argumentation prophétique reste de mise (voir Williams 1935 ; Külzer 1999 ; Andrist 2009 ; Congourdeau 2013).

<sup>6</sup> L'ouvrage collectif édité par Magdalino & Nelson 2010, par exemple, n'évoque pas cette question.

<sup>7</sup> Albl 1999.

<sup>8</sup> Morlet 2015b. Dans cet ouvrage, on signalera plus spécialement, sur les *Testimonia* : Morlet 2015a, Ciccolini 2015, Reynard 2015 et Déroche 2015.

<sup>9</sup> Voir par exemple l'édition du recueil attribué à Épiphane de Salamine par Hotchkiss 1974, et celle de la collection assignée à Grégoire de Nysse par Albl 2004. Deux autres collections sont éditées par De Groote 2005a et 2005b. L'existence d'un recueil anonyme à la Bibliothèque John Rylands est signalée par Falcetta 2001.

<sup>10</sup> Voir par exemple Reynard 2001 et 2015 sur les *Testimonia* attribués à Grégoire de Nysse.

<sup>11</sup> Ciccolini 2015 et, du même auteur, « La Bible au III<sup>e</sup> s. d'après l'œuvre de Cyprien de Carthage : les florilèges bibliques et leurs usages », à paraître dans les actes du colloque « Mise en œuvres des écritures », organisé à Paris, les 5–6 décembre 2016.

<sup>12</sup> Morlet 2009 (voir aussi Morlet 2007b).

<sup>13</sup> Andrist 2007.

<sup>14</sup> Voir par exemple Grignon 2003 et Debié 1996 pour les œuvres catéchétiques. Sur les dialogues *adversus Iudaeos*, voir Morlet, Munnich & Pouderon 2013. De nouvelles éditions et traductions

tions possibles entre les recueils grecs et les recueils similaires produits dans les christianismes dits « orientaux »<sup>15</sup>.

Comme il ne peut être question de dresser ici un inventaire exhaustif des *Testimonia* et de leurs usages à Byzance, je rappellerai pour commencer quelles sont les caractéristiques de la « tradition » des *Testimonia* sous l'Empire romain (Haut-Empire et Antiquité tardive), avant de rappeler le rôle capital joué par Eusèbe de Césarée dans l'histoire de cette tradition. J'esquisserai pour finir quelques éléments de réflexion sur la postérité du travail d'Eusèbe dans quelques textes byzantins. Il n'est pas question de ramener tout, par principe, à Eusèbe de Césarée. Il me semble cependant que ce dernier a joué, dans le devenir des *Testimonia* à Byzance, un rôle important, à l'image de la contribution générale qui fut la sienne dans l'histoire des pratiques lettrées<sup>16</sup>.

# 1. LES *TESTIMONIA* : UNE TRADITION PARTICULIÈRE DU TEXTE BIBLIQUE

Les études consacrées aux *Testimonia* dans l'Antiquité ont mis en évidence un certain nombre de traits propres à cette tradition particulière du texte biblique :

- Les *Testimonia* sont en général des textes très courts, ne dépassant pas, sauf exception, un ou deux versets.
- Ils sont lus, en général, indépendamment de leur contexte littéraire, et interprétés comme des unités de sens autonomes. Certains textes ne figurent parmi les *Testimonia* que parce qu'ils contiennent un mot clef comme « pierre » ou « bois »<sup>17</sup>.

permettent désormais de prendre connaissance de ce vaste corpus, de toute première importance pour l'histoire des *Testimonia*. Citons par exemple l'édition du *Dialogue d'Athanase et Zachée* (composé entre 381 et 431 ?) par Andrist (2001). Le *Dialogue de Timothée et Aquila* a fait lui aussi l'objet d'une nouvelle édition, dans sa forme longue (Robertson 1986) et dans sa forme brève (Lahey 2000). J'ai publié récemment une traduction française de la forme longue (Morlet 2017), et il existe une traduction anglaise, tant de celle-ci, que du *Dialogue d'Athanase et Zachée* et de l'*Altercatio legis inter Simonem Iudaeum et Theophilum Christianum* (Varner 2004). Un dialogue anonyme important est édité (Declerck 1994) et traduit (Fields 2012). Pour n'en rester qu'au côté grec, on signalera encore le *De Gestis in Perside* (Bringel 2007) ou encore le *Dialogue des juifs Papiscus et Philon avec un moine* (Aulisa & Schiano 2005), rebaptisé *Dialogica polymorpha antiiudaica* par Andrist & Déroche 2013 (VII<sup>e</sup> siècle ?). Voir encore la *Disputatio Gregentii cum Herbano Iudaeo* éditée par Berger 2006.

<sup>15</sup> Voir par exemple Bertaina 2007.

<sup>16</sup> Morlet 2015a (à propos de son rôle dans l'histoire des extraits).

<sup>17</sup> Pour le dossier sur le Christ comme « pierre », voir l'*Épître de Barnabé* 6, 2 ; Tertullien, *Contre Marcion* 3, 7 et *Contre les juifs* 14, 3 ; Cyprien, *Quir.* 2, 16. Pour le dossier sur le « bois », voir l'*Épître de Barnabé* 12, 1 ; Tertullien, *Contre les juifs* 10, 6 ; Cyprien, *Quir.* 2, 20.

- Leur transmission présente parfois des erreurs d'attribution : tel prophète pris pour un autre, par exemple.
- Ils peuvent offrir un état particulier du texte biblique. L'exemple le plus célèbre et le plus ancien est sans doute celui du Ps 95,10, *Le Seigneur a régné* (ὁ κύριος ἐβασίλευσεν), cité avec l'ajout *depuis le bois* (ἀπὸ τοῦ ξύλου).
- Les *Testimonia* se présentent parfois comme le résultat de la conflation de deux ou de plusieurs textes bibliques cités comme un texte unitaire. Le cas est très fréquent chez Justin, par exemple<sup>18</sup>.
- Les *Testimonia*, enfin, comprennent des textes qui ne sont pas attestés dans l'Écriture. Selon les cas, ils peuvent être tirés d'ouvrages apocryphes qui n'ont pas survécu, ou être de purs *agrapha*, c'est-à-dire des textes qui n'ont d'existence que là où ils sont cités<sup>19</sup>.

C'est dire que les *Testimonia*, au moins dans les premiers siècles, représentent une tradition particulière du texte biblique. Pour l'essentiel, c'est une tradition indirecte, puisqu'elle se transmet souvent indépendamment du texte intégral de la Bible, bien que cette tradition – et c'est tout le paradoxe – ait constitué, pour la plupart des chrétiens, surtout les moins lettrés, une voie d'accès privilégiée, peut-être parfois la seule, aux Écritures.

La naissance du commentaire suivi, au III<sup>e</sup> siècle, chez Origène et Hippolyte, n'a pas fait disparaître les *Testimonia*, bien que le commentaire représente une toute autre façon d'aborder le texte biblique. Mais ce fait est compréhensible. Le commentaire suivi relève d'une démarche savante, scholastique, d'une volonté de percer tous les sens du texte biblique. Les *Testimonia*, en revanche, impliquent une lecture plus commune, commune au sens où elle est plus simple, mais aussi plus partagée ; et ils supposent une herméneutique moins profonde du texte biblique, ou bien très littérale, ou bien, au contraire, typologique. Le fait est que, dans les recueils de *Testimonia*, il n'y a, en général, aucun commentaire, ou bien des commentaires extrêmement sommaires<sup>20</sup>. C'est dire que les *Testimonia* n'ont pas besoin de commentaire autre que le *kephalaion* qu'ils sont censés illustrer. Le lecteur ou l'auditeur est censé comprendre immédiatement ce lien.

On ne doit pas imaginer, en revanche, que l'apparition d'une autre façon de lire le texte biblique ait été sans conséquence dans l'histoire des *Testimonia*, et je crois même que la problématique essentielle de l'étude des *Testimonia* après Origène tient

<sup>18</sup> Voir Prigent 1964. Sur le problème général de la « citation composite », on peut consulter désormais Adams & Ehorn 2016.

<sup>19</sup> Justin transmet ainsi un *agraphon* d'Esdras et de Jérémie : *Dialogue avec Tryphon* 72, 1 et 72, 4.

<sup>20</sup> Il y a quelques bribes de commentaires dans l'*Ad Quirinum* de Cyprien et dans les *Testimonia* du Ps.-Grégoire de Nysse (voir la n. 9).



dans cette question : dans quelle mesure la tradition des grands commentaires, qui supposent une lecture directe et savante du texte biblique, a-t-elle ou non influencé la tradition des *Testimonia*, qui témoignent d'une lecture plus commune, et indirecte, du texte scripturaire ?

## 2. LES *TESTIMONIA* CHEZ EUSÈBE

La pertinence de cette problématique dans l'étude des *Testimonia* m'est apparue au cours de l'étude que j'ai consacrée aux *Testimonia* transmis par Eusèbe de Césarée (v. 260–340), notamment dans la *Démonstration évangélique*<sup>21</sup>. Eusèbe offre en effet une illustration éloquente du problème qu'a pu représenter la tradition des *Testimonia* pour un savant formé à une autre façon d'aborder le texte biblique. Eusèbe a d'ailleurs été, après Origène, le premier grand commentateur à être confronté à ce problème. La collection de *Testimonia* qu'il propose dans la *Démonstration évangélique* témoigne bien de ce problème comme des solutions qu'il a tenté de lui apporter.

Eusèbe, rappelons-le, est, après Origène et Hippolyte, l'un des premiers exégètes chrétiens dont on puisse lire des commentaires suivis. Ses commentaires sur Isaïe et sur les Psaumes sont les premiers à avoir été conservés sur ces deux livres bibliques, d'une façon certes partielle mais importante. Formé à l'exégèse dans un esprit origénien, Eusèbe accorde une place capitale au contexte des passages qu'il commente (ἀκολουθία), aux harmoniques que présentent les différentes parties de l'Écriture (συμφωνία), à l'analyse grammaticale du texte commenté, et à l'identification de son sens profond, qu'il appelle la plupart du temps διάνοια, quand ce sens profond existe.

Il se trouve que cet exégète a laissé par ailleurs deux collections de *Testimonia* qui sont les plus longues et en même temps les plus savantes de l'Antiquité. Les *Extraits prophétiques*, d'abord, dans lesquels les textes annonçant le Christ et l'Église sont rangés dans l'ordre du texte biblique<sup>22</sup>. La *Démonstration évangélique*, ensuite, qui reprend une matière analogue, quoique parfois différente dans le détail, mais ordonnée, cette fois, de façon thématique (livre 5 : la divinité du Christ ; livre 6 : les annonces de sa venue ; livre 7 : sa naissance virginale, son lieu de naissance et sa famille ; livre 8 : l'époque de sa venue ; livre 9 : ses actions terrestres ; livre 10 : les circonstances de sa Passion)<sup>23</sup>.

Ces deux ouvrages témoignent clairement d'une intention encyclopédique : pour la première fois dans l'histoire, un auteur affiche son ambition de proposer une collec-

<sup>21</sup> Morlet 2009, 311–417.

<sup>22</sup> Pour l'édition, voir la n. 2.

<sup>23</sup> L'édition de référence est Heikel 1913. Il n'existe pour le moment, en attendant la traduction des *Sources chrétiennes*, que la traduction française publiée par Migne 1842, 6–370, la traduction anglaise de Ferrar 1920 et deux traductions italiennes (Carrara 2000 et Migliore 2008).

tion complète des *Testimonia*<sup>24</sup>. Mais ces deux ouvrages présentent également une autre caractéristique majeure : la présence, sous chaque *testimonium* cité, de commentaires souvent longs et relativement savants.

La façon dont, dans les *Extraits prophétiques*, Eusèbe suit pas à pas le texte biblique, ainsi que la présence de ces longs commentaires montrent que l'évêque de Césarée s'est lancé dans une entreprise de refondation, à nouveaux frais, de la tradition des *Testimonia*. La retournement qu'il opère peut être décrit de la façon suivante : ce n'est plus, chez lui, le *testimonium* qui détermine le commentaire exégétique, mais au contraire le commentaire exégétique qui détermine le choix du *testimonium* et la façon dont il est cité. Les annonces du Christ et de l'Église disséminées dans l'Ancien Testament sont désormais identifiées et commentées à la lumière d'une interprétation *d'ensemble* du texte biblique.

Cela ne signifie pas qu'Eusèbe rompe en tout point avec la tradition antérieure. Ses deux collections transmettent au contraire un grand nombre de *Testimonia* traditionnels (Gn 49,10 ; Lm 4,20 ; Is 7,14 ; Ps 109,1-5 etc.)<sup>25</sup>. En revanche, il est très rare que ces *Testimonia* traditionnels soient cités de façon traditionnelle. Très souvent, Eusèbe les donne au sein de véritables péricopes comprenant plusieurs versets, et permettant d'en saisir le contexte (*ἀκολουθία*)<sup>26</sup>. Lorsqu'il veut commenter le Ps 21 ou le Ps 44, de même, Eusèbe cite et commente l'intégralité de ces Psaumes<sup>27</sup>. Cette lecture en contexte l'amène parfois à rompre avec l'interprétation traditionnelle des textes : par exemple, dans son commentaire du Ps 44, il ne considère plus le mot *λόγος*, au v. 2, comme une indication du Christ, d'après la lecture traditionnelle, mais comme désignant le discours du prophète, car le passage est lu à la lumière du texte intégral du Psaume<sup>28</sup>.

Eusèbe, par ailleurs, ne retient aucun texte altéré, aucun *agraphon*, aucune citation composite. Quand il cite le Ps 95,10, c'est, par exemple, sans l'ajout *depuis le bois*<sup>29</sup>. En ce sens, Eusèbe procède à un *assainissement* du stock traditionnel des *Testimonia*.

<sup>24</sup> Sur ce point, voir Morlet 2009, 32.

<sup>25</sup> Sur ces différentes péricopes, voir DE 7, 3, 53-58 et 8, 1, 1-2 (Gn 49,10) ; 4, 16, 36 (Lm 4,20) ; 7, 1, 3-94 (Is 7,14) ; 5, 3, 1-2 (Ps 109,1-5). Toutes les références à la *Démonstration évangélique* (DE) renvoient à l'édition de Heikel 1913.

<sup>26</sup> En DE 7, 3, 53-58, Eusèbe ne commente pas seulement Gn 49,10, mais Gn 49,9-10. En DE 7, 1, 3-154, la prophétie classique d'Is 7,14 est commentée au sein d'un petit commentaire suivi sur Is 6,1-9,7. Dans Morlet 2009, 406, je recense seulement quatorze cas de péricopes qui se retrouvent telles quelles, du point de vue de leur délimitation, dans d'autres textes de l'Antiquité.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. DE 5, 2 et 10, 8.

<sup>28</sup> Mais Eusèbe connaît également l'autre lecture, qui est plus ancienne (DE 4, 15, 51-52).

<sup>29</sup> DE 1, 4, 3.

Il ne commet aucune erreur d'attribution – à une exception près<sup>30</sup>. Il rejette les textes retenus comme des annonces les plus anecdotiques de la vie du Christ, parce qu'il estime que la visée des prophéties est avant tout d'ordre universel<sup>31</sup>. L'influence d'Origène est ici très nette<sup>32</sup>. Ce choix d'une herméneutique générale explique l'absence, chez Eusèbe, des dossiers « anecdotiques » que l'on trouve chez d'autres auteurs antérieures ou de peu postérieurs<sup>33</sup>.

Eusèbe donne parfois des commentaires personnels de *Testimonia* pourtant traditionnels. Pour lui, par exemple, Ml 3,1 (*Voici que moi j'envoie mon ange*) ne renvoie plus à Jean-Baptiste, mais au Christ<sup>34</sup>. Ex 23,21 (*mon nom est sur lui*) n'apparaît plus seulement comme une annonce du nom « Jésus », mais aussi comme une preuve de la divinité du Christ<sup>35</sup>. Za 9,9 (*Voici que mon roi vient à toi, juste et sauveur...*) n'annonce pas son retour à la fin des temps mais sa première venue<sup>36</sup>. Le principe selon lequel il faut rechercher le sens le plus universel des textes amène Eusèbe à dire qu'Is 8,4 (*il prendra les dépouilles de Samarie et la puissance de Damas*) n'est pas seulement une annonce des mages, comme le voudraient certains, mais plus généralement (καθολικώτερον), une annonce de la conversion des nations<sup>37</sup> ; ou encore que la « mer » évoquée en Jb 9,7–8 n'est pas seulement celle sur laquelle le Christ a marché, mais une annonce spirituelle de la vie humaine dans laquelle le Christ est venu<sup>38</sup>.

S'il exclut les textes altérés ou trop anecdotiques, Eusèbe a également augmenté considérablement la liste des *Testimonia*, en repérant, dans sa lecture du texte biblique,

<sup>30</sup> En DE 7, 3, 1, Eusèbe cite comme provenant du « second livre des Paralipomènes » un extrait du premier livre.

<sup>31</sup> Voir par exemple DE 5, pr., 21–22, et surtout 9, 1, 12 : « [...] Dans toute l'Écriture sacrée et inspirée, l'intention principale du sens veut enseigner des réalités plus mystiques et divines, tout en préservant aussi le sens obvie au niveau des événements historiques » ([...] ἐπειδὴ γὰρ καθ' ὅλης τῆς ἱερᾶς καὶ θεοπνεύστου γραφῆς ὁ προηγούμενος τῆς διανοίας σκοπὸς μυστικώτερα καὶ θεῖα βούλεται παιδεύειν, μετὰ τοῦ καὶ τὴν πρόχειρον διάνοιαν σώζεσθαι ἐν μέρει τῶν ἱστορικῶς πεπραγμένων). Traduction personnelle.

<sup>32</sup> Voir *Sur les principes* 4, 2, 7.

<sup>33</sup> Par exemple, dans la collection des *Testimonia* attribuée à Épiphane de Salamine (voir la n. 9), on compte cent deux chapitres. À propos de la Passion seule, le texte consacre des chapitres distincts aux moindres détails : la couronne d'épines, le vinaigre et le fiel, la lance du centurion (52–53 ; 64).

<sup>34</sup> DE 5, 28. L'autre interprétation était très courante (Mc 1,2–3 ; Irénée, *Contre les hérésies* 3, 10, 6 ; Tertullien, *Contre les juifs* 9, 23). Même Origène avait repris à son compte l'exégèse traditionnelle (*Commentaire sur Jean* 2, 31, 186). Voir Vianès 2011, 84.

<sup>35</sup> DE 4, 17, 6 (pour le nom « Jésus ») ; 5, 15. Avant Eusèbe, seule la première lecture est attestée (Justin, *Dialogue avec Tryphon* 75, 1 ; Tertullien, *Contre les juifs* 9, 23).

<sup>36</sup> DE 8, 4 (comparer, pour l'autre exégèse, à Cyprien, *Quir.* 2, 28).

<sup>37</sup> DE 7, 1, 6. Voir également Morlet 2007a.

<sup>38</sup> DE 9, 12, 4.

tous les textes qui pouvaient, à ses yeux, annoncer le Christ. Il est parfois, sur ce point, tributaire de l'exégèse d'Origène<sup>39</sup>. Il est ainsi intéressant de remarquer une nouvelle fois comment l'exégèse savante d'Origène a pu avoir, grâce à Eusèbe, un effet dans l'histoire des *Testimonia*.

Un dernier trait saillant de la méthode d'Eusèbe consiste dans la prise en compte du matériel hexaplaire. Quand il peut y trouver des arguments supplémentaires, l'évêque de Césarée associe au *testimonium* cité dans la forme « Septante » les traductions d'Aquila, de Symmaque ou de Théodotion<sup>40</sup>. On peut donc dire qu'avec Eusèbe, la tradition des *Testimonia* accorde une place, pour la première fois, à la pluralité des états du texte biblique.

### 3. APRÈS EUSÈBE DE CÉSARÉE

Une étude des *Testimonia* à Byzance pourrait consister, pour commencer, à déterminer l'influence du travail d'Eusèbe sur ses successeurs. Son entreprise de refondation du corpus des *Testimonia* a-t-elle eu une postérité ? A-t-elle changé quelque chose à la façon dont les *Testimonia* se sont transmis, dans l'Orient grec, jusqu'à la fin du Moyen Âge ?

Je ne ferai ici que quelques remarques, sur un ensemble de textes que j'ai déjà travaillés : le *Dialogue de Timothée et Aquila*, daté aujourd'hui du VI<sup>e</sup> ou du VII<sup>e</sup> siècle<sup>41</sup>, et le dialogue anonyme édité par J. Declerck, qu'il date peu après 553<sup>42</sup>, auxquels j'ajouterai, pour commencer, la *Dissertatio contra Iudaeos* anonyme que M. Hostens situe aux IX<sup>e</sup>-X<sup>e</sup> siècle et que P. Van Deun propose d'attribuer à Métrophane de Smyrne<sup>43</sup>. L'impression générale qui se dégage d'une confrontation entre ces textes et ceux d'Eusèbe est assez mitigée.

#### 3.1 La *Dissertatio contra Iudaeos*<sup>44</sup>

La *Dissertatio contra Iudaeos* présente une allure générale qui rappelle celle de la *Démonstration évangélique*. Il s'agit également d'un traité, dans lequel les *Testimonia* sont souvent cités dans de larges péricopes et donnent lieu à de véritables commentaires exégétiques. L'éditeur n'évoque ni la *Démonstration* ni les *Extraits prophétiques* d'Eusèbe parmi les sources du texte, mais une étude plus poussée devrait permettre de dire ce que

<sup>39</sup> Voir Morlet 2009, 410, et les pages qui précèdent.

<sup>40</sup> Sur cet aspect de sa technique, voir Morlet 2009, 518–552.

<sup>41</sup> Voir Morlet 2017, xxi.

<sup>42</sup> Declerck 1994, li.

<sup>43</sup> Hostens 1986. Voir Van Deun 2008.

<sup>44</sup> Toutes les références sont à Hostens 1986.

l'auteur doit ou non à l'évêque de Césarée. On constate par exemple qu'il engage sur Za 9 une discussion similaire, mais plus complète que celle d'Eusèbe, sur la question de savoir s'il faut appliquer le texte à l'époque de Zorobabel<sup>45</sup>. À propos d'Is 7,14, il fait remarquer, comme Eusèbe, que la leçon *νεᾱνίς* est équivalente à la leçon *παρθένος*, et que, si le texte n'annonce pas une « vierge », mais juste une « jeune fille », alors il n'y a rien de mystérieux dans l'annonce du prophète<sup>46</sup>. Il croit savoir, comme Eusèbe, que le mot Thémán, en Ha 3,2, signifie *νότος*, mais alors qu'Eusèbe y voit l'indication que le Christ reviendra depuis les parties méridionales du ciel, l'auteur préfère y voir une indication de Bethléhem, située, dit-il, au sud de Jérusalem<sup>47</sup>. Si l'on se fie à l'édition de Hostens, la *Dissertatio* ne contient aucun *agraphon*. En revanche, elle ne paraît pas citer les réviseurs juifs de la Bible grecque. La *Dissertatio* pourrait donc être marquée par une influence du travail d'Eusèbe –directement ou indirectement–, mais une influence inégale.

### 3.2 *Le Dialogue de Timothée et Aquila et le Dialogue Declerck*<sup>48</sup>

La même conclusion s'applique aux deux dialogues. Le *Dialogue de Timothée et Aquila* n'accorde pas de place positive aux réviseurs de la Septante. Il ne discute la révision d'Aquila que pour la contester. Le *Dialogue Declerck*, en revanche, exploite positivement les révisions d'une façon qui rappelle Eusèbe, mais il le fait de façon très irrégulière<sup>49</sup>.

On peut trouver par ailleurs dans le *Dialogue Declerck* ou le *Dialogue de Timothée et Aquila* tel *testimonium* ou telle exégèse qui pourrait remonter à Eusèbe. Le *Dialogue de Timothée et Aquila* contient ainsi un dossier sur le nom « Jésus » couplé à un dossier sur le nom « Christ »<sup>50</sup>. On ne trouve de parallèle à cette association, avant lui, que chez Eusèbe, et le passage du dialogue pourrait très bien résumer celui de la *Démonstration évangélique*<sup>51</sup>. De même, le dialogue associe Ex 33,19 (*Je passerai devant toi avec ma gloire et je proclamerai mon nom de « Seigneur » devant toi*) et Ex 34,5 (*il proclama le nom dit « Seigneur »*) pour démontrer l'existence d'une seconde personne divine<sup>52</sup>.

<sup>45</sup> Voir *Dissertatio* 5,689–992 (comparer à Eusèbe, *DE* 8, 4).

<sup>46</sup> Voir *Dissertatio* 3,479–515, et comparer à Eusèbe, *DE* 7, 1, 36. La source d'Eusèbe est Origène (*Contre Celse* 1, 34). On retrouve le même type d'argument chez Cyrille de Jérusalem, *Catéchèses* 12, 21.

<sup>47</sup> Comparer *Dissertatio* 3,223–230 et *DE* 6, 15, 9.

<sup>48</sup> Toutes les références sont aux éditions de Robertson 1986 et Lahey 2000 (*TA*), et Declerck 1994.

<sup>49</sup> Voir Morlet 2014.

<sup>50</sup> *TA* 11, 5–10.

<sup>51</sup> Cf. *DE* 4, 16–17.

<sup>52</sup> *TA* 29, 7–15.

Cette association, avec ce texte, ne se trouve que chez Eusèbe<sup>53</sup>. Il arrive que le dialogue cite des péricopes assez longues (par exemple Sg 2,12–22 en *TA* 10, 32–39, Za 3,1–5 en *TA* 11, 5, Is 53,7–9 en *TA* 36, 3–10, Is 1,21–27 en *TA* 43, 3–9, Éz 16,1–39 en *TA* 49, 15–29), voire commente un passage biblique sur plusieurs versets comme le ferait l’auteur d’un commentaire continu :

- En *TA* 13–15, le dialogue fournit un commentaire assez suivi de la péricope de Gn 27 (Isaac et Esaü).
- En *TA* 27–28, il donne un commentaire continu de Gn 18–19 (théophanie de Mambré et ses suites).
- En *TA* 29, on trouve un commentaire d’Ex 33–34.
- En *TA* 41, l’auteur donne un commentaire de plusieurs passages d’Is 3.
- En *TA* 44, il commente plusieurs passages, lus dans l’ordre, d’Is 51 à 55.

À deux reprises, alors que le juif vient de citer un texte, le chrétien lui demande de « reprendre plus haut » sa lecture<sup>54</sup>, ce qui signale, une fois encore, un contexte de lecture continue, et non celui de la lecture atomisée qui est, en général, impliquée par les *Testimonia*.

Le *Dialogue Declerck* paraît avoir été très marqué par Eusèbe. Il cite par exemple comme prophétie du traître Judas un texte absent de la Septante, mais présent dans l’hébreu, exactement comme l’avait fait Eusèbe avant lui, s’inspirant lui-même d’une homélie d’Origène<sup>55</sup>. Ce texte, cité pour la première fois en grec par Origène, à partir du texte des réviseurs, évoque un « péché de Juda(s) »<sup>56</sup> :

Un péché de Juda a été écrit avec un burin de fer ; avec une pointe d’acier il a été gravé sur la poitrine de leur cœur.

Ἀμαρτία Ἰούδα γέγραπται ἐν γραφεῖ σιδηρῷ, ἐν ὄνυχι ἀδαμαντίνῳ ἐγκεκολαμμένη ἐπὶ τοῦ στήθους τῆς καρδίας αὐτῶν.

Le *Dialogue Declerck* dépend d’Eusèbe, et non d’Origène, car il présente une variante propre à l’évêque de Césarée (τῆς καρδίας αὐτοῦ au lieu de τῆς καρδίας αὐτῶν donné par Origène).

De même, il préfère citer Os 11,1 dans la version d’Aquila (*D’Égypte, j’ai rappelé mon fils*), plutôt que dans la Septante (*D’Égypte, j’ai rappelé mes enfants*), car la version d’Aquila permet plus facilement de lire le texte comme une annonce du retour

<sup>53</sup> Cf. *DE* 5, 17.

<sup>54</sup> *TA* 18, 7 et 43, 2.

<sup>55</sup> Voir Origène, *Homélies sur Jérémie* 16, 10 ; Eusèbe, *DE* 10, 5, 2–3 ; *Dialogue Declerck* 8.177–190.

<sup>56</sup> Je donne ici le texte tel qu’il est cité par Origène (voir la note précédente), éd. Klostermann & Nautin 1983, 141.19–21). Traduction personnelle.

du Christ en Palestine, après sa fuite en Égypte<sup>57</sup>. Il semble dépendre, là encore, du commentaire de l'évêque de Césarée<sup>58</sup>.

On pourrait remarquer également que certains *Testimonia* anciens qui disparaissent chez Eusèbe, comme le Ps 95,10, avec l'ajout « depuis le bois », ne sont plus présents non plus ni dans le *Dialogue de Timothée et Aquila* ni dans le *Dialogue Declerck*.

Toutes ces remarques tendent à montrer une influence, sinon d'Eusèbe, du moins du type d'approche scientifique qu'il applique aux *Testimonia*. Mais d'autres remarques vont dans l'autre sens. Malgré la présence dans les deux dialogues de quelques péricopes assez longues et d'embryons de commentaires suivis, la majorité des *Testimonia* cités restent très courts. Le chapitre 10 du *Dialogue de Timothée et Aquila* est exemplaire à cet égard : il contient, réduit à une succession sèche de *Testimonia*, une démonstration complète sur les annonces de la vie du Christ.

Par ailleurs, on retrouve fréquemment dans les deux textes des erreurs d'attribution. Le *Dialogue de Timothée et Aquila*, par exemple, cite un passage de la Sagesse comme provenant des Proverbes, une citation d'Isaïe comme provenant « des Douze Prophètes », ou encore un texte de Michée comme provenant d'Osée<sup>59</sup>. Il contient un texte qu'il présente comme venant « d'Esdras » mais qui est probablement un *agraphon*<sup>60</sup>. Très souvent, ce dialogue transmet des formes très libres des *Testimonia*, très éloignées du texte courant.

Les deux dialogues accordent par ailleurs une place importante aux annonces que j'ai qualifiées d'« anecdotiques ». Le *Dialogue Declerck*, par exemple, comporte un dossier sur le partage du vêtement du Christ, un autre sur les clous de la croix, un autre sur les injures que les juifs firent subir au Christ pendant sa Passion, un autre sur les deux larrons, un autre, enfin, sur la couronne d'épines<sup>61</sup>. Ces dossiers, dont on trouve une trace partielle dans le recueil de *Testimonia* attribué à Épiphane<sup>62</sup>, sont totalement étrangers à l'esprit d'Eusèbe, qui privilégie, nous l'avons vu, les dossiers généraux, au motif que les annonces des prophètes sont d'ordre universel.

Le *Dialogue Declerck* contient par ailleurs un long développement sur les annonces typologiques de la naissance virginale, qu'il croit reconnaître à travers le buisson ardent (Ex 3,1-2), l'immolation de la vache rousse (Nb 19,2-3), le personnage de Miriam

<sup>57</sup> *Dialogue Declerck* 6.305-309.

<sup>58</sup> *DE* 9, 4.

<sup>59</sup> Voir *TA* 10, 30 ; 48, 12 ; 41, 19-20.

<sup>60</sup> *TA* 10, 24 : « Et chez Esdras, l'Écriture s'exprime ainsi : *Ils me lièrent comme si je n'étais pas le père qui les avait fait sortir d'Égypte* ». Traduction personnelle.

<sup>61</sup> Voir, dans l'ordre, *Dialogue Declerck* 9.20-24 ; 9.15-19 ; 8.119-220 ; 9.32-33 ; 8.253-261.

<sup>62</sup> Voir Ps.-Épiph., *Testimonia* 48 ; 56 ; 62 ; 63 (voir la n. 9).

(Ex 15,20) et enfin l'arche d'alliance (Ex 25,9–10)<sup>63</sup>. Ces interprétations ne sont pas non plus dans l'esprit d'Eusèbe, qui répugne, en général, à l'exégèse typologique. L'auteur a ici d'autres sources, Grégoire de Nysse, peut-être, concernant au moins son exégèse du buisson ardent comme annonce de la naissance virginale du Christ<sup>64</sup>.

Il semble donc que le *Dialogue Declerck* et le *Dialogue de Timothée et Aquila*, malgré leurs différences, présentent par rapport à Eusèbe une allure comparable : ils semblent avoir été marqués *ponctuellement* par son travail, mais non d'une façon fondamentale.

Les recherches antérieures menées sur ces deux textes ont mis en évidence une pluralité de sources. Pour le *Dialogue Declerck*, à côté de l'influence possible d'Eusèbe, Grégoire de Nazianze, Grégoire de Nysse, Cyrille d'Alexandrie, et peut-être aussi Origène<sup>65</sup>. Pour le *Dialogue de Timothée et Aquila*, l'éditeur de la recension longue parlait de diverses sources patristiques<sup>66</sup>. Le travail que j'ai mené récemment sur ce texte m'a conduit à rencontrer des parallèles surtout chez Eusèbe, chez Épiphanes de Salamine, et chez Cyrille de Jérusalem<sup>67</sup>.

#### 4. CONCLUSION

Ces constatations montrent que, si le rôle exact d'Eusèbe dans l'histoire des *Testimonia* doit encore être précisément évalué, ces deux dialogues ont été marqués par une pluralité de commentaires patristiques. Ces commentaires ont influencé la façon dont les *Testimonia* y sont commentés. Une étude plus poussée devrait permettre de dire dans quelle mesure ils ont pu également déterminer la façon dont les *Testimonia* ont été sélectionnés et cités. On ne peut exclure que, tout en étant influencés par des lectures patristiques, les auteurs de ces dialogues aient constitué leur collection à partir d'autres collections, c'est-à-dire des florilèges ou d'autres dialogues, tant le fond de leur collection paraît le plus souvent traditionnel, offrant ainsi un curieux mélange d'archaïsme et de nouveauté. Tout en puisant dans des acquis exégétiques récents ou plus ou moins récents, ils peuvent avoir utilisé aussi des sources beaucoup plus anciennes. La critique a ainsi pu faire l'hypothèse, pour le *Dialogue de Timothée et Aquila*, d'une Vorlage du

<sup>63</sup> *Dialogue Declerck* 5,112–227.

<sup>64</sup> Voir l'apparat de Declerck 1994, qui cite l'*Orat. in diem nat. Christi* de Grégoire de Nysse (PG 46: 1136B).

<sup>65</sup> Voir Declerck 1994, xxxix–xli.

<sup>66</sup> Robertson 1986, 50–151.

<sup>67</sup> Voir Morlet 2017, xviii.



II<sup>e</sup> ou du III<sup>e</sup> siècle<sup>68</sup>, ou, en tout cas, de l'emploi d'une source antérieure au IV<sup>e</sup> siècle<sup>69</sup>. Une telle source pourrait expliquer la présence, dans le dialogue, de certains des archaïsmes dans la façon de citer les *Testimonia* relevés plus haut.

Il reste encore beaucoup à faire sur cette vaste problématique. L'étude des sources ou des parallèles des textes qui citent les *Testimonia* est ici fondamentale. Le travail peut paraître austère, mais il permettra de préciser un aspect important de la lecture de la Bible à Byzance : sa dimension indirecte, et son rapport à la tradition des premiers siècles.

*Appendice : À propos d'un florilège sur le mot « évangile »*

La *Démonstration évangélique* d'Eusèbe (3, 1, 1-7) contient un court dossier autour du mot εὐαγγέλιον (« évangile » ou « bonne nouvelle », peu importe, puisque Eusèbe identifie ces prophéties à des annonces des évangélistes et leur « évangile ») constitué d'Is 61,1 + Is 52,7 + Ps 67,12 + Is 40,9-11. Un tel dossier, apparemment non attesté en tant que tel dans la littérature antérieure, reparait sous une forme plus courte (Ps 67,12 + Is 52,7) chez le Ps.-Grégoire de Nysse (*Testimonia contre les juifs* 15).

J'ai fait l'hypothèse qu'Eusèbe avait constitué son dossier à partir du *Commentaire sur Jean* d'Origène (1, 8, 48-51 ; 1, 10, 64 et 66) et que le Ps.-Grégoire aurait abrégé le dossier d'Eusèbe<sup>70</sup>. Jean Reynard estime qu'« il n'est guère fondé de supposer que le dossier du Ps.-Grégoire dérive d'Eusèbe, alors qu'il est, en fait, plus proche d'Origène et relève probablement d'une tradition indépendante dont Irénée est un autre témoin »<sup>71</sup>. Il s'appuie sur les données suivantes : (a) Ps.-Grégoire suit l'ordre d'Origène en donnant Ps 67,12, puis Is 52,7, non celui d'Eusèbe, et (b) Irénée (*Démonstration de la prédication apostolique* 86) cite déjà Is 52,7 comme une annonce des apôtres avec une variante qui se retrouve chez le Ps.-Grégoire (εἰρήνην au lieu de ἀγαθὰ).

Or (a) la convergence avec Irénée et le Ps.-Grégoire ne concerne qu'un seul *testimonium*, elle est donc insuffisante pour établir l'existence d'un dossier traditionnel comprenant au moins Is 52,7 et Ps 67,12, et antérieur à Origène, autour du mot εὐαγγέλιον, d'ailleurs non évoqué en tant que tel par Irénée. (b) Il est beaucoup plus économique de penser qu'Eusèbe dépend d'Origène que d'une telle tradition, puisque, outre que cette dernière n'est pas avérée, la dépendance d'Eusèbe à l'égard d'Origène est établie par des reprises verbales du *Commentaire sur Jean* dans ses propres commentaires aux

<sup>68</sup> C'était l'hypothèse ancienne de Conybeare 1898, reprise par Pastis 2002.

<sup>69</sup> L'hypothèse d'une source commune du *Dialogue de Timothée et Aquila* et du *Dialogue d'Athanase et Zachée*, antérieure au IV<sup>e</sup> siècle, et réduit à des sections limitées des deux textes, a été proposée par Andrist 2001, 274-291.

<sup>70</sup> Morlet 2009, 367-368.

<sup>71</sup> Reynard 2015, 270.

mêmes textes scripturaires<sup>72</sup>. J'ajouterai que ce travail de réécriture d'Origène est régulièrement attesté dans toute l'apologie, *Préparation* et *Démonstration évangélique*, et que, concernant la question qui nous occupe ici, l'œuvre s'ouvre justement sur une définition du mot « évangile » inspirée en partie du même développement d'Origène (*PE* 1, 1, 2 = *Commentaire sur Jean* 1, 5, 27–29). La *Démonstration* offre d'autres exemples de dossiers scripturaires qui, en tant que tels, font leur apparition dans la polémique antijuive suite à un travail d'extraction à partir d'Origène (voir en 2, 3, 49–175 le dossier sur le « reste d'Israël »<sup>73</sup>). Le dossier dont s'inspire Eusèbe pour constituer le sien propre s'inscrit, chez Origène, dans une longue discussion, très personnelle, sur le sens du mot « évangile » : autre raison de penser que, si Origène peut dépendre ici ou là de certaines traditions de lecture qu'atteste aussi Irénée, il réunit ici, *en tant que telle*, une matière qui lui est propre.

Maintenant, le Ps.-Grégoire s'inspire-t-il d'Eusèbe ou d'Origène ? Reynard note qu'il serait plus proche d'Origène parce qu'il suit le même ordre que lui. Le dossier ne comportant que deux *testimonia*, on peut se demander quelle est la valeur probante d'un tel argument, d'autant que, semble-t-il, si je me fonde sur l'article de Reynard, le Ps.-Grégoire a tendance, sauf exception, à suivre l'ordre de la Septante (Psaumes avant les Prophètes) : il peut donc citer dans l'ordre qu'il veut les textes qu'il trouve chez Eusèbe. Reynard ne souligne pas le fait qu'il donne εἰρήνην pour Is 52,7 alors qu'Origène donne ἀγαθά. Eusèbe, lui, donne les deux<sup>74</sup>. Indépendamment de l'ordre, qui importe peu, le Ps.-Grégoire a donc un texte plus proche d'Eusèbe que d'Origène. Par ailleurs, le florilège sur « l'évangile » était probablement repris dans la section perdue de la *Démonstration*, comme le suggère Eusèbe lui-même (3, 1, 6)<sup>75</sup>. Il est possible, si le Ps.-Grégoire dépend d'Eusèbe, qu'il se soit inspiré de cette reprise, plutôt que du livre 3, et on y trouvait peut-être l'ordre biblique.

Il existe chez le Ps.-Grégoire d'autres parallèles avec Eusèbe, plus ou moins précis, dont certains sont évoqués par Reynard. Ces parallèles ne s'expliquent sans doute pas

<sup>72</sup> Morlet 2009, 368.

<sup>73</sup> Morlet 2009, 230–237 et 366.

<sup>74</sup> Par ailleurs, après avoir cité le Ps 67,12 comme un passage de « David », Ps.-Grégoire introduit Is 52,7 par un πάλιν qui suppose une erreur d'attribution. Origène distingue bien « David » et « Isaïe ». Eusèbe introduit Is 52,7, après le Ps 67,12 (bien attribué à Isaïe) par un ἄλλος πάλιν προφήτης. Même si la formule est différente et suppose le contraire de ce qu'écrit le Ps.-Grégoire, une lecture hâtive d'Eusèbe aurait pu encourager ce dernier à reprendre le mot πάλιν, d'autant moins bien interprété si ce sont bien les deux *Testimonia* d'Eusèbe qui ont été intervertis. Bref, même si les textes sont cités dans un ordre différent, ils sont liés par un πάλιν chez les deux auteurs, ce qui n'est pas le cas chez Origène, et le Ps.-Grégoire commet une faute que ne commet pas Eusèbe. Même s'il n'est sans doute pas décisif en lui-même, ce double fait (un élément distinctif commun + une erreur) peut être retenu comme un élément de dépendance possible.

<sup>75</sup> Voir Morlet 2009, 123 et 145 (livre 19 ?).

tous par une dépendance à l'égard d'Eusèbe, mais refuser cette hypothèse par principe parce que le Ps.-Grégoire présenterait ici ou là des différences, ce serait oublier la part d'originalité que peut avoir un auteur dans le traitement d'une source. Si ce genre de parallèles amène souvent, et légitimement, la critique à supposer l'existence de « traditions », un tel raisonnement ne peut devenir la seule option et faire oublier que, dans des cas particuliers, c'est-à-dire quand les témoins manquent et qu'il y a entre deux auteurs des indices assez forts pour supposer une dépendance littéraire, les *testimonia* se sont aussi transmis d'auteur à auteur, au risque de reproduire les erreurs méthodologiques d'un J. Rendel Harris ou d'un P. Nautin, qui voulaient jadis, sur des bases très fragiles, reconstituer des dossiers primitifs de *testimonia*, en raisonnant à partir de convergences approximatives, entre des textes anciens ou parfois très tardifs<sup>76</sup>. D'ailleurs Reynard parle aussi de la dette du Ps.-Grégoire à l'égard de ses « prédécesseurs »<sup>77</sup> et identifie précisément un emprunt à Basile et un autre à Cyrille d'Alexandrie<sup>78</sup>.

Dans le cas présent, je ne vois pas de raison de penser que le Ps.-Grégoire ne dépend pas d'Eusèbe, et peut-être aussi d'Origène, mais il n'est même pas nécessaire de faire intervenir ce dernier. Et aucune raison probante, en l'état actuel du dossier, ne me semble pouvoir étayer l'hypothèse d'un dossier traditionnel, antérieur à Origène, περὶ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου.

<sup>76</sup> Rendel Harris 1916–1920 et Nautin 1967.

<sup>77</sup> Reynard 2015, 270.

<sup>78</sup> Reynard 2015, 262–263.

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# BIBLICAL SOURCES AND HYMNOGRAPHIC PARALLELS FOR ANTI-JEWISH RHETORIC IN THE *LIFE OF SAINT BASIL THE YOUNGER*

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THIS PAPER IS part of a wider research project, which deals with the reception of biblical texts about ‘the Jews’ in liturgical sources, the representation of the Jewish people in Byzantine writings and their influence upon today’s Christian Orthodox liturgy and theology.<sup>1</sup> A work very pertinent to this topic is the *Life of St Basil the Younger*, written probably in the mid-tenth century (BHG 263).<sup>2</sup> This “immense artefact”<sup>3</sup> of middle Byzantine literary creation provides a wealth of information for Byzantinists, philologists and theologians alike, as the text reveals luscious details of daily life in tenth-century Constantinople. Alongside various ordinary events, the text describes a vision of the Last Judgement that occupies half of the entire work (parts 4–5).<sup>4</sup> Despite its title, the *Life of St Basil*, a significant part of the narrative contains the experiences of Gregory, St Basil’s disciple, who is the one who receives the vision, and who is also the author of the *Life*.

The purpose of this study is to highlight elements of intertextuality between the *Life* and Byzantine hymnography, limited to what concerns the Christian theological attitude towards the Jews and Israel.<sup>5</sup> Liturgical texts unquestionably influenced hagiographical texts, and the hagiographical texts in turn widened the influence and impact of particular ideas in tenth-century Byzantine society, when this work is thought to have been written, but especially after this period. Awareness of this aspect

<sup>1</sup> This study is funded by the Lucian Blaga University of Sibiu research grant LBUS-IRG-2017-03. I rely on some of the preliminary observations I published earlier (Ioniță 2016a).

<sup>2</sup> Ed. and transl. Sullivan, Talbot & McGrath 2014. All further citations and translations are taken from this edition, to which I refer as *Life*.

<sup>3</sup> Zecher 2015, 90.

<sup>4</sup> See also Sullivan, Talbot & McGrath 2014, 42–53 (an introductory chapter on “Gregory’s Vision of the Celestial Jerusalem and the Last Judgement”).

<sup>5</sup> In the absence of a critical edition of the Byzantine liturgical books, I quote the text issued by the Αποστολική Διακονία 2010. English quotations of the *Triōdion* are taken from the translation by Archimandrite Ephrem Lash (<http://newbyz.org/lashtriōdion.html>, accessed 5 June 2019). Translations of the Septuagint are quoted from NETS.

may prove significant for understanding and critically addressing liturgical anti-Judaism as it is still present in current Orthodox ritual, which uses hymnographic texts written between the sixth and the fifteenth centuries.<sup>6</sup>

#### 1. THE FATE OF 'THE JEWS' IN THE *LIFE OF ST BASIL THE YOUNGER*

It is interesting that the vision of the Last Judgement as experienced by Gregory in the *Life* was triggered by the thoughts he had on the fate of the Jewish people as a result of his biblical readings. He is presented as being well trained (ἐξησκηκώς)<sup>7</sup> in all the narratives of the Old Testament: this was not a commonplace for the Christians of tenth-century Byzantium, when readings from the *prophetologion* in the liturgy most probably provided the only exposure that people had to Old Testament texts beyond the Psalter.<sup>8</sup>

Gregory confesses these thoughts to Basil, his spiritual father (*Life* 4, 2). Gregory initially draws from his biblical reading a positive conclusion on the final fate of the Jewish people, reasoning that the descendants have nothing to do with those Jews who crucified Jesus Christ. However, his spiritual father insists and harshly admonishes him with regard to these thoughts: there follows a long argument based on biblical quotations that uphold the damnation of *all* Jews after Jesus Christ. The disciple thinks it hard to believe and dares to ask, through the intercession of his spiritual father, for a vision instructing him about how things will really be at the Last Judgement. On the first night that follows this conversation, Gregory is granted such a vision wherein the fate of the Jews before the judgement throne is disclosed. This narrative occupies a number of pages of the *Life* (4, 4–5).

Already during the preparations for the coming of the Lord on the judgement throne, “even more than the others the Christ-killing Israelites and their descendants grew dizzy and trembled and severely gnashed their teeth with very much fear and consternation”.<sup>9</sup> They reach the conclusion by themselves that “tribulations and distress and groans will be our lot in the eternal fire of Gehenna”.<sup>10</sup> After countless angelic retinues, the Lord finally comes and speaks to the Jews in a very severe voice, reminding

<sup>6</sup> Hymnographic texts in Byzantine liturgy that can be construed as anti-Jewish are one of the key issues unfortunately hindering dialogue between Judaism and the Orthodox Church even today. Since the 1970s, Orthodox theologians have pointed out the need to discuss this delicate topic: see Alivizatos 1960 and, more recently, Vachicouras 2006, Pătru 2010 and Ioniță 2019.

<sup>7</sup> *Life* 4, 1 (p. 346.34).

<sup>8</sup> For further details on this topic see Mihăilă 2016 and Miller 2010. On the *prophetologion*, see also Sysse Engberg's contribution to the present volume.

<sup>9</sup> *Life* 4, 46 (p. 430.20–22).

<sup>10</sup> *Life* 4, 45 (p. 414.37–38).



them of the miracles and benefactions that He had made during His earthly lifetime. His speech relies heavily upon numerous quotations from the Gospel according to John.<sup>11</sup> The reader accustomed to Byzantine liturgical hymnography recognizes in this exchange a *stichêron* for Holy Friday: “Thus says the Lord to the Jews, ‘My people, what have I done to you? Or in what have I wearied you?’”<sup>12</sup>

The Jews about whom the text speaks then dare ask the Lord to bring forward Moses, whom they blame for their misfortunes because he had given them the Law on Mt Sinai. But when Moses comes, he proves to be equally merciless, saying to them:

O foolish ones, slow in heart to believe in all the declarations of the prophets and the law itself, the very law which I gave you about the glorious incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ, you are not sons of Abraham but of Satan.<sup>13</sup> [...] Woe to you, you pitiful and base creatures, because you did not make it your concern to believe in His holy name and be saved, but you were brought to naught by your arrogance and you hardened your heart in not receiving Him (ἐπωρώθητε τὴν καρδίαν μὴ προσδεξάμενοι Αὐτόν).<sup>14</sup>

After the Lord’s speech and the apparition of Moses, the Jews in the text are thrown in the fiery sea by the angels.<sup>15</sup> Then Gregory is dignified by the apparition of the Lord Himself, who speaks to him directly and brings him further clarifications on the fate that the Jewish people deserved. In the Lord’s speech the Jews are called “sons of perdition” (υἱοὶ τῆς ἀπωλείας), again frequently referring to passages from John.<sup>16</sup>

## 2. INTERTEXTUAL ELEMENTS IN THE *LIFE* AND THE *TRIÔDION*

What is now relevant for us is the fact that the author of the *Life* seems well acquainted not only with the Gospels, but also with liturgical texts—surely as an active participant in the religious life of Constantinople. Not many decades before the writing of this text, the liturgical poetry of Theodore the Studite († 826), Joseph the Hymnographer († 886) and other monks of the Byzantine capital had been written and collected. These hymns make up the corpus of liturgical hymns for the Lenten and Paschal period (*Triôdion*), and have been used down to the present day.<sup>17</sup> The reader acquainted with

<sup>11</sup> *Life* 5, 103. See Culpepper 1993, Cernokrak 2003 and Ioniță 2015a on the role of this gospel in the Jewish-Christian encounter.

<sup>12</sup> Orthros, Service of the Twelve Passion Gospels, first Stichêron of the twelfth Antiphōnon. A similar hymn was part of the Latin service until the twentieth century: see Becker 1969.

<sup>13</sup> *Life* 5, 107 (pp. 622.2–624.5).

<sup>14</sup> *Life* 5, 107 (pp. 626.65–628.68).

<sup>15</sup> *Life* 5, 109 (p. 632.1–17).

<sup>16</sup> *Life* 5, 136 (p. 682.21); cf. John 17:12 (see also n. 45 below).

<sup>17</sup> The relevance of the study of Bible reception in Byzantine hymnography is treated by Lash 2008. Nikolakopoulos 1990 quotes many examples from hymnography and identifies their corre-

Byzantine hymnography as presently used in liturgy recognizes countless correspondences with the *Life* in the ideas it expresses and in its language, and may even identify expressions that were literally taken from liturgical texts that chronologically precede the *Life*. In what follows, I survey some elements of intertextuality in both corpora and attempt to identify more precisely these common elements.

A first case occurs in the passage that describes the situation of the Jews before the throne of the Last Judgement and the glorious coming of Jesus as Lord and Judge of all. The author of the *Life* used a well-known hymn for Holy Week:

*Life*<sup>18</sup>

And it spoke harshly to that fearful, large and miserable assemblage as follows: "O blind fools, witless and unwise sons of Israel, am I not the Lord Jesus Christ the Son of God, the eternal King and sole just Judge, the One who bent the heavens and came down upon the earth? [...] I showed you My intrinsic power in these works, waking the dead as if from sleep with a mere verbal command, furnishing the blind with sight, straightening up the lame and stooped, cleansing lepers, strengthening the crippled so they could leap about and making the paralyzed to walk effortlessly, and simply doing all that you have seen. [...] Was this not how these things happened? Was it not you, accursed ones, who together inflicted these torments upon Me? [...] You yourselves are clearly aware and know <what you did>. For you desired to die together with your sins, persuaded by your father, Satan, rather than by My salvific word. But now behold, o impious and deranged ones, and believe, although unwillingly, that I am He and am not altered [...] accepted by all the faithful and venerated as God along with the Father and My Holy Spirit, and now giving as a gift to the faithful, as I proclaimed, the eternal life and kingdom."

*Triōdion*<sup>19</sup>

Thus says the Lord to the Jews, "My people, what have I done to you? Or in what have I wearied you?"

"I gave light to your blind, I cleansed your lepers, I set upright a man lying on a bed. My people, what have I done to you, and how have you repaid me? Instead of the manna, gall; instead of the water, vinegar; instead of loving me, you have nailed me to a cross. I can endure no longer; I will call my nations, and they will glorify me, with the Father and the Spirit; and I shall grant them eternal life."

This passage could be considered as representative of the relation between hymnographic texts and the text of the *Life*. There is a common structure between the speech of the enthroned Lord (through the general of his angels) to the Jews and the biblical-prophetical source that the author resorts to, Micah 6:16. What both texts affirm is the harsh criticism towards the Jews, called sons of Satan, and together they extend a

spondence in the biblical text.

<sup>18</sup> *Life* 5, 103–104 (p. 612.3–6; p. 614.16–20; p. 616.64–65; p. 618.9–12.14–16).

<sup>19</sup> Holy Friday, Orthros, Service of the Twelve Passion Gospels, first Stichëron of the twelfth Antiphōnon (see also n. 12 above).

generous invitation to the “nations” to join the “eternal life and kingdom”, while Israel is damned to the eternal fire. One must not overlook here the importance of the Christian confessions of faith, clearly formulated against Judaizing tendencies and even against the Judaism of the time: on the one hand, the veneration of Jesus as God is affirmed (*Life*), and, on the other hand, the veneration of the Holy Trinity (*Life* and especially in the *Triōdion*).

The difference between the perspectives found in these two texts and their biblical-prophetic source is worth considering. This type of harsh criticism towards a people is a feature of the prophetic genre. But, in this genre, criticism is intended as a warning for the betterment of the people, and the harshness is followed by consolation. For example, the writings of the prophet Micah, which are the source for these Christian texts, are not exhausted by a discourse of criticism and damnation, but include the expectation of an answer from the people: “O my people, what have I done to you? Or how did I sadden or how did I annoy you? Answer me!” (Micah 6:3). Even more significant is the manner in which the prophetic criticism concludes:

Who is a god like you, removing injustices and passing over impieties for the remnant of his possession? And he did not retain his anger for a witness, because he is one that deserves mercy. He will turn and have compassion upon us; he will sink our injustices and cast all our sins into the depths of the sea. You will give truth to Jacob, mercy to Abraham, as you swore to our fathers in former days. (Micah 7:18–20)

One may rightly note that liturgical and hagiographical texts do not take fully into account the prophetic model of *criticism followed by consolation*. In the Christian model, criticism is the share of Israel, while consolation is dedicated to the nations, namely to the Christians. Or, in the language of the *Life* and the *Triōdion*, Jews are the “inheritors of ancestral bloodguilt”,<sup>20</sup> while the nations (τὰ ἔθνη) are now the “beloved Israel” (ὁ ἡγαπημένος Ἰσραήλ).<sup>21</sup>

Here are some more illustrative expressions from the rich anti-Jewish weaponry of the *Life*, in parallel with similar passages in the hymnography of the *Triōdion*:<sup>22</sup>

<sup>20</sup> *Life* 4, 35 (p. 414.19): κληρονόμοι τῆς μαιφονίας τῆς πατρικῆς.

<sup>21</sup> Palm Sunday, Vespers, fourth Stichēron: [...] καὶ τῷ πῶλῳ ἐπέβης συμβολικῶς, ὥσπερ ἐπ’ ὀχήματος φερόμενος, τὰ ἔθνη τεκμαιρόμενος Σωτήρ. Ὁθεν καὶ τὸν αἶνόν σοι προσφέρει, ὁ ἡγαπημένος Ἰσραήλ, ἐκ στομάτων θηλαζόντων, καὶ νηπίων ἀκάκων, καθορώντων σε Χριστέ, εἰσερχόμενον εἰς τὴν Ἀγίαν Πόλιν, πρὸ ἑξ ἡμερῶν τοῦ Πάσχα.

<sup>22</sup> A number of the expressions listed here are taken from the Bible or patristic authors, notably Gregory of Nazianzos. See n. 45 below.

*Life*

“the lawless Jews”<sup>23</sup> / “the most lawless and most impious leaders of the Jews”<sup>24</sup>

“the unbelieving Jews”<sup>33</sup>

“killers of God”<sup>35</sup> / “Christ-killing Jews”<sup>36</sup>

*Triōdion*

“the lawless Jews”<sup>25</sup> / “lawless rulers”<sup>26</sup> / “Judas the lawless”<sup>27</sup> / “the lawless people”<sup>28</sup> / “lawless men”<sup>29</sup> / “lawless assembly”<sup>30</sup> / “lawless Hebrews”<sup>31</sup> / “lawless enemies”<sup>32</sup>

“faithless and adulterous generation of the Jews”<sup>34</sup>

“assembly of slayers of God”<sup>37</sup> / “murderous Judea”<sup>38</sup>

<sup>23</sup> *Life* 5, 1 (p. 434.16: οἱ παράνομοι Ἰουδαῖοι).

<sup>24</sup> *Life* 5, 2 (p. 436.1–2: οἱ παρανομώτατοι καὶ δυσσεβέστατοι ἄρχοντες τῶν Ἰουδαίων).

<sup>25</sup> Friday of the Third Week of Lent, Orthros, Theodore the Studite, second Troparion of the eighth Ode: Ἐπὶ ξύλου ἐπαράτου Χριστέ, Ἰουδαῖοι σε κτείναντες [...] παράνομοι.

<sup>26</sup> Wednesday of the Holy Week, Orthros, Andrew of Crete, third Troparion of the ninth Ode: τοῖς παράνομοις ἄρχουσι. Similar characterizations in other sections of the liturgy for Wednesday of the Holy Week: Orthros, second Stichëron of the Aposticha (τὰς χεῖρας τοῖς παράνομοις); Orthros, second Kathisma (τρέχει πρὸς Ἰουδαίους, λέγει τοῖς παράνομοις); Apodeipnon, Andrew of Crete, fifth Troparion of the fourth Ode (προδοῦναι γὰρ τοῖς παράνομοις).

<sup>27</sup> Wednesday of the Holy Week, Apodeipnon, Andrew of Crete, sixth Troparion of the ninth Ode (Ἰούδα παράνομε). See also the third and fourth Apostichon of the Orthros for Thursday of the Holy Week: παράνομε Ἰούδα.

<sup>28</sup> Holy Friday, Orthros, Service of the Twelve Passion Gospels, Tenth Antiphōnon: ὁ δὲ παράνομος λαός.

<sup>29</sup> Holy Friday, Cyril of Alexandria, second Stichëron idiomelon of the first Hour: παράνομον ἀνδρῶν.

<sup>30</sup> Holy Saturday, Vespers, Doxastikon: ἡ παράνομος συναγωγή.

<sup>31</sup> Holy Saturday, Orthros, third Stasis of the Enkomia: Ἑβραίων παράνομων.

<sup>32</sup> Sunday of the Myrrhbearers, Orthros, Andrew of Crete, sixth Troparion of the fourth Ode: παράνομοι ἐχθροί.

<sup>33</sup> *Life* 4, 37 (p. 418.16: τοὺς ἀπειθεῖς Ἰουδαίους); see also 4, 38 (p. 418.12–13).

<sup>34</sup> Palm Sunday, Orthros, third Stichëron idiomelon (Γενεὰ Ἰουδαίων ἄπιστε καὶ μοιχαλὶς). See also the fifth Troparion of the eighth Ode of the Apodeipnon for Lazarus Saturday, from Andrew of Crete (Οἱ σκοτεινοὶ περὶ τὸ φῶς, Ἰουδαῖοι, τί ἀπιστεῖτε;).

<sup>35</sup> *Life* 4, 4 (p. 352.23: τούτων τῶν θεοκτόνων); see also 4, 35 (p. 412.7–8).

<sup>36</sup> *Life* 4, 35 (p. 414.18: χριστοκτόνοι Ἰουδαῖοι; cf. p. 412.7); see also 4, 46 (p. 430.20).

<sup>37</sup> Holy Friday, Orthros, Service of the Twelve Passion Gospels, Kosmas the Monk, second Troparion of the ninth Ode (θεοκτόνων συναγωγή); Wednesday of the Holy Week, Apodeipnon, Andrew of Crete, fourth Troparion of the fourth Ode (Ἡ γνώμη τῶν θεοκτόνων, τῇ πράξει τοῦ φιλαργύρου [...]); Holy Friday, Orthros, Service of the Twelve Passion Gospels, third Stichëron of the Makarismoi (Τῶν θεοκτόνων ὁ ἐσμός, Ἰουδαίων ἔθνος τὸ ἄνομον [...]).

<sup>38</sup> Wednesday before Palm Sunday, Orthros, Theodore the Studite, second Troparion of the ninth Ode: Πάλιν ἦκει πρὸς σὲ τὴν φονεῦτριαν Ἰουδαίαν ὁ Χριστός, τὸ σωτήριον πάθος γλιχόμενος, ἐκπληρώσαι ὡς Θεός, ὃν ἐζήτεις λιθάσαι· ἰδοὺ σοι αὐτόκλητος, θέλων προσίεται, τῆς μαιφονίας σου, εἰς τὸ σῶσαι ἡμᾶς. Similarly in the third Stasis of the Enkomia of the Orthros for Holy Saturday: Ὡς τῆς παραφροσύνης, καὶ τῆς χριστοκτονίας, τῆς τῶν προφητοκτόνων. See also the second Stichëron at

“sons of lawlessness”<sup>39</sup> / “Alas for their folly, alas for their false pretense, oh their madness”<sup>40</sup>

“O the madness of the Jews! O the frenzy of the lawless! What had you seen which was unbelievable, that you did not believe Christ?”<sup>41</sup>

The fact that one finds the same words and the same phrases in both writings and that one deals with more than just one occurrence of a term from hymnography in the *Life* indicates an unquestionable influence of liturgical poetry over the composition of the latter in the mid-tenth century. The likelihood of this procedure is enhanced by the fact that Gregory, the author of the *Life*, is presented in the text as a faithful believer who, in tenth-century Constantinople, not only had an active liturgical life, but also privately read the Holy Scriptures and other religious writings (*Life* 6, 7).<sup>42</sup>

Moreover, the place of the Jews among those who appear at the Last Judgement is not arbitrary. They are damned just before the Antichrist, the last bastion of the fallen world, and after the iconoclasts.<sup>43</sup> The reader who contextualizes the sinister episode on the fate of the Jews in the context of the previous pages, dedicated to the iconoclasts, can understand better the theological framework that brought the author of the *Life* to affirm such things. Those pages are relevant because their author is a fervent defender of icon worship. Moreover, the contribution of iconoclasm to the escalation of the conflict between Jews and Christians in Byzantium from the eighth to tenth century is still misunderstood in today’s research.<sup>44</sup>

In the theologically trenchant affirmations with regard to the Jews and in the details of the description of their judgement, the *Life* takes the harshness of its expressions a step further than the hymnographic text. After the political events in sev-

‘Lord I have cried to you...’ (Ps 140) of the Vespers for Wednesday of Mid-Pentecost: καὶ ἐκπλύνοντα Πνεύματι ῥύπον Χριστοκτονίας [...].

<sup>39</sup> *Life* 5, 98 (p. 602.4: τοῖς υἱοῖς τῆς ἀνομίας); see also 5, 107 (p. 624.29).

<sup>40</sup> *Life* 4, 5 (p. 354.35–36: Φεῦ τῆς ἀνοίας, φεῦ τῆς ἀλαζονίας, βαβαὶ τῆς ἀπονοίας).

<sup>41</sup> Sunday of the Myrrhbearers, Orthros, Andrew of Crete, fifth Troparion of the seventh Ode (Ὡ Ἰουδαίων ἄνοια, ὦ μαγία ἀνόμων. Τί ἀπιστον ἰδόντες, οὐκ ἐπιστεύσατε Χριστῷ); See also the seventh Troparion of the third Ode of the Apodeipnon for Lazarus Saturday, from Andrew of Crete (Ποῦ ἢ τῶν Ἑβραίων ἄνοια; ποῦ ἢ ἀπιστία; ἕως πότε πλάνοι; ἕως πότε νόθοι); Lazarus Saturday, Apodeipnon, Andrew of Crete, sixth Troparion of the fifth Ode (Ὡ Ἰουδαίων ἄνοια, ὦ πῶρως ἐχθρών); Wednesday of Mid-Pentecost, Orthros, Andrew of Crete, sixth Troparion of the seventh Ode (διαλέγων τὴν ἄνοιαν τῶν ἀνόμων Ἑβραίων); Saturday before the Sunday of the Samaritan Woman, Orthros, second Kathisma after the second Stichologia (ἐλέγχων τε τὴν ἄνοιαν τῶν ἀπίστων Ἑβραίων, καὶ βοῶν τοῖς ὄχλοις [...]).

<sup>42</sup> See Sullivan, Talbot & McGrath 2014, 15–19 on the author of the *Life*.

<sup>43</sup> See *Life* 5, 91–97.

<sup>44</sup> See Ioniță 2015b and (in relation to the role of Christological debates in this discussion) Leemans 2011.

enth-century Palestine and after the heated struggles and debates on the worship of icons in the eighth and ninth centuries, the *Life* reflects a period profoundly marked by eschatological expectations—as the first Christian millennium was coming to completion—and in which the traditional view that all the unfaithful would be held accountable was already well established. Fear of the *eschaton* could be a possible explanation for the following words addressed by the author of the *Life* towards the Jews:<sup>45</sup>

- “sons of perdition”,<sup>46</sup> “sons of the Devil”,<sup>47</sup> “accursed Israelites/Jews”<sup>48</sup>
- “the assemblage of the Jews [is] withered, abolished und useless and cast away from the face of the Lord God the Almighty”<sup>49</sup>
- “The Jews, the so-called assemblage of Israel, I give witness concerning them that these are no longer an assemblage of Israel, they are no longer a royal priesthood or holy nation or people of God, but they are accursed, destroyed, and cast away, and it is the assemblage of Satan.”<sup>50</sup>

It is important to highlight the discrepancy between Gregory’s inner thoughts, resulting from his reading of the Bible, and the clarification he is given after the discussions with his spiritual father and especially through the visions he receives through divine intervention. On the one hand, one deals here with a positive approach to the Old Testament, prophetic literature, Israel and the descendants of the Jewish people; on the other hand, one can see how these thoughts, triggered by the reading of biblical texts, are ‘corrected’ by St Basil as ‘spiritual authority’. This authoritative voice is taken by the reader to reflect a collective attitude of religious society in tenth-century Byzantium.<sup>51</sup> Gregory’s inner tension with respect to the fate of the Jews and numerous other clues

<sup>45</sup> Many of these expressions are taken from the Bible or patristic sources: for Byzantine use and abuse of biblical texts, see Riedel 2019 and Stouraitis 2019. On eschatology in the tenth century, see Magdalino 2003a.

<sup>46</sup> *Life* 5, 52 (p. 520.11–12: τῶν υἱῶν τῆς [...] ἀπωλείας); 5, 88 (p. 580.15: υἱοὶ τῆς ἀπωλείας); 5, 91 (p. 588.3: υἱῶν τῆς ἀπωλείας); 5, 136 (p. 682.21: υἱοὶ τῆς ἀπωλείας); 5, 138 (p. 686.15: υἱοὶ [...] τῆς ἀπωλείας).

<sup>47</sup> *Life* 4, 4 (p. 350.11: υἱοὶ τοῦ Διαβόλου) and 5, 88 (p. 580.14: υἱοὶ τοῦ Διαβόλου).

<sup>48</sup> *Life* 4, 4 (p. 350.10: οἱ ἐπάρατοι Ἰουδαῖοι); 4, 37 (p. 418.16–17: ἐπαράτους Ἰσραηλίτας); 5, 135 (p. 680.10: τῶν ἐπαράτων Ἰουδαίων).

<sup>49</sup> *Life* 4, 5 (p. 358.93–95: ἡ συναγωγὴ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐξηραμένη, καρτηρρημένη τε καὶ ἀχρηστος καὶ ἐκβηβλημένη ἀπὸ προσώπου Κυρίου Θεοῦ Παντοκράτορος).

<sup>50</sup> *Life* 4, 5 (p. 360.126–130: Ἰουδαῖοι οἱ λεγόμενοι συναγωγὴ τοῦ Ἰσραήλ, ἐγὼ μαρτυρῶ περὶ αὐτῶν, ὅτι οὗτοι οὐκέτι εἰσι συναγωγὴ τοῦ Ἰσραήλ, οὐκέτι εἰσι βασιλειον ἱεράτευμα ἢ ἔθνος ἅγιον ἢ λαὸς Θεοῦ, ἀλλ’ οὗτοι εἰσιν εἰς κατάραν, εἰς ἐξολόθρευσιν καὶ εἰς ἀποβολήν, καὶ αὕτη ἐστὶ συναγωγὴ τοῦ Σατανᾶ).

<sup>51</sup> For further details on the interaction with Jews and Judaism in Byzantium, see Tolan, de Lange, Foschia & Nemo-Pekelman 2013; Bonfil, Irshai, Stroumsa & Talgam 2012; Dagron & Déroche 2010; Bowman 1985; Starr 1939. On Greek anti-Jewish literature see Andrist 2016.

in the text suggest that Rom 9–11 played a certain role in the shaping of Gregory's theological attitude in what concerns the fate of the Jews.

### 3. A DISTORTION OF THE MESSAGE FROM ROM 9–11?

Leaving aside the anti-Jewish declamations of the *Life*, I return to the moment described by Gregory as the trigger point for his heavenly vision (4, 1–4): in the structure of that narrative one can identify the reception of Rom 9–11. The author tells us that one day he was meditating upon his own sins and the fate he would have at the Last Judgement, and all of a sudden many questions came to him regarding the fate of the Jews. Gregory mentions Abraham, Isaac, Jacob and Moses who “revealed themselves as honored and pious before the Lord”.<sup>52</sup> Then he recalls the entire history of salvation, with its key figures, mentioning the prophets and their miraculous deeds, after which he rhetorically asks himself:<sup>53</sup>

And were not Micah and Zephaniah and Amos and Ezekiel, Isaiah and Daniel, together with all the holy prophets, pleasing to God through this faith and did they not attain His kingdom? And do not we who reverently profess the Christian faith honor them and revere their represented images? So how is their faith evil and ours good? Their faith is surely good, since they do not place faith in idols, but in God Who made heaven and earth.

This is the conclusion that Gregory reaches. The fact that the author confesses that these thoughts are the outward expression of a continuous biblical reading is very relevant.<sup>54</sup> Whoever reads these pages carefully (4, 1–4) cannot but recognize the correspondences between these passages and the ruminations that the apostle Paul had with regard to his own people, as expressed in Rom 9:1–5. The fact that this pericope is frequently quoted in the *Life* is a clear sign that the author knew the Pauline epistle well.<sup>55</sup> Gregory seems prone to conclude—relying on his knowledge of the Bible—that the Jews who killed Jesus have done so out of ignorance and that their descendants should not be damned.<sup>56</sup> Remorseful, Gregory goes to his spiritual father for counsel. With his typical sarcasm, which is a stylistic feature of the text, St Basil immediately labels Gregory as a “man of Jewish conviction”, which demonstrates his general interest in prophetic literature and the Old Testament:<sup>57</sup>

<sup>52</sup> *Life* 4, 1 (p. 345.10).

<sup>53</sup> *Life* 4, 1 (p. 347.26–32).

<sup>54</sup> The translators affirm that Gregory “seems to be familiar with all parts of the Bible” (Sullivan, Talbot & McGrath 2014, 24).

<sup>55</sup> Five citations from Rom 9:5 are listed in Sullivan, Talbot & McGrath 2014, 790.

<sup>56</sup> *Life* 4, 1–2. See also Sullivan, Talbot & McGrath 2014, 42.

<sup>57</sup> *Life* 4, 4 (pp. 350.8–352.17).



Behold, the man of Jewish conviction (ὁ τὰ ἰουδαϊκὰ φρονῶν) has come to us! Behold the one who has studied the entire Old Testament and learned from it that the accursed Jews hold their faith correctly, those [...] who belong to the party of the Antichrist. [...] Today has come to us the fine explicator of the Divine Scriptures, their exegete and most precise interpreter, who idolizes the prophets and [...] maintains that the Jews now correctly hold their faith and belief [...].

This answer given by St Basil suggests the interpretative trajectory played by the citations of Rom 9–11 throughout the *Life*; a closer look confirms this impression and clarifies certain issues.

Among the citations of and allusions to Rom 9–11 in the *Life*, two passages are particularly relevant. First of all, Rom 10, with its Pauline thesis about Christ as the end of the law (10:4), seems have been very well received by the author of the *Life*. This corresponds to the Byzantine liturgical readings (still read today): Rom 10:1–10 is chosen for Sunday readings,<sup>58</sup> while Pauline passages from which the faithful could hear something positive about Israel are destined for ordinary days, when the majority of the faithful are not actually attending church.

Moreover, the author alludes to the tradition of the ‘hardening of the heart’ when describing the Jews at the Last Judgement, but the interpretational option starkly contrasts with the Pauline argumentation in Rom 11:

*Life*<sup>59</sup>

[...] there was very deep darkness upon them, and the bitter hardness of their hearts was very great upon all those in that assemblage, and dog dung was mixed with festering blood on their filthy and loathsome faces. Their eyes were blinded by a thick mucus which coated them, and their ears were stopped up and covered with pitch, and they held horsetails in their hands and brought them to their noses for some relief from the smell. From their lips dripped pus-filled serum instead of saliva, and their tongues hung out of their mouths like those of rabid dogs. From their open black mouths they exhaled the indescribable stench of smoking sulphur, and their hands and feet were very black and crooked, and on their feet instead of sandals they wore worm-eaten donkey skins.

Rom 11:8–12 (NRSV)

<sup>8</sup> as it is written, “God gave them a sluggish spirit, eyes that would not see and ears that would not hear, down to this very day”.

<sup>9</sup> And David says, “Let their table become a snare and a trap, a stumbling-block and a retribution for them; <sup>10</sup> let their eyes be darkened so that they cannot see, and keep their backs forever bent”.

<sup>11</sup> So I ask, have they stumbled so as to fall? By no means! But through their stumbling salvation has come to the Gentiles, so as to make Israel jealous. <sup>12</sup> Now if their stumbling means riches for the world, and if their defeat means riches for Gentiles, how much more will their full inclusion mean!

If the author of the *Life* uses the ‘hardening tradition’ to describe the miserable condi-

<sup>58</sup> See the reading from the Apostolos on the fifth Sunday after Pentecost.

<sup>59</sup> *Life* 5, 98 (p. 602.9–21).



tion in which the Jews were going to be found in at the Last Judgement and to justify their final penalty, the apostle Paul wants to draw the attention of his audience to the fact that the 'hardening' of Israel is of divine origin and its deeper purpose is the calling of the gentiles to faith (Rom 10:11–15). Resorting to the same prophetic texts about Israel, the author of the *Life* casts all the Jews in the fires of Gehenna, while the apostle Paul exhorts the faithful, with the example of the olive tree (Rom 11:17–24), not to cast definitive judgements regarding the mystery of Israel (11:25), because the gifts and the calling of the people of Israel shall not be taken back (10:28), and all Israel will be redeemed (11:26).

The images of the hardening of the heart and the spiritual blindness of the people, with obvious parallels in the *Life*, are present also in Byzantine hymnography.<sup>60</sup> In both textual traditions, one may notice how Christian authors make use of the prophetic language<sup>61</sup> to justify Israel's damnation and the damnation of all Jews while setting aside the good part for the Christians. This kind of pro-Christian perspective is actually foreign to the biblical message and especially to the Pauline argumentation in Rom 9–11.<sup>62</sup>

#### 4. CONCLUSIONS

As a result of the intertextual analysis between Byzantine hymnography and the *Life of St Basil the Younger* one may conclude that, while the hymnographic tradition already bears witness to a pronounced and clearly articulated anti-Judaism formulated by eighth- and ninth-century authors, such texts reveal themselves as mild when compared to the extremely harsh and unexpectedly detailed language of this tenth-century *Life*. These transformations in the Christian theological perception of Israel, based on an approach to prophetic literature and the Old Testament in general, in turn left their mark upon the developments of Byzantine liturgy and spirituality in a decisive manner. Such contrasts could have led to the piloted reception, tendentious interpretation or sheer overlooking of subtler biblical texts such as the passage in Rom 9–11. In this 'proof-text', the anti-Jewish bias is far from obvious.

The examples mentioned above suggest that the *Life of St Basil the Younger* may provide proof of liturgical influence upon the crystallization of an anti-Jewish attitude

<sup>60</sup> Compare *Life* 5, 103 (p. 612.4: Ὁ μωροὶ καὶ τυφλοὶ, ἀνοήτοι καὶ ἀσύνητοι υἱοὶ Ἰσραὴλ [...]) with, for example, the fourth Troparion of the eighth Ode of the Orthros for Sunday of the Myrrhbearers, from Andrew of Crete: Ὁ Ἰουδαῖοι τυφλοὶ, πλάνοι καὶ παραβάται [...].

<sup>61</sup> On this subject, see further Azar 2015.

<sup>62</sup> For the mainstream of current interpretation of Rom 9–11, see Wilk & Wagner 2010 and Louzeau 2007.

among tenth-century Christians. Historically, the Byzantine wars with the Persians, the successive loss of several oriental territories under the rising power of Islam, the iconoclast disputes and the closing up of the Christian millennium created a set of eschatological expectations that fostered the appearance of writings such as the one studied here. If one takes into account the fact that in all these political and religious tensions the Jews had a decisive role, one may better understand the source of anti-Jewish language in the *Life* and in liturgical hymnography.

Like Jonathan Zecher, who proposes that Orthodox Christians living according to the Byzantine rite use such hagiographical and hymnological writings to reexamine their debates about death, after-life experiences and the Last Judgement, I underscore the major influence that such writings have had on the Eastern Christian faithful in feeding regrettable and theologically misplaced sentiments of anti-Judaism.<sup>63</sup>

<sup>63</sup> Zecher 2015, 92. For further treatment of this topic see Mihăilă 2019 and the 2019 issue of the *Review of Ecumenical Studies*.

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# “A CHILD IN ZION”: THE SCRIPTURAL FABRIC OF ARMENIAN COLOPHONS\*

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MANUSCRIPT COLOPHONS ENJOY a special status in the Armenian manuscript tradition. Unlike their Greek or Western counterparts, these ‘memorials’ (յիշատակարանք, *yiṣatakaranḵ*), as they are known in Armenian, are more often than not strikingly long, informative, and sophisticated.<sup>1</sup> Their singular nature has led scholars to recognize them as a distinct literary genre.<sup>2</sup> Because it developed in the context of a Christian literature profoundly shaped by the biblical corpus, including apocrypha,<sup>3</sup> this genre constitutes a rich mine of biblical quotations, themes, and references. As Robert Thomson writes, “for all Armenian authors the Bible was the literary resource *par excellence*”, and this is also true for the authors of colophons.<sup>4</sup> As such, colophons not only provide precious information about the manuscript tradition of the Armenian Bible,<sup>5</sup> but they also allow us to catch a glimpse of how the Bible was received among copyists, sponsors and handlers of books in medieval and early modern Armenia.

The aim of this essay is to provide a global overview of biblical materials found in Armenian colophons and to emphasize their significance as part of the *Wirkungsgeschichte* of the Bible in Armenia. Most authors of colophons come from humble backgrounds and possess limited literary skills; even professional copyists with a greater degree of training and competence seldom demonstrate literary talent comparable to that of ‘mainstream’ authors.<sup>6</sup> Therefore, Armenian colophons constitute a fasci-

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<sup>1</sup> The typical contents of an Armenian colophon have been described by (among others) Sanjian 1968, 187–188; Sanjian 1969, 7–9; Stone 1995, 465–466; Sirinian 2014, 75–76.

<sup>2</sup> Van Elverdinghe (forthcoming b).

<sup>3</sup> See e.g. Nersessian 2001, 45–48; Stone 2015, 406–408.

<sup>4</sup> Thomson, Howard-Johnston & Greenwood 1999, xlix. Cf. Sanjian 1969, 8.

<sup>5</sup> See mainly Cowe 1984.

<sup>6</sup> Sanjian 1968, 191–192; Sanjian 1969, xi; Gureghian 2010, 785.

nating and perhaps even unique witness to the reception of the Bible among the less literate or semi-literate ranks of a medieval Eastern Christian society.

Following a brief overview of the sources, this essay proceeds in two parts. In the first part, I propose a typology of biblical references in colophons, based on the literary processes involved. The second half of the paper examines the contexts in which such mentions appear and explores the different strategies and motivations at work when the author of a colophon engages with the Bible. Excerpts of colophons from different periods are translated and analyzed in order to illustrate each point.<sup>7</sup> Although the historical development of the art of writing colophons undoubtedly had an impact on the presence of biblical references, I am leaving it for future research to investigate the diachronic dimension of this phenomenon.

### 1. THE SOURCE MATERIAL AND ITS CHALLENGES

Armenian colophons have long been the subject of scholarly attention because of their wealth of unique information, through which they transcend the traditional notion of the colophon as a simple record of the completion of a book. About 14,500 colophons are available in print in collections arranged in chronological order, which is still far from an exhaustive corpus.<sup>8</sup> Texts not covered in these editions include all sixteenth-century colophons, colophons dated later than 1660 and many undated ones, as well as a fair number of colophons that either had not been recorded at the time of compiling the collections or were not deemed worthy of inclusion.

A major problem in using these editions for a study of biblical materials is their lack of scriptural indexes.<sup>9</sup> They as a rule also fail to indicate the presence of quotations altogether.<sup>10</sup> Even more problematic is the omission of segments of a purely devotional nature; these often appeared redundant and of little to no interest to the eyes of editors looking, above all, for historical data. The complete omission of most of such

<sup>7</sup> All translations are mine. I deliberately refrain from standardizing the ubiquitous spelling variants and grammatical 'errors' in these texts (see Atsalos 1991, 732–733 in defence of this approach). I therefore reproduce editions verbatim, and only correct (tacitly) obvious typos, add quotation marks where necessary and propose conjectures (inside parentheses) where the text is unclear.

<sup>8</sup> The most significant editions of Armenian colophons are listed in the first section of the bibliography at the end of this contribution.

<sup>9</sup> The fact that the majority of these editions were produced in Armenia during the Soviet era certainly contributed to this inattention to scriptural material. The book by Sanjian (1969), which presents historical excerpts from colophons in English translation, is a notable exception.

<sup>10</sup> Colophons dated to 1621–1660 are in a better position in this regard, but even for text from this period, the mark-up has been inconsistent.

devotional sections is an unfortunate state of affairs, which tends to present a distorted picture of what message the authors of colophons intended to deliver to future readers of the manuscript. While manuscript catalogues and secondary literature can help fill in some (but far from all) of the gaps in colophon collections, any efforts to produce comprehensive statistical data about biblical quotations remain vain for the moment.<sup>11</sup> For this reason, I adopt a qualitative rather than a quantitative approach and focus my attention on how and why the texts are cited, rather than which texts are cited.

## 2. DIFFERENT LEVELS OF RECEPTION

References to the Bible in colophons can be grouped in the following categories: quotations, allusions, mentions of manuscript contents, and what I call ‘echoes’. It is essential to review each of these intertextual modalities, with the help of concrete examples, in order to understand precisely how the authors of Armenian colophons made use of the Bible in their own texts.

### 2.1 Quotations

Examination of the material reveals that biblical quotations in colophons occur in various situations. The main conceptual differentiations are between literal and composite quotations on the one hand, and between direct and indirect quotations on the other.

Literal quotations are relatively abundant but do not always follow the *textus receptus*. In the absence of an *editio critica maior* of the Armenian Bible, it is generally difficult to say whether such discrepancies correspond to textual variants or are merely caused by imperfect memorization. Besides literal quotations, biblical references also appear as ‘composite citations’.<sup>12</sup> This phenomenon can be illustrated with the following quotation in a colophon of 1469, drawn from Jesus’s explanation of the parable of the fig tree:<sup>13</sup>

Stay watchful and say prayers at all times (Luke 21:36), that your flight be not in the winter neither on a Sabbath day (Matt 24:20).

<sup>11</sup> One hopes that newer editions, such as those in preparation at the Matenadaran – Mesrop Mash-tots Scientific Research Institute of Ancient Manuscripts in Yerevan, will correct this deficiency.

<sup>12</sup> On composite citations, see the recent and fundamental work directed by S. Adams and S. Ehorn (2016–2018).

<sup>13</sup> *Armenian Colophons 1401–1500* II.365, ed. Xač'ikyan 1958, 339 (cod. SEB\* 31, ca. p. 531): Արթուն կացէք եւ յամենայն ժամ աղօթս արարէք, զի մի լիցի փախուսան ձեր ի ձմերանի եւ մի յաւուր շաբաթու: (*Art'un kac'ek' ew yamenayn žam alôt's ararēk', zi mi lic'i p'axustn jer i jme'ani ew mi yawur šabat'u.*). Cf. the translation by Sanjian 1969, 296 (*Armenian Colophons 1301–1480* 1469.3). See also pp. 154–155 below on this colophon.

This is not a single quotation, but rather the blend of two partial verses from two different Gospels into one ‘combined citation.’<sup>14</sup> The conjunction զի (*zi*: “that, so that”), found at the end of the Lukan and at the beginning of the Matthaean extract, acts as a transition, as does the phrase “say prayers at all times” (յաւննայն ժամ աղօթս արարէք, *yamenayn žam alōt’s ararēk*), which has a semantic equivalent in Matt 24:20 in the form of “stand in prayer” (յաղօթս կացէք, *yālōt’s kac’ēk*). The quotation remains fairly faithful to the received text, only deleting “therefore” (այսոհնեմ, *aysuhetew*) from the first part and adding “day” (աւուր, *awur*) in the second part.

The authors of colophons also include conflated and condensed citations that are (next to combined citations) the two other types of composite citations according to Adams and Ehorn’s nomenclature.<sup>15</sup> A prime example of a citation resulting from both conflation and condensation is found in the following passage:<sup>16</sup>

[... the] wrath of God came upon the city of Sebastia, according to the word of the Lord, saying “Watch out, lest they [sc. your hearts] be burdened, and it [sc. that day] come upon you like a trap”; thus, like a trap, he [sc. Iazi’i]<sup>17</sup> laid siege to the great city of Sebastia.

The turn of phrase at the beginning of the quotation is drawn from Acts 13:40 (“watch out, lest”: զգոյշ կացէք, զուրից, *zgoyš kac’ēk, guc’ē*), but the main part comes from Luke 21:34–35, where the same idea is expressed in a somewhat different manner: “watch out for yourselves, lest” (զգոյշ լինուք անձանց, զուրից, *zgoyš leruk’ anjanc, guc’ē*). This central part, however, with which the quotation from Acts is conflated, is itself the result of a radical condensation of the biblical text. The omission of the subjects of both verbs shows that the author takes his audience’s familiarity with the Gospel of Luke as a given and assumes they will have no trouble understanding an otherwise obfuscated text.

There are numerous other cases where a citation, whether marked or unmarked as such, shows a lesser degree of fidelity to the biblical text. Leaving the case of combined citations aside, one can in general explain this apparent freedom by the fact that the Bible was not always the direct source of a given quotation. Other writings that

<sup>14</sup> Adams & Ehorn 2018, 2–3; Adams & Ehorn 2016, 9 (with earlier bibliography); Stanley 2016, 204.

<sup>15</sup> Adams & Ehorn 2018, 3–5 and elsewhere in the same volume.

<sup>16</sup> *Armenian Colophons 1601–1660* I.138a, ed. Hakobyan & Hovhannisyan 1974, 112 (cod. J 420, ca. p. 630): [...] եղև աստուածասատ բարկութիւն ի վերայ քաղաքին Սեբաստիոյ ըստ բանի Տեառն որ ասէ. «Զգոյշ կացէք, զուրից ծանրանայցեն, եւ յանկարծակի հասանիցէ ի վերայ ձեզ որպէս զորոգայթ»։ այսպէս իբրև զորոգայթ պաշարեաց զկեծ քաղաքն Սեբաստիայ։ ([...] *elew astuacasast barkut’iwn i veray k’alak’in Sebastioy ast bani Tearn or asē; «Zgoyš kac’ēk, guc’ē canranayc’ēn, ew yankarcaki hasanic’ē i veray jez orpēs zorogayt’»*; *ayspēs ibrew zorogayt’ pašareac’ zmec k’alak’n Sebastiy.*). See also p. 154 below.

<sup>17</sup> I.e. Karayazıcı Abdülhalim, a Celâlî rebel who created turmoil in Anatolia around 1600.



were more familiar to the scribe, such as liturgical or homiletic texts, may have acted as intermediaries. In an interesting colophon dated 1413, the owner of a lavish thirteenth-century manuscript, bishop *tēr* Kostəndin Vahkac'i (who would later become catholicos as Constantine VI), explains that he longed to find a truly exceptional Gospel book but was initially unable to locate one, despite travelling extensively to make enquiries about such a manuscript. He describes the decisive moment when God finally granted his desire in the following terms:<sup>18</sup>

But, taking refuge in God, day after day, I was begging God to grant my heart's request. And Christ God, who is generous in giving good things (cf. Matt 7:11) and aware of the secrets of man (cf. Rom 2:16), revealed this holy Gospel to us, according to the word of the Lord, that "He who seeks finds, and he who knocks, it shall be opened to him" (Matt 7:8; Luke 11:10); and also, that "Whatever you ask the Father with faith, in the name of the Son, he will give you" (cf. John 15:16 and 6:23); and also, that "He who comes to me, I will not cast him out" (John 6:37).

In this excerpt, near word-for-word quotations from the New Testament alternate with looser references. The immediate sources of these allusions are not biblical, but liturgical.<sup>19</sup> The phrase "[God who] is aware of the secrets of man" (զիտող է զաղտնեաց մարդկան, *gitol ē galtneac' mardkan*) derives directly from a stanza of a hymn sung on Whit Tuesday: "Thou who art aware of the secrets of man, Holy Spirit, Lord and life-giver, receive our prayers".<sup>20</sup> In the same way, the quotation "Whatever you ask the Father with faith, in the name of the Son, he will give you" (Զոր ինչ խնդրէք հաւատով, յանուն Որդոյ ի Հայրէ, տացի ձեզ, *Zor inc' xndrēk' hawatov, yanun Ordoy i Hawrē, tac'i jez*) is actually taken from the Liturgy of the Hours, where it is

<sup>18</sup> *Armenian Colophons 1401–1500* III.441a, ed. Xač'ikyan 1967, 329 (cod. J 251, f. 328<sup>v</sup>): Այլ ապախնելով յԱստուած ար ըստ արէ խնդրէի ի յԱստուծոյ, զի տացէ զխնդրուածս սրտի իմոյ: Եւ Քրիստոս Աստուած, որ առատն է ի տուրս բարեաց եւ զիտող է զաղտն[ե]աց մարդկան, յայտնեաց զսուրբ Աւետարանս մեզ, ըստ բանին Տեառն, եթէ «Որ հայցէ՛ գտանէ եւ որ բախտէ՛ բաց[ց]ի նմայ»: Եւ այլ թէ «Զոր ինչ խնդ[ր]էք հաւատով, յանուն Որդոյ ի Հայրէ, տացի ձեզ»: Եւ այլ թէ «Որ զայ առ իս, ոչ հանից զնա արտաքս»: (*Ayl apawinelov yAstuac awr əst awrē xndrēi i yAstucoy, zi tac'ē zxnndruacs srti imoy. Ew K'ristos Astuac, or aiatn ē i turs bareac' ew gitol ē galtneac' mardkan, yaytneac' zsurb Awetarians mez, əst banin Teain, et'ē «Or hayc'ē: gtanē ew or baxē: bac'c'i nmay». Ew ayl t'ē «Zor inc' xndrēk' hawatov, yanun Ordoy i Hawrē, tac'i jez»; ew ayl t'ē «Or gay ar is, oč' hanic' zna artak's».*). The rest of the story is not as impressive: Kostəndin apparently found his Gospel book at a Syrian pawnbroker's and only managed to lay claim to it after some hard bargaining.

<sup>19</sup> This is a widespread situation that also applies to other genres and literatures of the medieval Eastern Christian world. An exemplary case is Greek hagiography, in which liturgical texts and praxis also constituted the main medium through which the Bible was cited and alluded to (see e.g. Krueger 2016).

<sup>20</sup> *Hymnal*, ed. T'ašćeanc' 1875, 261; ed. Jerusalem 1936, 215: Որ գիտակղ եւ զաղտնեաց մարդկան Հոգիդ սուրբդան Տէր եւ կենդանարար, ընկալ զաղաչանքս մեր (*Or gitakd es galtneac' mardkan Hogid surb, Tēr ew kendantarar, ənkāl zalač'anəs mer*).

part of a prayer said by the celebrant at None.<sup>21</sup> The first sentence of the colophon excerpt may have been influenced by another passage from the same prayer: “[...] and fulfil our request for our good, for we have taken refuge in you.”<sup>22</sup> Liturgical performance evidently plays a fundamental role here, given the fact that the copyist, like the overwhelming majority of his peers, was himself a cleric.

Finally, colophons frequently take on this mediating role themselves, when, for various reasons, a reference has attained a special degree of recognition among copyists. In such cases, the biblical reference evolves into a formula, or a stereotypical pattern, copied repeatedly across a number of texts—a development that biblical references share with other phraseological elements in colophons.<sup>23</sup>

A case in point is the formula “Blessed is he, who has a child in Zion and an acquaintance in Jerusalem!”<sup>24</sup> This phrase, a quotation of Isa 31:9b, is used mainly by copyists describing the sponsor or purchaser’s spiritual intentions for acquiring the book. It is included in a very large number of Armenian colophons, either with or without attribution to Isaiah or ‘the prophet’. When a citation gains currency as a formula, it becomes part and parcel of the mental universe of copyists, who then use it without necessarily having in mind its biblical context.<sup>25</sup> The independent circulation that such a formula can acquire is neatly illustrated when one copyist mistakenly attributes it to Solomon: such an error obviously excludes first-hand knowledge of the verse in its original context.<sup>26</sup>

## 2.2 *Allusions*

Allusions differ from citations in that the biblical source is not textually present in the colophon. Instead, it is merely hinted at or reformulated in such a way that it is not immediately recognizable. Some biblical allusions in colophons exhibit a high degree of referential complexity. Let us consider, for example, this excerpt from a colophon dated to 1201:<sup>27</sup>

<sup>21</sup> *Breviary*, ed. Jerusalem 1955, 417. The standard text has խնդրիցեք (*xndric’ēk’*, subjunctive) instead of խնդրեք (*xndrēk’*, indicative).

<sup>22</sup> *Breviary*, ed. Jerusalem 1955, 417: [...] եւ կատարեալ ի բարիս զխնդրուածս մեր՝ զի ի քեզ ենք ապաւինեալ: ([...] *ew katarea i baris xzndruacs mer: zi i k’ēz enk’ apawineal.*).

<sup>23</sup> Van Elverdinghe (forthcoming a). See also a case study in Van Elverdinghe 2017–2018.

<sup>24</sup> *Bible*, ed. Zōhrapean 1805, III:374: Երանի՛ որ ունիցի [կամ՝ ունի] զաւակ ի Սիոն եւ ընտանեակ [կամ՝ ընտանի] յերուսաղէմ (*Erani’ or unic’i [vel uni] zawak i Sion ew antaneak [vel antani] yErusalēm.*).

<sup>25</sup> About this process, see Van Elverdinghe (forthcoming a) as well as Reynhout 2006, I:313–316.

<sup>26</sup> *Armenian Colophons 1601–1660* III.921g, ed. Hakobyan 1984, 602 (cod. M 3647, f. 343<sup>r</sup>).

<sup>27</sup> *Armenian Colophons 1201–1300* 1a, ed. Mat’evosyan 1984, 12–13 (cod. M 10359, f. 306<sup>r-v</sup>): [...] մարմնաւոր ծննդեանն եւ մկրտութեան եւ ամենայն տնարիմական տնտեսութեան, զոր յերկրի կատարեաց Աստուած բանն [...] յաղագս աստուածազար սքանչելեացն, զոր յերկրի հրաշագործեալ բանն Աստուծոյ իրով միացեալ եւ անորոշ աստուածախառն մարմնովն զկուրաց տեսանել, կաղաց գնայ,

[...] the incarnate birth, [the] baptism and [the] whole divine economy that God the Word (cf. John 1:1) accomplished on earth [...] for the purpose of the miracles of divine strength, which the Word of God performed prodigiously on earth, becoming one through itself and its flesh (cf. John 1:14), joined with God in an indivisible manner: [he caused] the blind to see, the lame to walk, the lepers to be cleansed (cf. Matt 11:5 and Luke 7:22), [and] the paralytics to gain strength (cf. Matt 4:24), [he] raised the dead (cf. John 5:21), cast out devils (cf. Matt 4:24), walked on the sea (cf. Matt 14:25–26; Mark 6:48–49; John 6:19), and, in addition, [performed all kinds of] works of divine power. By preaching [these] manifestly unto the whole world (cf. Acts 1:8), and by casting out the darkness of idolatry, they [sc. the Apostles] spread the light (cf. Acts 26:18) of the Trinity in the souls of mankind [...].

This passage, taken from a very long and elaborate period, alludes to the New Testament narrative on three different levels. First, it references various miracles by Jesus as related in different passages in the Gospels, part of which is already summed up by Jesus in his reply to the question of John the Baptist (Matt 11:5; Luke 7:22), and unifies them into a single narrative string. Second, it refers to Matt 10:8, where Jesus bids his disciples to perform the same miracles, using the same figure of speech (accumulation). This reference is made even clearer through an anacoluthon that switches the focus back to the Apostles, who had been mentioned earlier in the same periodic sentence. Lastly, the list of miracles calls to mind the Apostles' own ministry, recounted for the most part in the book of Acts (cf. Acts 8:8 e.a.).

### 2.3 *Mentions of the Contents of the Manuscript*

Scribal colophons usually include at least a few words, often more, that describe or summarize the manuscript they conclude.<sup>28</sup> In the case of biblical or liturgical codices, such internal references obviously relate to the Bible, yet they are neither quotations nor allusions to scriptural contents. Most commonly, these mentions are limited to a

բորոտաց սրբիլ, անդամալուծից հաստատիլ, մեռելոց յառնել, դիւաց հալածել, ի վերայ ծովու զգնալն, եւ որ այլեւս աստուածաբան զարութեանն գործք յաշխարհ ամենայն յայտնապէս քարոզելով, եւ հալածելով զխաւար կռապաշտութեանն, զԵրրորդութեանն ծաալեցին զլոյս յոգիս մարդկան [...]: ([...] *marmnawor cndeann ew mkrtut'ean ew amenayn tnawrinakan tntesut'ean, zor yerkri katareac' Astuac bann [...] yalags astuacazawr sk'an'eleac'n, zor yerkri brašagorceal bann Astucoy iwrov miac'cal ew anoroš astuacaxa'm marmnovn zkurac' tesanel, kalac' gnal, borotac' srbil, andamalucic' hastatil, me'reloc' ya'rmel, diuac' halacel, i veray covu zgaln, ew or aylews astuacain zawrut'eann gorck' yašxarh amenayn jaytnapēs k'arozelov, ew halacelov zxawar krapaštut'eann, zErrordut'eann cawalec'in zloys yogis mardkan [...]*). Cf. also the practically identical text in this manuscript's 'sisters': *Armenian Colophons 1201–1300* 2a, ed. Mat'evosyan 1984, 15; *Armenian Colophons to 1250* 308, ed. Yovsēp'ean 1951, 682–684 (cod. J 3274, pp. 427–429). See Van Elverdinghe (forthcoming a).

<sup>28</sup> Cf. Sanjian 1968, 187; Sanjian 1969, 7; Stone 1995, 465.

title or a similar designation of a book. This colophon of a New Testament written in Rome in 1262 provides a straightforward example:<sup>29</sup>

In the year 711 occurred the beginning and the completion of this [book], in the universally celebrated, illustrious Rome, at the door of Peter the Apostle, the rock of faith (cf. Matt 16:18): the Gospels written by the four Evangelists and the fourteen Epistles of Paul, the Act[s] of the Apostles and the seven Catholic Epistles, in one binding [...].

There are, however, other colophons that present more elaborate accounts, often in verse.<sup>30</sup> A devotee of this kind of texts was Step'anos Jik' Ĵulayec'i, a priest, scribe, painter, and poet active in New Julfa (Isfahan's Armenian quarter) between 1603 and 1637.<sup>31</sup> He wrote several valuable poetical compositions describing the contents of manuscripts he copied or otherwise handled. These unusual colophons soon became famous: they were detached from their original context and transmitted in other manuscripts, being included in miscellanies alongside other poems. One of Step'anos's 'poem-colophons', composed in 1621, describes the contents of the whole Bible; it initially followed the scribal colophon of a Bible that had been copied in Constantinople in 1620, at the request of an individual from Isfahan. The first three quatrains of this composition, out of a total of 100, give a good idea of the typical contents of Step'anos's poems:<sup>32</sup>

<sup>29</sup> *Armenian Colophons 1201–1300* 259a, ed. Mat'evosyan 1984, 313 (cod. NOJ 483, ca. f. 192<sup>v</sup>): Ի ՉԺԱ թուին եղև սկիզբն եւ աւարտ սմին ի տիեզերաց հոգակեալ յականատրս Հռովմ, առ դրան վիմին հաւատոյ Պետրոսի առաքելոյն չորք անետարանչացն գրեալ Անետարանքն եւ Չորքտասան թուխտքն Պաւղոսի, Գործ առաքելոյն եւ Եւթն թուղթք կաթողիկեայցն ի մի տուփ [...]: (*I 711 t'uin elew skizbn ew awart smin i tiezerac' hič'akeal yakanawors Hrovum, ar dran vimin hawatoy Petrosi arak'eloyñ č'ork' awe-taranč'ac'n greal Awetaranak'n ew Č'ork'tasan t'uxt'k'n Pawlosi, Gorc arak'eloc'n ew Ewt'n t'ult'k' kat'ukileayc'n i mi tup' [...]*).

<sup>30</sup> An interesting example in prose, concluding a miscellany including, among others, Yovhannēs T'lkuranč'i's versified paraphrase of Genesis, is *Armenian Colophons 1601–1660* II.438, ed. Hakobyan & Hovhannisyan 1978, 289 (cod. M 1171, f. 234<sup>r</sup>).

<sup>31</sup> For more information on this interesting figure, see Akinean 1947.

<sup>32</sup> *Armenian Colophons 1601–1660* II.46, ed. Hakobyan & Hovhannisyan 1978, 28 (cod. J 428, f. 542<sup>r</sup>):

Ի թվականիս մեր Հայկազեան,  
Որ էր անցեալ քսան յոբելեան,  
Այլ եւ եւթ տասն աւելի լման,  
Գրըեցաւ շունչս աստուածական:  
Մտ առաքելոց սրբոց կոչման  
Որք հաւաքեալ ի մի եղան,  
ԸզՀին եւ Նորըս Կտակարան,  
Զոր աստ շարեմ յարմարական:  
Յառաջ ըսկիզբն Բրիսէթայն,  
Գործք վեցարեալ արարչութեան,  
Ի կիրակէ օր տէրունեան,  
Մինչ ի շաբաթն արբ հանգըստեան:

*I t'vakanis mer Haykazean,  
Or ēr anc'eal k'san yobelean,  
Ayl ew ewt' tasn aweli lman,  
Gārec'aw šunč's astuacakan.  
'St arak'eloc' srboč' koč'man,  
Ork' hawak'eal i mi edan,  
ĖzHin ew Noras Ktakaran,  
Zor ast šarem yarmarakan.  
Yaraj' askizbn Brisēt'ayn,  
Gorck' vec'awreay ararč'ut'ean,  
I kirakē ōr tērunēan,  
Minč' i šabat'n aur hangəstean.*

In this Armenian year of ours,  
Which numbered twenty jubilees,  
Then seven decades more,<sup>33</sup>  
This divine breath<sup>34</sup> was written

According to the call of the Holy Apostles,  
Who, gathering [it] into one, laid down  
The Old and the New Testament,  
That I am drawing together here fittingly.

First, the beginning—*Bereshit* (Gen 1:1),  
The six-day acts of Creation,  
From Sunday, the Lord's day,  
Till Saturday, the rest day.

To this group of references we may add references to a biblical character in his capacity as the author of a book. For example, several colophons repeat traditions about the evangelists that are taken from subscriptions or prologues to their respective Gospel.<sup>35</sup> These mainly include information about the time, place and language of the Gospels.<sup>36</sup>

#### 2.4 'Echoes' and the Question of Biblical Imitatio

I suggest using the term 'echoes' to cover all stylistic and phraseological elements unwittingly reminiscent of the Bible. To cite Robert Thomson again, in Armenian literature, "biblical vocabulary is so pervasive that it is often difficult to decide whether a parallel is being hinted at, or whether the historian naturally expressed himself in such a fashion with no further nuance intended."<sup>37</sup> This situation is even more true of copyists: not only were they constantly immersed in biblical texts, but they were also those who copied them. Virtually all scribes belonged to the clergy, either regular or secular, meaning that they had a daily experience of the Bible, particularly the Gospels and the Psalms, through church services. Such a degree of saturation in and familiarity with the stories, characters, words, figures of speech and other stylistical features from the Bible led scribes to express themselves automatically and, as it were, effortlessly in a biblical

Full text in Lalayan 1915, 10–24 (from cod. M 4905).

<sup>33</sup> This is an elaborate way of expressing the year 1070 = 20 × 50 + 7 × 10, corresponding, in the Armenian Era, to A.D. 1621.

<sup>34</sup> Word play on the Armenian name of the Bible, Աստուածաշունչ (*Astuacašuncʻ*), lit. "God's breath".

<sup>35</sup> The Armenian versions of these pieces have barely been studied; the standard work on the original Greek texts is Soden 1902, 296–360. I am preparing a new edition of the Greek subscriptions and related pieces in the framework of the *Paratexts of the Bible* project.

<sup>36</sup> See Ajamian 1994, 9; other examples include *Armenian Colophons 1201–1300* 222 (cod. V 1374, ca. f. 216<sup>v</sup>), 531 (cod. M 5736, f. 311<sup>r-v</sup>), 606a (cod. M 6290, f. 333<sup>r-v</sup>), and 690 (cod. NH Hartford Seminary 2, ff. 292<sup>r</sup>–294<sup>v</sup>), ed. Mat'evosyan 1984, 274, 656, 757 and 855–856.

<sup>37</sup> Thomson, Howard-Johnston & Greenwood 1999, xlix.

idiom. In addition to this familiarity, both passive and active, of biblical language, high regard for the authority of the biblical text also prompted copyists to imitate, even if subconsciously, its style in their own writings.

Evidence for the pervasiveness of biblical language can be found in any colophon of reasonable dimensions. We hear echoes of Scripture, for instance, when a copyist describes himself as being “deserted by reasonable plants, a withered tree (cf. Matt 21:19; Mark 11:20) amidst those bearing fruit (cf. Joel 1:12), like a thorn amidst lilies (cf. Cant 2:2), Yovhannēs, minister of the Word only in name”,<sup>38</sup> or when another speaks of “our spiritual father Gēorg *rabuni*, who, having collected our uprooted and banished life (cf. Gen 4:12–14), gave [us] rest (cf. Isa 14:3; Matt 11:28) first according to the fleshly part, and then without envy (Wis 7:13), with grace spiritually pouring forth in abundant streams (cf. Deut 8:7; Ps 77:20), made the arid soil of our nature (cf. Isa 43:19–20) thrive bountifully (cf. Ps 106:33–37) and caused the famished storehouses of our souls to brim to the point of satiety (cf. Deut 28:8; Ps 143:13; Prov 3:10 and 24:4).”<sup>39</sup>

This last point underlines perhaps most clearly the importance of biblical *imitatio* in colophons, a phenomenon common to all genres of Armenian literature, but more complicated in colophons due to the multiplicity of intermediaries. Herbert Hunger and Ingela Nilsson, amongst others, have provided Byzantine studies with a theoretical framework regarding the concept of *imitatio*,<sup>40</sup> but there has been no similar work done yet with regard to Armenian texts. Such a study, for which there is an urgent need, should ideally include an appraisal of colophons.

### 3. CONTEXTS AND PURPOSES

Biblical references in colophons are by no means confined to the religious and (in the case of codices with biblical contents) recapitulative sections mentioned above. As these sections tend to be intricately connected with the text they summarize, as well as

<sup>38</sup> *Armenian Colophons 1601–1660* III:836a, ed. Hakobyan 1984, 539 (cod. M 1742, f. 544<sup>r</sup>): զանապատացեալս ի բուսոց բանականաց [զգո?] սացեալ ծառս ի մէջ պտղաբերաց իբրեւ փուշ ի մէջ շուշանաց զՅովհաննէս լոկ անուամբ պաշտօնեայ բանի (*zanapatac'eals i busoc' banakanac' zgōsac'eal car's i mēj p'tlāberac' ibrew p'uš i mēj šušānac' zYovhannēs lok anuamb paštōneay bani*).

<sup>39</sup> *Armenian Colophons 1201–1300* 605, ed. Mat'evosyan 1984, 756 (cod. M 488, f. 129<sup>r</sup>): ըստ հոգւոյ հայրն մեր Գէորգ բաբունի, որ զտարաբերդուն եւ զվտարանդի կեանս մեր հաւաքեալ հանգոյց, նախ ըստ մարմնականին մասին, եւ ապա՝ առանց նախանձու առատահոս վտակաբ հոգիաժաւալ շնորհին, լրապէս ուռճացոյց զամաի երկիր բնութեանս մերոյ եւ առատացոյց զսովեալ շտեմարանս հոգւոց մերոց առ ի բաւականաւ (*əst hogwoy hayrn mer Gēorg rabuni, or ztarabetun ew zvtarandi keans mer hawak'eal hangoyc' nax əst marmnakanin masin, ew apa: arānc' naxanju aratahos vtakawok' hogi-acawal šnorhiwn, lrapēs urēc'oyc' zamai erkir bnut'eans meroy ew aratac'oyc' zsoveal štemarans hogwoc' meroc' ar i bawakananal*).

<sup>40</sup> Hunger 1968; Nilsson 2010.

theological or devotional in their very nature, they of course form a natural environment for biblical references. But, as the following pages show, the presence of the Bible in these types of texts is so thoroughly pervasive that no subject or space in a colophon remains untouched by references to the Scriptures.

### 3.1 *The Ubiquity of Biblical References in Colophons*

The vast majority of copyists' colophons open with a doxology, which serves both as an appropriate closing statement to the main text of the manuscript and as an introduction to the colophon. These doxologies vary widely in length and contents. In their most basic form, they consist of short formulae, through which the scribe gives praise to God in a few simple words. Usually, even such brief set phrases already contain doctrinal statements, of a Trinitarian or Christological nature. Nevertheless, clearly identifiable biblical references remain largely absent in these types of formulae. Whenever the doxology extends beyond a simple message of thanks and praise, turns into an actual profession of faith, or becomes laden with an exegetical, symbolic, and mystical meaning, this is when biblical references take on an especially significant role.<sup>41</sup>

A description of the book's subject matter is another conventional part of a scribal colophon. In the case of manuscripts with biblical contents (Gospel books, service books, etc.), this section is also likely to include references to the Bible alongside standard information about the title or the author (see above). Biblical references are, however, not limited to the spaces where one might reasonably expect to find them, but appear in all kinds of contexts within the colophon: chronological statements, lists of persons worthy of the reader's remembrance, curses against thieves, and so forth. In the following three sections, I focus on the core part of the scribal colophon, where the copyist gives an account of his work and situates it in its material, social and historical context. I distinguish literary and hermeneutical aspects of scriptural references and finish with some concluding thoughts about the motives behind their presence in colophons.

### 3.2 *Literary Aspects*

One of the main reasons for quoting the Bible, alluding to it or imitating its style was to add embellishment to the colophon. In fact, an abundance of biblical metaphors, quotations, or reminiscences constitutes a major stylistic convention of the genre in Armenian.<sup>42</sup> Owing to the popularity of this convention, the corpus of colophons boasts some very fine poetical compositions incorporating biblical themes.<sup>43</sup> This prac-

<sup>41</sup> An excellent example can be found in Schmidt 1997, 98–100.

<sup>42</sup> Van Elverdinghe (forthcoming b).

<sup>43</sup> Cf. van Lint 2016.



tice, however, went beyond fidelity to an aesthetic canon. The association of a biblical reference with a particular person, thing, or notion allowed the author to evoke with relative ease a whole range of significations and emphases. For this reason, a popular practice among the authors of colophons was to distinguish people connected with the manuscript by comparing them to a biblical figure. The well-known fifteenth-century miniaturist Minas is more than once styled “the good painter, who is equal and alike to Bezalel, the first painter of the Ark (cf. Exod 31:2–6), filled with the Spirit”.<sup>44</sup> Another example is Sargis the priest, who in 1223 acquired the famous Halbat Gospels of 1211. He is said to be “like a wise merchant, who went in search of the precious pearl, and found it (cf. Matt 13:45–46) in the district of Ani”.<sup>45</sup>

Furthermore, objects or structures are readily associated with biblical realia. For instance, a newly built cross altar is “more resplendent and beautiful than the Temple of Solomon”.<sup>46</sup> Books and texts are, for obvious reasons, among the objects for which biblical parallels are most frequently adduced. Thus, a copy of the *Tōnapatčār* (called *tawnamak* in the colophon under consideration), a commentary about the feasts of the Armenian Church, is “filled with spiritual treasures and celestial manna, joined together by the holy doctors”.<sup>47</sup> Other colophons are more precise in their comparisons. Presenting a Gospel book to the Armenian convent of Jerusalem, the bishop Łazar states: “I wrote this Holy Gospel [...], which is my first writing, [then], like the first of [the] First Fruits (cf. Ezek 45:16 e.a.) and like the widow’s mite (cf. Mark 12:42; Luke 21:2), I donated [it] to the Lord’s treasury, [so] that, through its place at the door of Christ’s tomb, I will perhaps find God’s compassionate mercy (cf. Deut 3:38)”.<sup>48</sup>

<sup>44</sup> *Armenian Colophons 1401–1500* III.576, ed. Xač’ikyan 1967, 427 (cod. P 18, f. 310<sup>v</sup>): քաջնկարաւոյն, որ յար եւ նման է Բերսէլիէի հոգիւնկալ առաջին նկարողին տապանակին (*k’aj’ nkarawōn, or yar ew nman ē Bersēliēli hogiānkāl arājīn nkarolin tapanakin*). See also Vardanyan 2003–2004, 210–212.

<sup>45</sup> *Armenian Colophons 1201–1300* 94, ed. Mat’evosyan 1984, 134 (cod. M 6288, f. 358<sup>v</sup>): իբրեւ զինաստուն վաճառական ի խնդիր եղեալ պատուական մարգարտին, եւ գտեալ զաւ ի գաւառին Անոյ (*ibrew zimastun vačarakan i xndir eleal patuakan margartin, ew gteal zsa i gawarīn Anoy*). About this episode, see most recently Mat’evosyan 2012, 8.

<sup>46</sup> *Armenian Colophons 1601–1660* II.1108, ed. Hakobyan & Hovhannisyan 1978, 757 (cod. VAS\* Van, Tiramayr s.n.): առաւել պայծառ եւ զեղեցիկ քան զտաճարն Սողոմոնի (*arāwel paycař ew gelec’ik k’an ztačarn Solomoni*).

<sup>47</sup> *Armenian Colophons 1201–1300* 71, ed. Mat’evosyan 1984, 112 (cod. V 5, f. 420<sup>v</sup>): լցեալ հոգեւոր զանձիւք եւ յերկնային մանանային, զոր շարայարեալ սրբոց վարդապետաց (*lc’eal hogewor ganjiwk’ ew yerknayin mananayiwñ, zor šarayareal srboč’ vardapetac*).

<sup>48</sup> *Armenian Colophons 1601–1660* 1:826, ed. Hakobyan & Hovhannisyan 1974, 616–617 (cod. J 2625, f. 209<sup>r-v</sup>): զծագրեցի գաւորք Աւետարանս [...] որ է առաջին զիրս, իւր գնախնիս երախայրից եւ իբրեւ զլուսնայս պարոյն ընծայեցի ի զանձն տէրունի, որ կալով սմա առ դրան գերեզմանին Բրիստոսի, թրեւս սովաւ զոցի զբազմագութ ողորմութիւնն Աստուծոյ (*gcagrec’i zsurb Awetaranas [...] or ē arājīn girs, iur znaxnis eraxayric’ ew ibrew zlumays ayroyn əncayec’i i ganjs tēruni, or kalov sma ar dran gerezymānīn K’ristosi, t’erews sova w gtc’i zbazmagut’ olormut’iwnn Astucoy*).



One finds similar albeit generally more sophisticated uses of biblical episodes, characters, and features in hagiographical narratives, where they serve very much the same purpose of highlighting the protagonist's saintly character.<sup>49</sup> The strong connections that existed between these two genres in Armenian culture is shown through the genre of the 'vita-colophon' (*vark'-yišatakaran*), attested since the ninth century.<sup>50</sup> Conversely, the author of a colophon may draw on the Scriptures to criticize the behaviour of contemporary, temporal or spiritual, Armenian authorities, although this aspect is nowhere near as frequent.<sup>51</sup>

Furthermore, references to the Bible in the colophon serve to emphasize the sacred nature of the manuscript, as is seen most clearly in comminatory formulae:<sup>52</sup> the evocation of biblical punishments or curses, like those that befell Judas or Cain, acted as powerful deterrents against whoever would dare steal, damage or dilapidate the book. There is thus a performative intent as well, since such evocations were meant to induce the reader to abstain from a particular action, as is clear in the following example:<sup>53</sup>

And if someone with lordly intentions brazenly lays his hands on this book and confiscates [it], [either] by force or by means of a ruse, may he have his portion with Judas and share in Cain's and the crucifiers' lot, and may his name be erased from the Book of Life.

### 3.3 *Hermeneutical Aspects*

As far as interpretation of the Scriptures is concerned, the hermeneutics set forth in the vast majority of colophons does not deviate from the trends set in learned exegesis, by which I mean the biblical commentaries and other exegetical works circulating in Armenia. To cite only one example, colophons regularly associate the four living creatures in Ezekiel's Vision with the four evangelists, in the tradition of Irenaeus and many others.<sup>54</sup> Nonetheless, it happens (admittedly on rare occasions) that colophons penned by scholars of note offer original or, at least, unusual interpretations.<sup>55</sup>

<sup>49</sup> See e.g. Krueger 2010, 201 and 206–210; Krueger 2016, 179–182.

<sup>50</sup> On this genre, see Ter-Dav'tyan 1976. A good example is *Armenian Colophons 1401–1500* I:704, ed. Xač'ikyan 1955, 622–631 (codd. M 2379, ff. 244<sup>r</sup>–262<sup>v</sup>; M 2748, ff. 354<sup>v</sup>–357<sup>v</sup>; M 9004, ff. 1<sup>r</sup>–5<sup>v</sup>) and transl. Sanjian 1969, 209–214 (*Armenian Colophons 1301–1480* 1449.1).

<sup>51</sup> See the study by Sirinian 2016, 22–45, esp. 23–26.

<sup>52</sup> Cf. Sanjian 1969, 39.

<sup>53</sup> *Armenian Colophons 1301–1400* 669b, ed. Xač'ikyan 1950, 539 (cod. M 7477, f. 489<sup>v</sup>): Եւ եթէ որ իշխանաբար կամաւք, լրբութեամբ, կամ պատճառանաւք յանդնութեամբ ձեռնամուխ լինի զրոցս եւ յափշտակեաց՝ մասն զՅովային առջէ եւ բաժին զԿայենին եւ զխաչահանուացն, եւ ջնջեացի անուն նորա ի դպրութեանն կենաց: (*Ew et'ē ok' išxanabar kamawk', lrbut'eamb, kam patčarānawk' jandgnut'eamb jernamux lini groc's ew yapštakesē: masn zYudayin arc'ē ew bažin zKayenin ew zxač'ahanuac'n, ew jnjesc'i anun nora i dprut'eann kenac'*).

<sup>54</sup> Hannick 1993; Ajamian 1994, 7–12; Vardanyan 2014, 589.

<sup>55</sup> See Hannick 1993; Ajamian 1994; Schmidt 1997, 94–97; Chétanian 2014.

The real originality of biblical reception in colophons, however, lies in how authors relate the Bible to their own personal experiences, both in the spiritual and worldly domain. Indeed, biblical episodes are often evoked as parallels for events affecting Armenia both in negative and positive ways. Those may include conquests and plunders, martyrdoms, diseases and natural disasters, as well as the recovery of lands from the enemy, the election of a new bishop or patriarch, etc. When the colophon broaches the subject of various calamities, the frame of reference frequently becomes eschatological, with introductory expressions such as “in these final times” (ի վերջին ժամանակիս, *i verjin žamanakis*), occasionally with a hint of apocalypticism.<sup>56</sup> Gloomy descriptions of the present time, heightened by scriptural references, create a sense of impending doom, as in this colophon of 1473:<sup>57</sup>

This holy Gospel was written in the latter days of our time, according to that [word] that says “From the feet to this head, there is no healthiness (Isa 1:6)” because of the fierce Ismaelian nation, which brought our Christ-loving nation up to the gates of death (Ps 106:18).

Another example of this propensity towards eschatological references was mentioned earlier in this essay: the siege of Sebastia in 1601 was likened by a contemporary scribe to Jesus’s warning about Doomsday in Luke 21:34–35.<sup>58</sup> In such accounts, biblical references are inserted not only to enrich the depiction of the disaster but also to provide an explanation for its occurrence. Thus, hardships wrought by invading and roving armies are the result of God’s retribution for the sins of the Armenian people.<sup>59</sup> The ravages caused by a Kurdish army plundering the district of Rštunik, on the southern shore of Lake Van, on Christmas Day in 1469, were, in the eyes of a contemporary scribe, above all a consequence of the Armenians’ not abiding by Jesus’s commandments.<sup>60</sup>

<sup>56</sup> Cf. Cowe 2014, 111, who remarks on copyists using imagery from Daniel to describe the Mongol invasion.

<sup>57</sup> *Armenian Colophons 1401–1500* II:437a, ed. Xač’ikyan 1958, 345 (cod. M 7539, f. 207<sup>v</sup>): Գրեցաւ սուրբ Աւետարանս ի ժամանակիս վերջացեալ դարիս, ըստ այնմ, որ ասէ «Յոսիփ մինչեւ ցրգովսս չիք առողջութիւն» առ Բամայեւեան եւ ժպիրն ազգիս, որ քրիստոսապաւ (sic, intellege քրիստոսապաւան) ազգս հասուցին մինչեւ ի դրունս մահու: (*Grec’aw surb Awetarans i žamanakis verjac’eal daris, ast aynm, or asē «Yotic’ minčew c’agluxs č’ik’ aroļjut’iwn» ar Ismayelean ew žpirh azgis, or k’ristosadaw <an> azgs hasuc’in minčew i druns mahu.*).

<sup>58</sup> See p. 144 above.

<sup>59</sup> Cf. Gureghian 2010, 794.

<sup>60</sup> *Armenian Colophons 1401–1500* II:365, ed. Xač’ikyan 1958, 282 (cod. SEB\* 31, ca. p. 531): [...] եւ այն անիծեալ Էստինշերն երեկ եւ թալան արար զերկիրս Ռշտունեաց, յաւոր տօնի ծննդեան Քրիստոսի, զոր ասէ Աւետարանն, եթէ՛ «Արթուն կացէք եւ յամենայն ժամ աղօթս արարէք, զի մի լիցի փախուստն ձեր ի ձմերանի եւ մի յատոր շարաթու», զոր եղև վասն ծովացեալ մեղաց մերոց: Եւ մեր փախուցեալ դառն սրտիւք եւ լալոտ աչօք, ձիւնաթաթախ եւ տառապանօք, անկեալ ի յօտար երկիր, ի տեղիս տեղիս: ([...] *ew ayn aniceal Ėstinšern erek ew t’alan arar zerkirs Rštuneac’, yawur tōni cnndean K’ristosi, zor asē*

[...] and that accursed Ēstinšēr came and pillaged this country of Țstunik, on the day of the feast of Christ's Birth; the Gospel says "Stay watchful and say prayers at all times (Luke 21:36), that your flight be not in the winter, neither on a Sabbath day (cf. Matt 24:20)"—which happened, because of our overflowing sins. And we fled with bitter hearts and tearful eyes, covered in snow and in tribulation, falling in a foreign land, in different places.

Old Testament references intermingle freely with New Testament citations. As Aida Gureghian has demonstrated, the authors of Armenian colophons readily compared their plight with that of Israel, particularly in the seventeenth century, when all prospects of an autonomous Armenian nation had long since disappeared.<sup>61</sup> Colophons tend almost universally to paint a dire picture of medieval and early modern Armenia, where moments of good fortune were rare and short-lived. For this reason, using biblical references in celebrating a season of joy made these occasions stand out all the more, as in this colophon of a Book of Canons copied in 1099:<sup>62</sup>

And riding their respective steeds, they went out against the invading opponents; they struck, chased, [and] routed until sunset, there being great joy among [the] Christians, and plenty of wheat (cf. Prov 3:10) and barley, as in the time of Elisha at the gate of Samaria (cf. 4 Kgds 7). And then [they were] rehearsing the prophetic song "I exalt thee, Lord, for thou hast welcomed me, and hast not made my foe to rejoice over me" (Ps 29:1).

Finding biblical parallels to the historical circumstances in which he is writing, the author aims not only to make his account more vivid and elaborate, but also to place contemporary history into the perspective of sacred history. This inscription of Armenian history in sacred history equally takes place through references to local and national traditions. Colophons occasionally mention such traditions, the most famous

*Awetarann, et'ē: «Art'un kac'ēk' ew yamenayn žam alōt's ararēk', zi mi lic'i p'axustn jer i jmeṛani ew mi yawur šabat'u», zor elew vasn covac'eal melac' meroc'. Ew mek' p'axuc'eal daṛn srtiwn' ew lalot ač'ōk', jiwnat'at'ax ew taṛapanōk', ankeal i yōtar erkir, i telis telis.*) Cf. the translation by Sanjian 1969, 296 (*Armenian Colophons 1301–1480* 1469.3). On this colophon, see also pp. 143–144 above.

<sup>61</sup> Gureghian 2010, 790–795, who goes as far as to give the Armenians the sobriquet of "Early Modern Israelites".

<sup>62</sup> *Armenian Colophons to 1200* 140, ed. Mat'evosyan 1988, 119; *Armenian Colophons to 1250* 118, ed. Yovsēp'ean 1951, 262 (cod. NOJ 131, ca. f. 321<sup>r</sup>): Եւ ընթացեալ յիւրաքանչիւր երիվարս, եկին ընդդէմ բռնացեալ ընդդիմամարտիցն, հարին հալածեցին կոտորեցին մինչեւ ի մոտս արեւուն՝ եղեալ ուրախութիւն մեծ քրիստոնէից եւ լիութիւն ցորենոյ եւ գարոյ, որպէս առ ի Եղիսէին ի դռնն Սամարիոյ, եւ ապա զմարգարէականն ի վար արկեալ զերգ. «Բարձր աննեմ զքեզ, Տէր, զի ընկալար զիս եւ ոչ ուրախ արարեր զթշնամին իմ յիս»: (*Ew ant'a'eal yiwrak'and'iwir erivars, elin anddēm bīnac'eal anddimamartic'n, harin halacec'in kotorec'in min'čew i muts arewun: eleal uraxut'iwn mec k'ristonēic' ew liut'iwn c'orenoy ew garwoy, orpēs ar i Ēlisēiwn i duṛn Samarioy, ew apa zmargarēakann i var arkeal zerg; «Barjir aṛnem zk'ez, Tēr, zi ankalar zis ew oč' urax ararer zt'snamin im yis».*)

among these being Noah's Ark landing on Mount Ararat (also known as Mount Sarad).<sup>63</sup>

Besides historical events, the Armenians' personal experience and their understanding of biblical teachings stand at the very centre of many colophons. Though it is not unreasonable, taking into account the influence of generic conventions and the primacy of rhetoric over self-expression, to question just how personal these accounts may actually be, they indubitably provide us with a reliable picture of general trends in how the biblical message was internalized. This point can be illustrated with a longer excerpt than those presented above, taken from the colophon of a handsomely illuminated tetraevangelion, copied by the priest (*abelay*) Elbayrik in the Inner Fort (*Nerk'in berd*) of Ani in 1298.<sup>64</sup> This codex had been commissioned by another priest, Yakovb, who donated it to the nearby convent of the Bear and Lion (*Arjewanewc uxt*), in memory of his deceased brother. This is how the copyist introduces Yakovb's sponsorship:<sup>65</sup>

<sup>63</sup> See e.g. *Armenian Colophons 1201–1300* 457a, ed. Mat'evosyan 1984, 557 (cod. M 1422, f. 191<sup>r</sup>); *Armenian Colophons 1301–1400* 353a, ed. Xaç'ikyan 1950, 288 (cod. M 6029, f. 139<sup>r</sup>). See Thierry 1995 on this tradition.

<sup>64</sup> See Juzbašjan 1971 on this interesting manuscript and its colophons.

<sup>65</sup> *Armenian Colophons 1201–1300* 654a, ed. Mat'evosyan 1984, 816; ed. Juzbašjan 1971, 79–80 (cod. SABO B 44, f. 166<sup>r</sup>): Բնութեան է բաղձալ բարոյն, եւ ական խնդալ ի ծագեալ լուսո, եւ ամենայն կենդանեաց խնամ տանել կենաց: Իսկ զագաթն բարոյն եւ բազմալոյս արեգակն եւ ճշմարիտ կեանք եւ կենդանութիւն Աստուած է. զի «Չէ որ բարի, բայց միայն Աստուած», ասաց Տէրն, զի ասաց. «Եւ եմ լոյս եւ կեանք աշխարհի». զի նմա ցանկա ամենայն միտք խաւանոց, եւ իմանալի ական կարատի եւ ոչ յագի տեսանելով, եւ ի կենաց աղբերն փափագէ ամենայն կենդանի ծարաւեալ ըստ Դաւթա. «Ծարաւի անձն իմ առ քեզ, Աստուած հզար եւ կենդանի»: Հստ այսմն փափագանաց Յակովբ կուսակրան քահանայ ծարաւի արդարութեան, այսինքն Բրիստոսի՝ պատկերին Հար, որ ոչ միայն զինքն յայդնելով վասն մեր որում փափագեաք (lege փափագէաք?), այլ հաղորդա գործելով ընթեան՝ զթշուառ եւ զամաչեցեալ բնութիւնս մեր իւր անգուգական եւ աստուածային փառացն մարմին եւ անդամս կազմելով սարսափելի աստուածական գլխոյն, միանգամայն ցուցանելով զանմահական կերակուրն բաղձալի, զոր փայտն կենաց պտղաբերեաց մեզ, որ է պատմութիւն փրկաւետ փառացն Աստուծոյ կենսաբեր սուրբ Աւետարանին, զոր ունի յինքեանն պարաժանկեալ զիրքս այս աւետեաց, որ կա ի սա ամբարեալ, եւ է դրախտ իմանալի, եւ միջոցին կառուցեալ ունելով ըզմառն կենաց, քանզի ի տանէ Տեառն ըմբէ զջուրն զայն, որ խաղայ ի կեանսն յաիտնականս: Արդ, Յակովբս այս յեռեալ ի սէր սրբութեան, ետ զրել զսա [...]: (*Bnut'ean ē baljal barwoyn, ew akan: xndal i cageal luso, ew amenayn kendaneac': xnam tanel kenac'. Isk gagat'n baroyn ew bazmaloyis aregakan ew čšmarit keank' ew kendanut'iwn Astuac ē; zi «Č'ē ok' bari, bayc' miayn Astuac», asac' Tērn, zi asac': «Es em loys ew keank' ašxarhi»; zi nma c'anka amenayn mitk' xawsnoc', ew imanali akn karawti ew oč' yagi tesanelov, ew i kenac' albewrn p'ap'agē amenayn kendani caraweal ašt Dawt'a; «Carawi anjn im ar k'ez, Astuac hzawr ew kendani». Ašt aysmn p'ap'aganac' Yakovb kusakrawn k'ahanay carawi ardarut'ean, aysink'n K'ristosi: patkērn Haur, or oč' miayn zink'n jaydnelov vasn mer orum p'ap'ageawk' [lege p'ap'agēak?], ayl halords gorcelov ankean: zt'šuar ew zamač'ec'eal bnut'iwns mer iwr anzugakan ew astuacayin p'arac'n marmin ew andams kazmelov sarsap'eli astuacakan glxoy, miangamayn c'uc'anelov zannmahakan kerakurn baljali, zor p'aytn kenac' p'tlabereac' mez, or ē patmut'iwn p'rkawet p'arac'n Astucoy kensaber surb Awetaranin, zor uni yink'eann paracackeal girke's ays aweteac', or ka i sa ambareal, ew ē draxt imanali, ew mijoc'in*

It is [a property] of nature to yearn for the good; of the eye, to rejoice in shining light; and of all living beings, to tend after life. But God is the pinnacle of the good, the radiant sun (cf. Matt 17:2; Rev 22:5) and the true life and vitality (cf. John 14:6), for “there is no one good, but only God” (Mark 10:18), says the Lord; as he said, “I am the light and life of the world” (John 8:12 and 14:6); because every rational soul longs for him, and an intelligent eye desires [to see him] and does not grow weary of seeing [him] (cf. Eccl 1:8). And every thirsty living being aspires to the fount of life (cf. Ps 35:10 e.a.), according to David[’s words], “My soul thirsts for you, o mighty and living God” (Ps 41:3). According to this aspiration, Yakovb, a celibate priest, [was] thirsty for justice (cf. Matt 5:6), that is, for Christ (cf. Phil 3:9), the likeness of the Father (cf. 2 Cor 4:4; Col 1:15), who [is such] not only by manifesting himself for our sake (cf. John 14:22; Rom 5:8–9 e.a.)—which we were longing to (?)—but by making by himself our wretched and ashamed (cf. Jer 9:19) nature a partaker to his unequalled and divine glory (cf. Rom 8:17; 1 Pet 5:1), by uniting our flesh and limbs to his tremendous divine head (cf. 1 Cor 11:3 and 12:12–27), divulging at the same time the desirable, immortal sustenance (cf. John 6:27–35), which the wood of life bore as a fruit to us (cf. Col 1:6)... Such is the story of the life-giving holy Gospel of God’s saving glory (cf. 2 Thess 2:13; 1 Tim 1:11), which this book of good tidings encloses within itself, which is stored in it. And it is an intelligible paradise containing, erected in its midst, the tree of life (cf. Gen 2:9), because it drinks from the house of the Lord (cf. Joel 3:19) the water that flows into eternal life (John 4:14). This Yakovb, thus, attached to the love of sanctity, had this [book] written [...].

Such a proliferation of biblical references must be understood as a manifestation of the divine presence in the manuscript, in line with a belief that was widely held in the Christian East.<sup>66</sup> The sponsor, whose name is embedded in biblical verses and concepts, shares in the universal desire of Creation for knowledge of God. The Gospel book, as a physical object, enshrines God’s design from the Garden of Eden to the promise of eternal life. By associating Christ’s epiphany and his salvific mission with the manuscript of the Gospels, the copyist gives particular value to the act of sponsoring it as an act of piety, contributing to the sponsor’s own sanctification and leading eventually to his salvation.<sup>67</sup> Even though no mention is made of the scribe in this passage, he obviously wrote the colophon down and, no doubt, composed it as well; thus, what is said with regard to the sponsor reflects also upon him, the copyist. He is to gain a spiritual reward from his work,<sup>68</sup> the importance of which he perhaps unconsciously correlates to how spiritually deep and rich in biblical references his colophon is.

We have to bear in mind that the copyist was not merely writing a ‘colophon’ as we understand this term today, but rather the book’s ‘memorial’ (*yiṣatakaran*). In it, he included what he thought worthwhile for future readers to remember about the book, the selection of subjects being guided equally by generic conventions and by the

*karuċ’eal unelov əzcarñ kenac’; k’anzi i tanē Tearñ əmbē zjurn zayn, or xalay i keansn yawitenakans. Ard, Yakovbs ays yeċeal i sēr srbut’ean, et greł zsa [...].*

<sup>66</sup> Cf. among others Rapp 2007, esp. 196–200.

<sup>67</sup> Cf. Nersessian 2001, 49.

<sup>68</sup> Cf. Rapp 2007, 208–212.

author's personal sensibilities and experience. The influence the book would have on the next generations is also why Elbayrik put so much effort into restating, through his allegorical interpretation of select verses and references, the essential place of the Gospels in God's plan of salvation and its relevance to the sponsor. Therefore, by extolling the acts of reading, copying, and sponsoring a Gospel book, the scribe is fulfilling his Christian duty to spread the Word of God, doing so with the prospect of ultimate salvation for those who take part in the same.

### 3.4 *The Reasons for Including Biblical References in a Colophon*

References in colophons to the Scriptures serve multiple functions and purposes. First, they have a summarizing function when the colophon provides an overview of the biblical contents of the manuscript. In all other contexts, biblical references have an aesthetic value and are part of the stylistic conventions of the genre. In certain cases, it may even be that the author of the colophon meant to show off his own erudition by delving into less well known books of the Bible in order to illustrate and embellish his message. Scriptural citations are, at any rate, conspicuous evidence of the writer's piety and of his knowledge of the Word. For the reader, such references act as a guarantee of the copyist's orthodoxy and hence trustworthiness, especially in the doxological part, which, as mentioned above, can constitute a genuine profession of faith.<sup>69</sup>

Seldom do biblical references in colophons have a primarily theological intent.<sup>70</sup> Yet scriptural comparisons and metaphors are an expression of both the individual's and the entire Armenian people's relationship with God and Holy Writ. Such references serve as a bridge between contemporary situations and biblical narratives, infusing the former with a new meaning and making the latter once again present and real.

## 4. CONCLUSION

This survey demonstrates how major a role the Bible played in the collective mental universe of the authors of Armenian colophons. It was the ultimate model to be followed—a deep well-spring of inspiration from which any reasonably talented author could draw quotations or allusions to illustrate virtually any matter that might appear in the colophon. Moreover, biblical language was itself the lens through which the meaning of history and of human activity, about which colophons give us precious insights, could be properly understood.

<sup>69</sup> Gureghian 2010, 786; Sirinian 2014, 70 n. 19.

<sup>70</sup> A noteworthy exception can be found in Chétanian 2014.

Not all colophons, however, are equal. There is a clear and predictable tendency for colophons written by clerics of high rank and by other individuals prominent because of their learning or talent, to present, as a rule, biblical references in larger quantity and from more diverse sources (and, conversely, a smaller proportion of formulae) than 'run-of-the-mill' colophons. Notable cases in point among the examples discussed here are the colophons written by the future catholicos Kostəndin Vahkac'i and the poet Step'anos Jik' Ĵulayec'i. Still, the talent even of otherwise undistinguished authors of colophons can be surprising and show a mastery that was recognized by their contemporaries, as I argue elsewhere with regard to Yovanēs of Alēt', a village priest from the north shore of Lake Van in the 1320–1330s.<sup>71</sup>

Uses of the Bible described in this article are not original per se: they can be compared with what we observe in other genres of medieval Christian literature, notably hagiography, poetry, exegesis, and homiletics. Precisely what makes them interesting is, however, their setting in a genre on the fringes of literature, whose authors (with only few exceptions) did not intend to create a full-fledged 'oeuvre'. The richest scriptural materials are, unsurprisingly, those found in scribal colophons of biblical manuscripts, such as the last example discussed. The act of interpreting the Bible in relation to the context in which a copyist wrote was, in a way, the culmination of his mediating role at the intersection of text and book.

The Armenian corpus of colophons therefore constitutes a unique body of source material for studying the collective reception of the Bible in Armenian culture, particularly among lower-rank clerics, monastics, and literate laypeople. Further studies will be needed to ascertain the depth of the biblical knowledge among those authors and to reveal the full richness of their productions.

<sup>71</sup> Van Elverdinghe (forthcoming a).



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# THE GREEK AND LATIN BACKGROUND TO THE THOMISTIC SCRIPTURAL QUOTATIONS IN GENNADIOS SCHOLARIOS, *COMPENDIUM OF SUMMA THEOLOGIAE* I<sup>A</sup> II<sup>AE</sup>

PANAGIOTIS CH. ATHANASOPOULOS



THE BYZANTINE SCHOLAR Georgios Gennadios Scholarios (ca. 1402–ca. 1472) was a fervent admirer of Thomas Aquinas: he abridged and translated some of his works, and incorporated numerous Thomistic passages in his own writings.<sup>1</sup> Many of those passages cited by Scholarios include scriptural quotations.

The scriptural quotations in Aquinas's works stem from a variety of Latin versions of the Bible and not just from the Parisian text of the Vulgate, which he quoted frequently.<sup>2</sup> In his *Commentaries on the Pastoral Epistles*, for example, Thomas quoted, next to the Parisian text, the *Glossa Ordinaria*, several *correctoria*, and biblical concordances.<sup>3</sup> He also quoted from the Old Latin Bible, which was available to him along with Jerome's revisions.<sup>4</sup> Other scriptural quotations he took indirectly from the sources he was using.<sup>5</sup>

One cannot tell whether Scholarios, as a translator and epitomizer of Aquinas, was aware of the latter's eclecticism. Scholarios had a solid knowledge of the Greek text of the Bible and was capable of standardizing the Latin quotations according to his known Greek version. Nonetheless, some variety in his scriptural quotations can be found, revealing their Latin provenance. The picture is further complicated by the

<sup>1</sup> Those passages have been pointed out in the edition of Scholarios's oeuvre, and additional ones have been referenced by scholars such as Podskalsky (1974), Demetracopoulos (2002; 2006, 334–336; 2007; 2017, 134–152; 2018, 259–265) and Athanasopoulos (2015, 402–407 and 412–419). Scholarios stated his admiration for Aquinas in his *Translation of Armandus de Bellovisu's Commentary on Thomas Aquinas's De Ente et Essentia*, Pr.47–50 (cf. Demetracopoulos 2004, 20 n. 12 and 2018, 237). For the life and works of Scholarios, see Tinnefeld 2002 and Blanchet 2008.

<sup>2</sup> Ayo 1988, 9 and 163.

<sup>3</sup> These *correctoria* are works of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries with critical revisions of the Vulgate text (Brown & Flores 2007, 73). Aquinas cited the one by Hugh of St Cher most frequently (ca. 1200–1263; see Brown & Flores 2007, 144).

<sup>4</sup> Sirilla 2008, 30–33.

<sup>5</sup> For example: in *ST* I<sup>a</sup> II<sup>ae</sup> q. 113 a. 2 ad 3, Thomas cites Augustine's *On Marriage and Concupiscence* 1, 26(29).13–17, including the quotation of Sir 21:1 (ed. Leonina VII:330A–B).

fact that in certain works Scholarios derived the scriptural quotations from the translations of Aquinas made by Demetrios Kydones.<sup>6</sup> He used Kydones's translations of the *Summa contra Gentiles* (made in 1354), of *ST I<sup>a</sup>* (from 1358), of *ST I<sup>a</sup> II<sup>ae</sup>* (ca. 1361) and of *ST II<sup>a</sup> II<sup>ae</sup>*.<sup>7</sup>

The question of how Scholarios dealt with the text of the Bible acquires particular significance in light of the variety just mentioned. In order to better understand his working methods, it is useful to retrace the Greek and Latin background of the scriptural quotations in his *Compendium of ST I<sup>a</sup> II<sup>ae</sup>*. Since Scholarios used Kydones as a source, one first needs to analyze the latter's way of handling such quotations in his translation of *ST I<sup>a</sup> II<sup>ae</sup>*, and then turn to the scriptural quotations in Scholarios's *Compendium of ST I<sup>a</sup> II<sup>ae</sup>* itself.<sup>8</sup>

## 1. THE BACKGROUND OF SCHOLARIOS'S SCRIPTURAL QUOTATIONS

Throughout his Greek oeuvre, Scholarios naturally quoted the Bible from the Septuagint version or from the Byzantine text of the New Testament. In many cases his citation slightly differs from the biblical text: such changes could have been introduced by Scholarios himself or in an earlier work he was relying on; a third possibility is that they were the result of an error in the manuscript tradition.<sup>9</sup> Such slight variation is frequent and can be expected in those passages where Scholarios integrated a Greek scriptural passage into his running text, either directly from the Greek Bible or indirectly through another source.

<sup>6</sup> For the life of Kydones, see Demetracopoulos 2015 and Ganchou 2002. On his translations of Aquinas, see Demetracopoulos (2004, 83–84; 2007, 318 n. 47; 2010b, 89–91).

<sup>7</sup> On these translations and their dates, see Papadopoulos 1967, 25–52 and Demetracopoulos 2010a, 825. See especially Wright 2013 (and Wright forthcoming) for the translation of *ST I<sup>a</sup>* and Athanasopoulos (forthcoming a–b) for that of *ST I<sup>a</sup> II<sup>ae</sup>*. Scholarios's access to (and acquisition of) Thomistic and Ps.-Thomistic works is discussed by Demetracopoulos 2017, 165–169.

<sup>8</sup> Hereafter, I quote the Septuagint from the Göttingen edition when available, and if not, from Rahlfs & Hanhart 2006. Greek and Latin citations of the New Testament follow the Byzantine text of Antoniadis 1904 and Wordsworth, White & Sparks 1889–1954 respectively. The Vulgate Old Testament is quoted from the Benedictine edition. In the tables, single underlined text indicates agreement; double underlined, the opposite. I completed the *editio princeps* of Kydones's translation of *ST I<sup>a</sup> II<sup>ae</sup>*. The text I quote in this article is that of MS Venet., Marc. gr. 147 (ff. 17<sup>r</sup>–491<sup>r</sup>), which is a copy of Kydones's autograph and the only manuscript preserving the entire text. The *recensio codicum* shows that this is the sub-archetype of all the other witnesses: see the introduction to Athanasopoulos (forthcoming a).

<sup>9</sup> See e. g. the citations of Isa 1:11 and 1:13–14 and of Amos 5:21–22 in Scholarios, *Refutation of the Jewish Error* (ed. Petit, Sideridès & Jugie 1930, 274.4–8).

The case is different with Scholarios's translations and abridgments of Latin works, as well as with the sermons and dogmatic treatises in which he drew scriptural quotations from a Latin author, often Thomas Aquinas as translated by Demetrios Kydones.<sup>10</sup> In his *Compendium of Summa contra Gentiles*, for example, Scholarios reached back to Thomas's citation of Proverbs in Demetrios Kydones's translation as preserved in MS Taurinensis C. II. 16 (gr. 23), which is the very codex consulted by Scholarios:<sup>11</sup>

Thomas, <i>SG</i> , lib. 1 cap. 1 n. 1 (23489) (ed. Marc, Pera & Caramel- lo 1961, 1A)	Kydones's translation (MS Taur. gr. 23, f. 1 <sup>r</sup> .5–7)	Scholarios, <i>Compendium of SG</i> , I, Pr.5–7 (ed. Petit, Sideridès & Jugie 1931, 2.28–30)	Prov 8:7
Veritatem meditabitur <u>guttur</u> meum, <u>et labia</u> <u>mea detestabuntur</u> <u>impium</u> . <i>Prov.</i> 8:7.	«Ἀλήθειαν μελετήσῃ ὁ λάρυγξ μου, ἐβδελυγ- μένα δὲ ἐναντίον ἐμοῦ χείλη ψευδῆ, τὰ δὲ χεῖλη μου ἐλέγξει τὸν ἀσεβῆ», φησὶν ἐν τῷ ἐνάτῳ τῶν Παροιμιῶν Σολομών.	«Ἀλήθειαν μελετήσῃ ὁ λάρυγξ μου, ἐβδελυγμένα <sup>12</sup> δὲ ἐναντίον ἐμοῦ χεῖλη ψευδῆ, τὰ δὲ χεῖλη μου ἐλέγξει τὸν ἀσεβῆ», φησὶν ἐν ἐννάτῳ <sup>13</sup> τῶν Παροιμιῶν Σολομών.	ὅτι ἀλήθειαν μελετήσῃ ὁ φάρυγξ μου, ἐβδελυγμένα δὲ ἐναντίον ἐμοῦ χεῖλη ψευδῆ.

In this example, Scholarios adopted Kydones's quotation, which differs from the text of the Septuagint and is to a certain extent based on the Latin Vulgate version (cf. the readings λάρυγξ and τὰ δὲ ... ἀσεβῆ).

Scholarios's dependence on Kydones's translation is further indicated by some mistaken references provided by Kydones that are integrated into Scholarios's text. In the following example, Kydones's Latin source manuscript apparently read *XXII* (instead of *XXI*), or at least this was the number that Kydones read. Neither Kydones nor Scholarios consulted a Greek manuscript to check (and correct) this reference:

Thomas, <i>ST I<sup>a</sup> II<sup>ae</sup></i> , q. 6 a. 8 co. (Leonina VI:63A)	Kydones's translation (MS Marc. gr. 147, f. 47 <sup>r</sup> .6–17)	Scholarios, <i>Compendium of ST I<sup>a</sup> II<sup>ae</sup></i> , q. 6 a. 8.13–14 (ed. Petit, Sideridès & Jugie 1933, 14.12–13)	Job 21:14
secundum illud <i>Iob</i> <u>XXI</u> : <i>Scientiam viarum</i> <i>tuarum nolumus</i> .	κατὰ τὸ εἰκοστὸν δεύτερον τοῦ Ἰώβ· τὴν ἐπιστήμην τῶν ὁδῶν σου οὐ θέλομεν.	κατὰ τὸ κβ' τοῦ Ἰώβ· «Τὴν ἐπιστήμην τῶν ὁδῶν σου οὐ θέλομεν».	ὁδούς σου εἰδέναι οὐ βούλομαι.

These examples indicate that, before proceeding to the scriptural quotations in Schol-

<sup>10</sup> In a few cases Scholarios quoted a Thomistic scriptural quotation directly from the Latin text, for example in his *On the Eucharist* 7.19–20.

<sup>11</sup> Frassinetti 1953, 80–81; Papadopoulos 1967, 38 n. 68; Demetracopoulos 2017, 26. For a description of the MS, see Pasinus 1749, 93–94.

<sup>12</sup> ἐβδελυγμ- ed.: correxī.

<sup>13</sup> ἐννάτῳ ed.: fort. legendum ἐνάτῳ.

arios's *Compendium of ST I<sup>a</sup> II<sup>ae</sup>*, it is first necessary to address the issue of Kydones's treatment of them in his translation of *ST I<sup>a</sup> II<sup>ae</sup>*.

## 2. SCRIPTURAL QUOTATIONS IN KYDONES'S TRANSLATION OF *ST I<sup>a</sup> II<sup>ae</sup>*

Kydones thought of Aquinas as an *auctoritas*. In his translation of Thomistic works, he therefore strived to preserve the nuances of the Latin original.<sup>14</sup> Yet he also wanted his Greek text to be attractive to the Byzantine reader. For these reasons he combined the *ad sensum* and *ad verbum* translation mode.<sup>15</sup> This approach is reflected in Kydones's treatment of scriptural quotations.

### 2.1 *Translation without Recourse to the Greek Bible*

In many cases, Kydones translated the Latin scriptural quotations as found in his exemplar, without changing them to match the Greek Bible.<sup>16</sup> Accordingly, several biblical passages in his translation differ significantly from the Greek text of the Bible (at least in wording, not necessarily in meaning):

Thomas, *ST I<sup>a</sup> II<sup>ae</sup>*, q. 21 a. 3  
s. c. (Leonina VI:166A)

dicitur Isaiae III: *Dicite iusto*  
*quoniam bene: quoniam fruc-*  
*tum adinventionum suarum*  
*comedet. Vae impio in malum:*  
*retributio enim manuum eius*  
*fiet ei.*

Kydones's translation (MS  
Marc. gr. 147, f. 96<sup>v</sup>.15–17)

λέγεται ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ τοῦ Ἡσαίου·  
λέγετε τῷ δικαίῳ καλῶς, ὅτι τὸν  
καρπὸν τῶν εὐρημάτων αὐτοῦ  
φάγεται. Οὐαὶ τῷ ἀσεβεῖ εἰς τὸ  
κακόν· ἢ γὰρ ἀνταπόδοσις τῶν  
χειρῶν αὐτοῦ γενήσεται αὐτῷ.

Isa 3:10–11

εἰπόντες· Δῆσωμεν τὸν δίκαιον,  
ὅτι δύσχρηστος ἡμῖν ἐστὶ· τοίνυν  
τὰ γεννήματα τῶν ἔργων αὐτῶν  
φάγονται. Οὐαὶ τῷ ἀνόμῳ·  
πονηρὰ κατὰ τὰ ἔργα τῶν χειρῶν  
αὐτοῦ συμβήσεται αὐτῷ.

Several translations of scriptural quotations betray a Latin background and reveal Kydones's *ad verbum* translation of Thomas's text. In the following example, the mistaken reference to Ecclesiastes seems to result either from an error in Kydones's Latin

<sup>14</sup> See Koltsiou-Niketa 2005, 64\* and 73\*.

<sup>15</sup> For a thorough examination of Kydones's *modus interpretandi* in his translation of *ST I<sup>a</sup> II<sup>ae</sup>*, see the introduction to Athanasopoulos (forthcoming a). Cf. also Koltsiou-Niketa 2009, 109; Kalamakis 1996, 44; Glycofrydi-Leontsini 2003, 181.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Papadopoulos 1970, 22; Demetracopoulos 2002, 83–84 and 172–173; Demetracopoulos 2007, 318–319 n. 47. For a similar practice in Kydones's translation of (Ps.-)Augustinian scriptural quotations, see Kalamakis 1996, 43–44 and Koltsiou-Niketa 2005, 77\*–78\*. For further aspects of Kydones's translation technique, see Moutsopoulos 1976, 1979 and 1980; Demetracopoulos 1982, 314–317; Koltsiou-Niketa 1999, 23–25; Moutsopoulos 2002; Glycofrydi-Leontsini 2003, 180–185; Koltsiou-Niketa 2009, 109, 216–217 (n. 120) and 298; Demetracopoulos 2010b, 89–91; Wright 2013; Athanasopoulos 2020, 423–425.

exemplar or from a misinterpretation of the abbreviation “Eccli.” (for “Ecclesiasticus”) in his Latin copy.<sup>17</sup>

Thomas, *ST I<sup>a</sup> II<sup>ae</sup>*, q. 51 a. 4 s. c.  
(Leonina VI:329A)

dicitur *Eccli.* XV: *Implevit eum  
Dominus spiritu sapientiae et  
intellectus.*<sup>18</sup>

Kydones’s translation (MS Marc.  
gr. 147, f. 179<sup>v</sup>.18–19)

λέγεται ἐν τῷ πεντεκαιδεκάτῳ τοῦ  
Ἑκκλησιαστοῦ· ἐνέπλησεν αὐτὸν  
ὁ Θεὸς πνεύματος σοφίας καὶ  
συνέσεως.

Sir 15:3

ψωμίζει αὐτὸν ἄρτον  
συνέσεως καὶ ὕδωρ σοφίας  
ποτιεῖ αὐτόν.

The examples above indicate that Kydones followed his Latin exemplar without considering it necessary to adjust the translated scriptural quotations to the Greek Bible.

Some scriptural quotations in Kydones’s translation do not occur in the Septuagint at all:

Thomas, *ST I<sup>a</sup> II<sup>ae</sup>*, q. 93 a. 5 s. c.  
(Leonina VII:165B)

Sed contra est quod dicitur  
*Prov. VIII: Quando circumdabat  
mari terminum suum, et legem  
ponebat aquis ne transirent fines  
suos.*

Kydones’s translation (MS Marc.  
gr. 147, f. 340<sup>r</sup>.7–9)

Ἀλλὰ τὸναντίον λέγεται ἐν τῷ πρώ-  
τῳ τῶν Παροιμιῶν· ὅτε περιετίθει  
τῇ θαλάσῃ ὄρον, καὶ νόμον ἐδίδου  
τοῖς ὕδασι· ὥστε μὴ ὑπερβῆναι τὰ  
ὅρια αὐτῶν.

Prov 8:29

quando circumdabat  
mari terminum suum, et  
legem ponebat aquis, ne  
transirent fines suos.

In view of the popularity of Proverbs in Byzantium, it is noteworthy that Kydones produced a passage absent from the Septuagint version. As a conscientious translator, he translated what he read in his Latin manuscript of Thomas: his main concern was to remain faithful to his exemplar.<sup>19</sup>

## 2.2 Translation with Recourse to the Greek Bible

Often enough, Kydones’s translation was partially or fully identical with the Greek text of the Bible, especially—but not exclusively—when the quotations were short and from well-known passages that Kydones may have quoted by heart.<sup>20</sup>

In his translation of Prosper of Aquitaine’s florilegium of Augustine, Kydones seems to have compared the Greek biblical text for some difficult passages, but only while revising his text at a second stage.<sup>21</sup> But given that the task of translating the

<sup>17</sup> Cases of misinterpretation are frequent throughout Kydones’s translation of *ST I<sup>a</sup> II<sup>ae</sup>*. See Demetracopoulos 1982, 317; Demetracopoulos 2007, 319 n. 47.

<sup>18</sup> For the specific readings of Sir 15:3 in Thomas’s quotation, see the apparatus in the Benedictine edition of the Vulgate, *ad loc.*

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Kalamakis 1996, 40; Koltsiou-Niketa 2005, 64\*; Koltsiou-Niketa 2009, 109; Wright 2013, 24–25.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. Kalamakis 1996, 44; Koltsiou-Niketa 2005, 75\*–80\*.

<sup>21</sup> Kalamakis 1996, 44.

voluminous *Summae* was hard and time-consuming, I assume that only in some cases Kydones reached back to the text of the Greek Bible. The following example might be one of them:

Thomas, <i>ST I<sup>a</sup> II<sup>ae</sup></i> , q. 5 a. 4 co. (Leonina VI:50B)	Kydones's translation (MS Marc. gr. 147, f. 39 <sup>v</sup> .25–26)	Ps 16:15
dicitur in <i>Psalmo XVI</i> : <i>Satiabor cum apparuerit gloria tua.</i>	λέγεται ἐν τοῖς Ψαλμοῖς· χορτασθήσομαι ἐν τῷ ὀφθῆναι μοι τὴν δόξαν σου.	χορτασθήσομαι ἐν τῷ ὀφθῆναι τὴν δόξαν σου.

The replacement of Latin “cum ... gloria” with the prepositional phrase ἐν ... δόξαν indicates that the adaptation of Kydones's translation to the Greek Psalms was deliberate rather than incidental.<sup>22</sup> The same can be said of the second example, in which the *ad sensum* translation of “mundo” (an adjective to “corde”) as οἱ καθαροί agrees with the very well-known citation from Matthew:

Thomas, <i>ST I<sup>a</sup> II<sup>ae</sup></i> , q. 4 a. 4 s. c. (Leonina VI:41A)	Kydones's translation (MS Marc. gr. 147, f. 33 <sup>v</sup> .12–13)	Matt 5:8
dicitur <i>Matth. V</i> : <i>Beati mundo corde, quoniam ipsi Deum videbunt.</i>	λέγεται ἐν τῷ πέμπτῳ τοῦ κατὰ Ματθαῖον· μακάριοι οἱ καθαροὶ τῇ καρδίᾳ, ὅτι αὐτοὶ τὸν Θεὸν ὄψονται.	μακάριοι οἱ καθαροὶ τῇ καρδίᾳ, ὅτι αὐτοὶ τὸν Θεὸν ὄψονται.

Yet not all agreement with the Greek Bible against the Latin source text has a straightforward explanation. In some short quotations it may be unintentional, resulting from a selection of vocabulary and syntax that happen to coincide with the Greek text. Moreover, in some passages Kydones seems to have translated Thomas's text more freely or to have made a mistake.<sup>23</sup> Such differences with the Latin original might as well have resulted from errors in the manuscript tradition.<sup>24</sup> This example confirms that it is not always possible to find a clear explanation:

Thomas, <i>ST I<sup>a</sup> II<sup>ae</sup></i> , q. 34 a. 3 s. c. (Leonina VI:237A)	Kydones's translation (MS Marc. gr. 147, f. 131 <sup>r</sup> .18–19)	Ps 15:11
dicitur enim in <i>Psalmo XV</i> : <i>Adimplebis me laetitia cum vultu tuo; delectationes in dextera tua usque in finem.</i>	λέγεται γὰρ ἐν τοῖς Ψαλμοῖς· Πληρώσεις με εὐφροσύνης μετὰ τοῦ προσώπου σου· <u>τερπνότης</u> ἐν τῇ δεξιᾷ σου εἰς τέλος.	πληρώσεις με εὐφροσύνης μετὰ τοῦ προσώπου σου· <u>τερπνότητες</u> ἐν τῇ δεξιᾷ σου εἰς τέλος.

One could argue that the reading *τερπνότης* translates a singular “delectatio” in the

<sup>22</sup> Kydones read μοι in accordance with the *L*-text of the Psalms (see the apparatus of the Göttingen edition *ad loc.*).

<sup>23</sup> On occasional free translations, see Koltsiou-Niketa 2005, 80\*.

<sup>24</sup> Note that we do not know which manuscript of Aquinas's text Kydones used: see the introduction to Athanasopoulos (forthcoming a).



unknown source manuscript, or that the source did read plural “delectationes” but that Kydones either misread it or intentionally translated the abstract term with a singular noun.<sup>25</sup>

Because of his abovementioned goal to translate accurately, Kydones seldom left the translation of scriptural quotations incomplete.<sup>26</sup> Every time he faced a difficulty in his Latin copy, he left a lacuna in his text, with the intention to return to it later, after having looked up the meaning of a specific term or having consulted the Greek text of the Bible. This procedure is highlighted in the example below:

Thomas, <i>ST I<sup>a</sup> II<sup>ae</sup></i> , q. 9 a. 6 s. c. (Leonina VI:82A)	Kydones's translation (MS Marc. gr. 147, f. 55 <sup>v</sup> .22–23)	Phil 2:13
Apostolus dicit, <i>ad Philipp.</i> II: <i>Deus est qui operatur in nobis velle et <u>perficere</u>.</i>	φησὶν ὁ ἀπόστολος ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ τῆς Πρὸς Φιλιππησίους· ὁ Θεὸς ἐστὶν ὁ ἐνεργῶν ἐν ἡμῖν τὸ θέλειν καὶ τὸ <lacuna>	ὁ Θεὸς <u>γάρ</u> ἐστὶν ὁ ἐνεργῶν ἐν ὑμῖν <u>καὶ</u> τὸ θέλειν καὶ τὸ <u>ἐνεργεῖν</u>

Kydones's adherence to Thomas's text explains the absence of γάρ, the first καὶ and the reading ἡμῖν instead of ὑμῖν.<sup>27</sup> If not reflecting a blank in the Latin source manuscript, the lacuna expresses Kydones's uncertainty about the appropriate translation of “perficere”, which he could have translated either literally (τελειοῦν) or *ad sensum* (ἐνεργεῖν, in agreement with the Greek Bible).<sup>28</sup>

### 3. SCRIPTURAL QUOTATIONS IN SCHOLARIOS'S *COMPENDIUM OF ST I<sup>a</sup> II<sup>ae</sup>*

In terms of provenance, Scholarios's Thomistic scriptural quotations can: (a) have either in part or in full a discernible Latin background; (b) have no traceable Latin background, being identical with the Greek Bible; or (c) be of uncertain provenance.

<sup>25</sup> Both “delectatio” and “delectationes” are attested in the manuscript tradition of the Latin Psalms (see the apparatus to the Benedictine Vulgate, *ad loc.*). A misreading on Kydones's part seems less probable in view of his experience with reading Latin minuscule script.

<sup>26</sup> The procedure as described here was also practiced by Kydones in his translation of *ST I<sup>a</sup>* (Wright 2013, 24–26).

<sup>27</sup> For these readings in Thomas's citation, see the apparatus in Wordsworth, White & Sparks 1889–1954, *ad loc.*

<sup>28</sup> When translating this scriptural quotation some years earlier, Kydones chose τελειοῦν: see his translation of *ST I<sup>a</sup>* q. 105 a. 4 s. c. (MS Vat. gr. 609, f. 128<sup>r</sup>.38–39): Ἀλλὰ τὸ ὑμῶν λέγεται ἐν τῷ β<sup>ω</sup> τῆς πρὸς Φιλιππησίους· ὁ Θεὸς γάρ ἐστὶν ἐνεργῶν ἐν ἡμῖν καὶ τὸ θέλειν καὶ τὸ τελειοῦν.

3.1 *Quotations with Discernible Latin Background*

This class includes more or less faithful translations of Thomistic scriptural quotations, which as a rule—especially when their meaning agrees with the Greek biblical version—follow Kydones’s translation.<sup>29</sup> A case in point is the following example. Attested as early as in the New Testament, the term κῆνσος/κίνσος was used by Church Fathers and Byzantine authors. Therefore neither Kydones nor Scholarios considered changing this reading to πλοῦτος, to make it agree with the Greek text of Ben Sira:

Thomas, <i>ST I</i> <sup>a</sup> II <sup>ae</sup> , q. 2 a. 5 arg. 1 (Leonina VI:21A)	Kydones’s translation (MS Marc. gr. 147, f. 23 <sup>v</sup> .3)	Scholarios, <i>Compendium of ST</i> I <sup>a</sup> II <sup>ae</sup> , q. 2 a. 5.4–5 (ed. Petit, Sideridès & Jugie 1933, 4.25–26)	Sir 30:16
Dicitur enim <i>Eccli.</i> XXX: <i>Non est cen-</i> <i>sus supra censum</i> <i>salutis corporis.</i> <sup>30</sup>	Λέγεται γὰρ ἐν τῷ λ’ τοῦ Ἐκκλησιαστοῦ· «οὐκ ἔστι κίνσος ὑπὲρ τὸν κίνσον τῆς ὑγείας τοῦ σώματος.»	Τὸ δὲ ἐν τῷ Ἐκκλησιαστῇ· «Οὐκ ἔστι κίνσος ὑπὲρ τὸν κίνσον τῆς ὑγείας τοῦ σώματος.»	Οὐκ ἔστιν <u>πλοῦτος βελ-</u> <u>τίων ὑγείας</u> σώματος.

Scholarios did not hesitate to adopt from Kydones’s translation a clearly Latin-based version of a given biblical passage, as this example shows:

Thomas, <i>ST I</i> <sup>a</sup> II <sup>ae</sup> , q. 21 a. 4 s. c. (Leonina VI:167A)	Kydones’s translation (MS Marc. gr. 147, f. 97 <sup>r</sup> .24–25)	Scholarios, <i>Compendium</i> <i>of ST I</i> <sup>a</sup> II <sup>ae</sup> , q. 21 a. 4.1–3 (ed. Petit, Sideridès & Jugie 1933, 27.10–12)	Eccl 12:14
dicitur <i>Eccl.</i> ult.: <u><i>Cuncta quae fiunt</i></u> <u><i>adducet Deus in</i></u> <u><i>iudicium, sive</i></u> <u><i>bonum sit sive</i></u> <u><i>malum.</i></u> <sup>31</sup>	λέγεται ἐν τῷ ἐσχάτῳ τοῦ Ἐκκλησιαστοῦ· <u>πάντα τὰ γινόμενα</u> <u>παράξει Κύριος εἰς</u> <u>κρίσιν, εἴτε ἀγαθὸν εἴτε</u> <u>κακόν.</u>	ὡς ἐν τῷ ἐσχάτῳ τοῦ Ἐκκλησιαστοῦ λέγεται· <u>«Πάντα τὰ γινόμενα</u> <u>παράξει Κύριος εἰς κρίσιν,</u> <u>εἴτε ἀγαθόν, εἴτε κακόν».</u>	ὅτι <u>σύμπαν τὸ</u> <u>ποίημα ὁ Θεὸς</u> <u>ἄξει ἐν κρίσει, ἐν</u> <u>παντὶ παρεωρα-</u> <u>μένῳ, ἐὰν ἀγαθὸν</u> <u>καὶ ἐὰν πονηρόν.</u>

Cases such as these can be found in Scholarios’s Thomistic translations and abridg-

<sup>29</sup> Demetracopoulos 2002, 83–84 and 172–173.

<sup>30</sup> For the reading “supra”, see the apparatus in the Benedictine Vulgate, *ad loc.*

<sup>31</sup> For the readings in Thomas’s scriptural quotation, see the apparatus in the Benedictine Vulgate, *ad loc.*

ments,<sup>32</sup> in some of his sermons<sup>33</sup> and in a few of his dogmatic works.<sup>34</sup> Of further interest is the inclusion of a few Thomistic quotations from the Old Testament that Scholarios considered genuine, although they are absent from the Septuagint:<sup>35</sup>

Thomas, <i>ST I<sup>a</sup> II<sup>ae</sup></i> , q. 112 a. 2 co. (Leonina VII:324B)	Kydones's translation (MS Marc. gr. 147, f. 469 <sup>v</sup> .24)	Scholarios, <i>Compendium of ST I<sup>a</sup> II<sup>ae</sup></i> , q. 112 a. 2.13–14 (ed. Petit, Sideridès & Jugie 1933, 141.34–35)	Prov 16:1
secundum illud <i>Prov.</i> XVI: <i>Hominis est praeperare animum.</i> <sup>36</sup>	κατὰ τὸ 15' τῶν Παροιμιῶν· τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐστὶ προετοιμάσαι τὸν νοῦν.	κατὰ τὸ ἐκκαίδέκατον τῶν Παροιμιῶν· «Τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐστὶ προετοιμάσαι τὸν νοῦν».	<i>Hominis est animum praeperare.</i>

In all these cases, Scholarios faithfully copied the Thomistic scriptural quotations as translated by Kydones. And even when in some cases the translation was 'corrected' on the basis of the Greek biblical text,<sup>37</sup> some mistaken references remained unnoticed, thus indicating the Latin provenance of the citation:

Thomas Aquinas, <i>ST I<sup>a</sup> II<sup>ae</sup></i> , q. 5 a. 5 s. c. (Leonina VI:51A)	Kydones's translation (MS Marc. gr. 147, f. 40 <sup>r</sup> .29–31)	Scholarios, <i>Compendium of ST I<sup>a</sup> II<sup>ae</sup></i> , q. 5 a. 5.2–4 (ed. Petit, Sideridès & Jugie 1933, 11.34–36)	1 Cor 2:9
dicit enim Apostolus, <i>I ad Cor. II: Oculus non vidit, et auris non audivit, et in cor hominis non ascendit, quae praeperavit Deus diligentibus se.</i> <sup>38</sup>	Φησὶ γὰρ ὁ ἀπόστολος ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῆς Πρὸς Κορινθίους δευτέρας· ὁφθαλμὸς οὐκ εἶδε καὶ οὐς οὐκ ἤκουσε καὶ ἐπὶ καρδίαν ἀνθρώπου οὐκ ἀνέβη, ἃ ἡτοίμασεν ὁ Θεὸς τοῖς ἀγαπῶσιν αὐτόν.	...τοῦ Ἀποστόλου λέγοντος ἐν πρώτῳ τῆς Πρὸς Κορινθίους δευτέρας· «Ὁ ὁφθαλμὸς οὐκ εἶδε, καὶ οὐς οὐκ ἤκουσε, καὶ ἐπὶ καρδίαν ἀνθρώπου οὐκ ἀνέβη, ἃ ἡτοίμασεν ὁ Θεὸς τοῖς ἀγαπῶσιν αὐτόν».	ὁ ὁφθαλμὸς οὐκ εἶδε καὶ οὐς οὐκ ἤκουσε καὶ ἐπὶ καρδίαν ἀνθρώπου οὐκ ἀνέβη, ἃ ἡτοίμασεν ὁ Θεὸς τοῖς ἀγαπῶσιν αὐτόν.

<sup>32</sup> For example: in his *Prolegomena ad Logicam* 1.10–16, Scholarios first declared the Thomistic provenance of what would follow and then integrated Thomas's text including two quotations from Sir 14:20 (although he incorrectly referred to Ecclesiastes) and Wis 7:14. In both cases, Scholarios cited Kydones's translation.

<sup>33</sup> For example: in his *On Fasting* 10.11–17, Scholarios maintained the form of Kydones's Latin-based quotations (as preserved in MS Paris. gr. 1237, f. 274<sup>v</sup>.3–5). Note that the editors of this work identified its dependence on Thomas's *ST II<sup>a</sup> II<sup>ae</sup>*, q. 147 a. 5 (Petit, Sideridès & Jugie 1928, 86.6, app. crit.), but that Scholarios also cited from q. 148, as translated by Kydones (Thomas, *ST II<sup>a</sup> II<sup>ae</sup>*, q. 148 a. 6 co., ed. Leonina X:175A–B). For more examples of this kind, see Demetracopoulos 2017, passim.

<sup>34</sup> For example: Scholarios's *On the Divine Providence* 2, 11.19–20 is along with its scriptural quotation derived from Thomas's SG, lib. 3 cap. 75 n. 15 (Demetracopoulos 2007, 318 n. 47).

<sup>35</sup> This practice is in accordance with Kydones's approach presented above (section 2). As a rule these are passages that from the Hebrew Bible made their way to the Vulgate.

<sup>36</sup> For variants, see the apparatus in the Benedictine Vulgate, *ad loc.*

<sup>37</sup> Cf. Demetracopoulos 2007, 318.

<sup>38</sup> For the readings in Thomas's citation, see the apparatus in Wordsworth, White & Sparks 1889–1954, *ad loc.*

Including the pronoun *z*, Scholarios is closer to the Greek Bible than Kydones's faithful translation of Aquinas is. Yet the incorrect reference to 2 Cor 1 (instead of 1 Cor 2), which results from adherence to Kydones, might be taken to indicate indirectly the Latin provenance of the citation.

In all of the above examples, Scholarios more or less retained Kydones's text in its entirety. In another passage, he took the liberty to abbreviate certain scriptural quotations, thus providing a text that is denser than that of Thomas and Kydones—after all, Scholarios intended to produce a *Compendium*. Some abbreviated citations nonetheless retain a discernible Latin background:

Thomas Aquinas, <i>ST I<sup>a</sup> II<sup>ae</sup></i> , q. 35 a. 5 s. c. (Leonina VI:243B–244A)	Kydones's translation (MS Marc. gr. 147, f. 134 <sup>v</sup> .7–8)	Scholarios, <i>Compendium of ST I<sup>a</sup> II<sup>ae</sup></i> , q. 35 a. 5.1–3 (ed. Petit, Sideridès & Jugie 1933, 39.28–30)	Wis 8:16
dicitur Sap. VIII: <u>Non habet amari-</u> <u>tudinem conversa-</u> <u>tio illius, scilicet</u> <u>sapientiae, nec</u> <u>taedium convictus</u> <u>eius; sed laetitiam et</u> <u>gaudium</u> . <sup>39</sup>	λέγεται ἐν τῷ ὁγδόῳ τῆς Σοφίας· οὐκ ἔχει πικρίαν ἢ μετ' αὐτῆς διατριβή, του- τέστι τῆς σοφίας, οὐτε τι ἀηδὲς ἢ πρὸς αὐτὴν ἔνωσις, ἀλλ' εὐφροσύνην καὶ χαράν.	Ἐν γὰρ ὁγδόῳ τῆς Σοφίας λέγεται· «Οὐκ ἔχει πικρίαν ἢ μετὰ τῆς σοφίας διατριβή, οὐτε τι ἀηδὲς ἢ πρὸς αὐτὴν ἔνωσις».	οὐ γὰρ ἔχει πικρίαν ἢ συνα- ναστροφὴ αὐτῆς, οὐδὲ ὀδύνην ἢ συμβίωσις αὐτῆς, ἀλλὰ εὐφροσύνην καὶ χαράν.

### 3.2 Quotations with no Latin background

Several scriptural quotations in the *Compendium of ST I<sup>a</sup> II<sup>ae</sup>* are identical with the Greek version of the Bible. In most cases, Scholarios's source, i.e. Kydones, had already adapted the citation (either by heart or by consulting a biblical manuscript) to the Greek text of the Bible. Their Latin provenance is therefore no longer discernible:

Thomas, <i>ST I<sup>a</sup> II<sup>ae</sup></i> , q. 67 a. 4 s. c. (Leonina VI:442A)	Kydones's translation (MS Marc. gr. 147, f. 230 <sup>v</sup> .27)	Scholarios, <i>Compendium of</i> <i>ST I<sup>a</sup> II<sup>ae</sup></i> , q. 67 a. 4.1–2 (ed. Petit, Sideridès & Jugie 1933, 71.16–17)	Rom 8:24
apostolus dicit, Rom. VIII: <u>Quod videt quis.</u> <u>quid sperat?</u>	φησὶν ὁ ἀπόστολος ἐν τρισκαιδεκάτῳ τῆς Πρὸς Ρωμαίους· ὁ γὰρ βλέπει τις, τί καὶ ἐλπίζει;	τοῦ Ἀποστόλου λέγοντος ἐν τρισκαιδεκάτῳ τῆς πρὸς Ρωμαίους· «Ὁ γὰρ βλέπει τις, τί καὶ ἐλπίζει»;	ὁ γὰρ βλέπει τις, τί καὶ ἐλπίζει;

<sup>39</sup> For the readings in Thomas's scriptural quotation, see the apparatus in the Benedictine Vulgate, *ad loc.*

The words γάρ and καί, absent from Thomas, clearly indicate that Kydones adapted the Latin scriptural quotation to the Greek text of Romans. Accordingly, Scholarios's text does not reveal any traces of the Latin original.

Some of the biblical quotations appear to have been abridged or slightly altered by Scholarios. Several of them, including the following example, do not reveal a Latin background:

Thomas, <i>ST I<sup>a</sup> II<sup>ae</sup></i> , q. 4 a. 3 s. c. (Leonina VI:40A)	Kydones's translation (MS Marc. gr. 147, ff. 32 <sup>v</sup> .32–33 <sup>r</sup> .2)	Scholarios, <i>Compendium of ST I<sup>a</sup> II<sup>ae</sup></i> , q. 4 a. 3.3–4 (ed. Petit, Sideridès & Jugie 1933, 7.30–31)	2 Tim 4:7–8
unde ipse dicit, II ad Tim. ult.: <i>Bonum certamen certavi, cursum consummavi, fidem servavi; in reliquo reposita est mihi corona iustitiae.</i> <sup>40</sup>	ὅθεν αὐτός φησιν ἐν τῷ ἐσχάτῳ τῆς Πρὸς Τιμόθεον δευτέρας· «τὸν ἀγῶνα τὸν καλὸν ἡγωνίσμαι, τὸν δρόμον τετέλεκα, τὴν πίστιν τετήρηκα· <u>λοιπὸν ἀπόκειται μοι ὁ τῆς δικαιοσύνης στέφανος</u> ».	καὶ αὖθις· « <u>Τὸν δρόμον τετέλεκα· λοιπὸν ἀπόκειται μοι ὁ τῆς δικαιοσύνης στέφανος</u> ».	τὸν ἀγῶνα τὸν καλὸν ἡγωνίσμαι, τὸν δρόμον <u>τετέλεκα</u> , τὴν πίστιν τετήρηκα· <u>λοιπὸν ἀπόκειται μοι ὁ τῆς δικαιοσύνης στέφανος</u> .

The homoeoarcton (τὸν ... τὸν) and the homoeoteleuton (τετέλεκα ... τετήρηκα) in Kydones's text seem to have caused the abridgement of this quotation. The misreading took place either in Scholarios's exemplar or in his own copy. Yet this quotation was so well known that he could have easily restored it, had he intended to do so. Whichever the case, the text clearly bears the stamp of the Greek Bible.

### 3.3 Quotations of Uncertain Provenance

The provenance of some—mostly: brief—passages is disputable, since Scholarios's citation fully coincides with both the Latin and Greek text of the Bible. For example:

Thomas, <i>ST I<sup>a</sup> II<sup>ae</sup></i> , q. 4 a. 3 s. c. (Leonina VI:40A)	Kydones's translation (MS Marc. gr. 147, f. 32 <sup>v</sup> .30–32)	Scholarios, <i>Compendium of ST I<sup>a</sup> II<sup>ae</sup></i> , q. 4 a. 3.1–3 (ed. Petit, Sideridès & Jugie 1933, 7.28–30)	1 Cor 9:24
Apostolus dicit, I ad Cor. IX: <i>Sic currite ut comprehendatis.</i>	φησὶν ὁ ἀπόστολος ἐν τῷ ἐνάτῳ τῆς Πρὸς Κορινθίους πρώτης· <u>οὕτω τρέχετε, ἵνα καταλάβητε.</u>	τοῦ Ἀποστόλου λέγοντος ἐν ἐννάτῳ τῆς πρὸς Κορινθίους πρώτης· « <u>Οὕτω τρέχετε, ἵνα καταλάβητε</u> ».	<u>οὕτω τρέχετε, ἵνα καταλάβητε.</u>

<sup>40</sup> For the interchange of “corona” and “iustitiae” in the manuscript tradition of the Vulgate, see the apparatus in Wordsworth, White & Sparks 1889–1954, *ad loc.*

The brevity of the quotation and Kydones's tendency to translate *ad verbum* when possible do not allow to discern if the coincidence of his translation and the Byzantine text of 1 Corinthians was intentional. The question as to whether he just translated faithfully the Latin text or recalled the Greek quotation, or even both, remains unanswered. A similar scenario unfolds in the next passage, which ends in a biblical quotation identical with the Septuagint text:

Thomas, <i>ST I<sup>a</sup> II<sup>ae</sup></i> , q. 87 a. 8 co. (Leonina VII:130B)	Kydones's translation (Marc. gr. 147, f. 329 <sup>v</sup> .31)	Scholarios, <i>Compendium of ST I<sup>a</sup> II<sup>ae</sup></i> , q. 87 a. 8.5–6 (ed. Petit, Sideridès & Jugie 1933, 103.24–25)	Ezek 18:4
<i>Omnes animae meae sunt.</i>	<i>Πᾶσαι αἱ ψυχαὶ ἐμαί εἰσιν.</i>	<i>Πᾶσαι αἱ ψυχαὶ ἐμαί εἰσιν.</i>	<i>Πᾶσαι αἱ ψυχαὶ ἐμαί εἰσιν.</i>

### 3.4 Concluding Observations

The examples examined above indicate that Scholarios as a rule preserved Kydones's translation of the scriptural quotations and that his interventions (if really by his own hand) were limited.<sup>41</sup> In fact, I found just a single case where Scholarios truly restored Kydones's translation of a scriptural quotation.<sup>42</sup> A few times, he corrected a mistaken reference in Kydones (on the basis of a Greek biblical manuscript).<sup>43</sup> Finally, there are some unsuccessful 'amendments', for which Scholarios did not consult any Latin manuscript of *ST I<sup>a</sup> II<sup>ae</sup>*, but they are rare.<sup>44</sup>

One may assume that the presence of many Latin-based quotations in Scholarios's text partly results from his lack of time to carry out all the necessary revisions. Scholarios composed his *Compendium of ST I<sup>a</sup> II<sup>ae</sup>* sometime between 1443/1445 and

<sup>41</sup> See the following example: Thomas Aquinas *ST*, I<sup>a</sup> II<sup>ae</sup>, q. 3 a. 6 s. c. (Leonina VI:33A): "dicitur *Ierem. IX: Non gloriatur sapiens in sapientia sua*" became λέγεται ἐν τῷ ἐνακαιδεκάτῳ τοῦ Ἡσαΐου· μὴ καυχᾶσθω ὁ σοφὸς ἐν τῇ σοφίᾳ αὐτοῦ [...] in Kydones's translation (MS Marc. gr. 147, f. 30<sup>r</sup>.6–7). Scholarios's text reads Ἐν τῷ δεκάτῳ ἐνάτῳ Ἡσαΐου λέγεται· Μὴ καυχᾶσθω ὁ σοφὸς ἐν τῇ σοφίᾳ αὐτοῦ (*Compendium of ST I<sup>a</sup> II<sup>ae</sup>*, q. 3 a. 6.1–2, ed. Petit, Sideridès & Jugie 1933, 6.15–16). Cf. Jer 9:23: μὴ καυχᾶσθω ὁ σοφὸς ἐν τῇ σοφίᾳ αὐτοῦ.

<sup>42</sup> I.e. in his *Compendium of ST I<sup>a</sup> II<sup>ae</sup>*, q. 107 a. 2.11–14.

<sup>43</sup> For example: Aquinas's correct identification of his citation of Jas 1:2 as taken from the first chapter of the Epistle of James, i.e. (*ST I<sup>a</sup> II<sup>ae</sup>*, q. 38 a. 4 co., ed. Leonina VI:259B) was changed by Kydones into a reference to the fifth chapter (Marc. gr. 147, f. 142<sup>v</sup>.30–31: κατὰ τὸ πέμπτον τοῦ Ἰακώβου· πᾶσαν χαρὰν ἡγήσασθε, ἀδελφοί μου, ὅταν εἰς πειρασμοὺς ποικίλλους [sic] ἐμπέσῃτε). Scholarios faithfully copied Kydones's passage except for the wrong reference (*Compendium of ST I<sup>a</sup> II<sup>ae</sup>*, q. 38 a. 4.4–6, ed. Petit, Sideridès & Jugie 1933, 42.33–35: κατὰ τὸ ἐν πρῶτῳ τῆς Ἰακώβου· Πᾶσαν χαρὰν ἡγήσασθε, ἀδελφοί μου, ὅταν εἰς πειρασμοὺς ποικίλους ἐμπέσῃτε).

<sup>44</sup> See the introduction to Athanasopoulos (forthcoming a).

1458/1459,<sup>45</sup> and wrote several of his *Sermons* as a layman preaching in the palace in the 1440s (at least during 1440–1445).<sup>46</sup> One can therefore suppose that at least during the years 1443–1445, Scholarios did not have enough time to check all the scriptural quotations against the Greek biblical text, even had he wished to do so. Still, his integration of such quotations into some of his own works indicates that he saw Aquinas as an authority.<sup>47</sup> It suggests that Scholarios (and Kydones) did not consider Thomas's scriptural text as incongruent with Orthodox belief.

#### 4. CONCLUSIONS

The provenance of scriptural quotations in Scholarios's works is twofold: (a) the Greek text of the Bible, as one may expect from a Byzantine scholar; (b) a Latin version of the Bible, mostly the Vulgate. To the second category belong the many quotations cited from Thomas Aquinas. In his *Compendium of ST I<sup>a</sup> II<sup>ae</sup>*, Scholarios took those scriptural quotations from the translation of *ST I<sup>a</sup> II<sup>ae</sup>* made by Demetrios Kydones.

On the one hand, Kydones's translation practices of such quotations indicate his intention to provide the accurate meaning of the Latin text. As a result, many quotations maintain their Latin background to a certain extent. On the other hand, several quotations are (more or less) adapted to the Greek text of the Bible (quoted either by heart or from a Greek manuscript), given that Kydones's purpose was to produce a translation that would be appealing to his contemporaries.

Some scriptural quotations in Kydones's translation of *ST I<sup>a</sup> II<sup>ae</sup>*, and subsequently in Scholarios's *Compendium of ST I<sup>a</sup> II<sup>ae</sup>*, are absent from the Septuagint and constitute a small corpus of Latin-based Greek passages of the Old Testament: they are rare in late Byzantine literature and therefore valuable. This collection testifies to the high esteem Kydones and Scholarios held Thomas in, whose authority validated the status of the Latin text of the Bible despite the supremacy of the LXX as seen by the Byzantines.

Many more Greek scriptural quotations translated from Latin are expected to come to light, since the citations of Thomas and other Latin authors by Scholarios are mostly unidentified. Detecting more quotations (whether Thomistic or not) will reveal more untraced Latin sources in the oeuvre of Scholarios. In this way, new evidence for

<sup>45</sup> Demetracopoulos 2017, 157–161 and 167.

<sup>46</sup> Tinnefeld 2002, 482; Blanchet 2008, 296–297.

<sup>47</sup> This can be deduced from Scholarios's reference to Thomas's views as the testimony of the Spirit: Σκόπει δὲ καὶ τὴν μαρτυρίαν τοῦ Πνεύματος (*Letter to Manuel Raul Oises*, l. 385–386, ed. Petit, Sideridès & Jugie 1935, 486.6–7). The phrase “testimony of the Spirit” refers to Thomas's views expressed in *SG* lib. 3 cap. 146 and *ST I<sup>a</sup> II<sup>ae</sup>* q. 10 a. 11; q. 11 a. 3; q. 12 a. 2 (Demetracopoulos 2006, 334; Demetracopoulos 2018, 237).

the reception of Latin theological thought in late Byzantine theology and philosophy will surface, enriching as a result our knowledge of the dialogue between the Catholic West and the Orthodox East towards the end of medieval times.

## APPENDIX

The table below includes the verbatim scriptural quotations in Scholarios's *Compendium of ST I<sup>a</sup> II<sup>ae</sup>*. The first columns provide the scriptural reference and identify the passage in Scholarios's text (with page and line number in Petit, Sideridès & Jugie 1933, 1–153). The last two columns indicate if the Latin provenance of the quotation is traceable to some extent (in full or in part),<sup>48</sup> and if a quotation from the Old Testament features text absent from the Septuagint.<sup>49</sup> Incorrect or absent references in the edition of Petit, Sideridès & Jugie 1933 are tacitly restored.

Scriptural quotation	Scholarios's <i>Compend. of ST I<sup>a</sup> II<sup>ae</sup></i>	Scriptural quotation	Scholarios's <i>Compend. of ST I<sup>a</sup> II<sup>ae</sup></i>
Gen 4:7	18.9 *	33:11	152.37–38 *
Exod 20:1	116.7 *	36:4	37.36 *
20:2	116.8 *	36:25	152.38–153.1
20:5	94.23–24 *	41:4	36.28–29
20:17	114.32–33 *	58:11	138.30
Num 31:16	87.17–18 *	59:6–7	101.33–34
Deut 32:4	115.35 *	72:5	103.1–2 *
Josh 22:17	99.22–24 *	72:6	103.18–19
1 Kgdms 2:6	112.11	72:25	10.7–8
7:3	141.25–26 *	72:28	10.9
2 Kgdms 12:13–14	102.15–17 *		131.6
3 Kgdms 19:14	83.37–38 *		152.24–25
Ps 10:5	31.16–17	76:4	36.26–27
	33.36–37	83:3	34.20–21
	15:11	83:12	12.7–8
	16:15		141.16
	18:8	84:7	145.37–38
	18:9	93:12	10.24
	18:13	102:5	5.9–10
	22:6	118:103	35.22–23
	31:2	118:165	76.2–3
	31:5	144:9	147.12–13 *
		Job 4:7	102.28–29 *

<sup>48</sup> \* = discernible Latin background.

<sup>49</sup> + = non-Sept.



Scriptural quotation	Scholarios's <i>Compend. of ST I<sup>a</sup> II<sup>ae</sup></i>		Scriptural quotation	Scholarios's <i>Compend. of ST I<sup>a</sup> II<sup>ae</sup></i>	
9:11	143.30-31	*	Sir 10:12	97.18	*
11:6	118.18-19	*	11:21	142.3	
14:1	10.34-35	*	12:16	49.18-19	*
14:4	150.21	* +	13:15	31.26	*
21:7	103.2-3	*	15:3	56.38-57.1	*
21:14	14.13	*	15:14	18.19-20	*
33:15-16	145.26-28	*	19:1	104.22-23	*
34:18	84.2-3	*	21:1	145.5	*
34:27	91.4-5	*		145.6	* + (partim)
35:5-7	27.15-16	*	24:17	74.36-37	*
36:26	143.28	*	30:16	4.25-26	*
Prov 2:14	38.18-19	*	30:23	43.25-26	*
4:18	151.21-22	*	Hos 8:12	118.17	*
8:15	110.36-37	*	9:10	23.13-14	*
8:29	111.4-5	* +		99.19-20	*
14:22	89.17-18	*	13:9	142.30-31	* + (partim)
15:6	70.2	*	Amos 3:6	92.13-14	
16:1	141.35	* +	4:12	141.24	*
17:22	41.20-21	*	Micah 7:6	84.1-2	*
19:25	101.29-30	*	Hab 1:13	103.3-5	*
21:1	13.24-25	*	Zech 1:3	131.15-16	*
25:20a	41.21-22		Isa 1:19-20	117.17-18	
27:4	49.26-27	* +	3:10-11	27.7-9	*
27:9	126.34-36	* + (partim)	6:10	92.30-31	*
Eccl 1:18	43.1	*	26:9	41.11-12	*
7:4	43.28-29	*	26:16	41.12-13	*
9:1	143.11-12	* + (partim)	32:17	74.25	*
9:2	152.17-19	*	45:7	92.12-13	*
10:19	4.4	*	60:5	37.22-23	*
12:14	27.11-12	*	66:14	10.1-2	*
Wis 1:13	99.2		Jer 9:23	6.15-16	*
1:15	70.24-25	*	9:24	6.17-18	*
2:24	94.8-9	*	15:1	150.23-25	*
6:6	84.17-18	*	18:6	142.15	*
7:11	11.21-22	*	38:16	148.30	
8:1	136.5-6	*	38:18	131.21-22	*
8:7	68.10	*	Lam 5:21	131.23-24	
8:16	11.24-25	*	Ezek 1:16	122.13	*
	39.29-30	*	3:18	91.30-31	*
9:14	134.2-3		18:4	103.24-25	
11:24	91.22-23	*	18:20	103.21-22	*
14:9	91.24	*	18:24	150.34-36	*

Scriptural quotation				Scholarios's <i>Compend. of ST I<sup>a</sup> II<sup>ae</sup></i>			
	29:18	153.23-25	*	17:21	123.20		
	29:19-20	153.25-27	*	18:13	152.10		
Sus	56	89.8	*	22:30	10.10		
Dan	9:18	150.29-31	*	John	1:17	115.17-18	
				1:29	96.17		
New Testament				4:13	34.33-34		
Matt	3:2	108.32		4:14	150.3-4		
	5:4	39.20-21		6:44	130.14-15	*	
	5:8	8.10-11		6:45	142.6		
	5:17	121.9	*		142.26-27		
	5:18	121.10-11			145.11-12		
	5:20	69.38-70.1		7:39	120.16-17	*	
		108.35-37		9:2-3	102.31-32	*	
	5:40-41	113.18-19	*	9:31	152.9		
	5:48	66.4-5	*	12:36	123.14		
	6:10 (= Luke 11:2)	134.6-7		13:17	12.16		
	6:13 (= Luke 11:4)	134.5-6		14:2	10.31		
	6:19	126.21-22		14:12	147.14		
	6:20	10.11	*	14:17	72.11		
	6:32	126.23-24	*	14:21	150.10-11	*	
	6:34	126.30-31	*	16:2	25.2-3		
	7:18	83.10		17:3	5.34-35		
	7:26	125.12			6.9		
	11:30	122.24-25		19:11	81.31-32		
	12:33	74.31		Acts	1:7	120.21-22	
	15:6	115.33-34	*		2:2	146.31-32	*
	19:12	127.4-5			5:29	113.22-23	
		127.5			7:53	116.6	*
	19:20-21	122.6-7			10:34	106.7	*
	19:21	127.3		Rom	1:16	119.17-18	*
	24:34	119.29-31	*		1:20	139.29	*
	25:46	11.7-8	*		1:28	92.3-4	*
		100.24-25			2:14	107.27-28	
	26:38	63.25-26				117.22-23	
Mark	3:29	100.25-27	*		3:24	137.29	
	4:28	122.20-21	*			144.28	
Luke	12:47	84.14-15	*		3:30	121.3-4	*
		89.19-20	*		4:4	150.16-17	*
	14:12-13	74.11-12	*		4:5	144.22-23	
	16:25	71.8			4:17	107.22	*
	17:5	57.21	*		5:1	145.34-35	*
					5:5	75.26-27	

Scriptural quotation	Scholarios's <i>Compend. of</i> <i>ST I<sup>a</sup> II<sup>ae</sup></i>		Scriptural quotation	Scholarios's <i>Compend. of</i> <i>ST I<sup>a</sup> II<sup>ae</sup></i>	
5:12	94.6	*	9:24	7.29-30	
	94.36	*	12:7	137.26-27	*
	95.34-35		12:8-10	139.10-14	*
	96.34	*	12:31	140.22-23	
5:20	115.26-27	*	13:13	67.3	
6:23	115.13-14	*	14:38	88.33	*
	130.2-3	*	15:28	72.25	*
	149.12-13	*	15:46	119.21-22	*
	149.28		2 Cor 1:20	121.23-24	*
7:5	90.25-27	*	3:6	118.4-5	
7:11	115.25-26	*	3:17	123.23-24	*
7:12	114.30-31		5:6	8.20	*
7:16	114.35-36	*	5:6-7	71.12-13	*
7:18	96.29-30		5:7	8.21-22	*
7:22	114.34-35		5:8	8.25-26	*
7:23	22.14-15	*	12:9	143.19	
	89.11-12	*	Gal 2:21	131.27	*
	109.8-9	*	3:19	116.4-5	*
7:25	132.34-35	*	3:24	116.1-2	
8:3-4	116.34-36	*	4:4	121.32	
	121.18-21		4:16	34.5-6	*
8:6-7	111.7-9	*	Eph 1:5-6	135.19-20	*
8:17	150.6-7	*	1:6	137.15	*
8:18	4.17-18		4:7	142.33-34	*
8:24	71.17			143.7	*
8:26	133.37	*	4:12	143.8-9	*
9:2	39.11-12	*	5:8	123.15	*
9:4-5	116.16-17	*	5:13	127.17	
9:16	128.22-23	*	5:14	132.17-18	*
9:18	92.31-32		5:29	33.35	*
11:6	137.16-17	*	Phil 2:13	17.8-9	*
12:12	36.26		Col 2:16	118.13-15	*
13:1	113.25		2:17	121.26-27	*
	137.18-19	*	3:14	121.7	
13:8	69.29-30	*	1 Thess 4:15	94.38-95.1	*
14:17	123.21-22	*	1 Tim 1:9	113.27	
1 Cor 2:9	11.35-36		1:13	89.2	
	67.6-7		2 Tim 4:7-8	7.30-31	
	149.18-19		4:8	149.32-34	
4:3-4	143.33	*	Heb 7:12	120.27-28	
4:4	144.5-6		7:19	115.19	*
7:35	127.7	*	8:10	119.5-7	*
	127.8				
9:17	114.23				

Scriptural quotation		Scholarios's <i>Compend. of</i> <i>ST I<sup>a</sup> II<sup>ae</sup></i>	
	11:6	146.1-2	*
	12:14	8.12-13	
Jas	1:2	42.34-35	*
	2:10	81.20-21	*
		81.27	*
	4:17	77.22-23	*
		89.21-22	*
1 Pet	2:13	113.36-37	
	2:19	113.7-8	*
2 Pet	1:4	66.26-27	*
1 John	2:16	90.18-19	*
	3:2	6.28-29	*
	3:14	69.25-26	*
	4:16	75.30-31	
	5:3	123.7-8	
	5:19	90.19-20	
2 John	4	36.33-34	*
Rev	2:17	144.2-3	*
	14:13	8.15-16	*
	22:2	75.13-14	*

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# REWRITTEN BIBLE



# UN DOCUMENT SYNOPTIQUE EN MARGE DE LA *SYNOPSIS DE LA SAINTE ÉCRITURE* ATTRIBUÉE À JEAN CHRYSOSTOME : LE MS. *LONDON, LAMBETH PALACE, SION* L40.2/G11

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LA *SYNOPSIS DE la Sainte Écriture*, publiée dans PG 56: 313–386, se présente comme une collection de notices résumant, d’une façon plus ou moins détaillée, les livres de l’Ancien Testament (CPG 4559). Une introduction, appelée par quelques témoins *protheōria*, annonce l’objectif de l’œuvre : aider ceux qui seraient empêchés dans la lecture de la Bible par la difficulté de la tâche<sup>1</sup>. Ce texte est un témoin de première importance pour l’histoire de la réception de la Bible ainsi que pour l’histoire de la formation du canon biblique car il se présente comme la plus ancienne collection de résumés de livres bibliques qui nous soit parvenue. Cependant, la *Synopsis de la Sainte Écriture* se caractérise par une tradition fort complexe, du fait que plusieurs formes textuelles coexistent et se mélangent entre elles<sup>2</sup> :

(1) un texte « court », parce que lacunaire, transmis par une première branche de la tradition ;

(2) un texte « long » (*recensio aucta*), transmis par une deuxième branche de la tradition et ultérieurement enrichi de manière propre dans chacun de ses deux sous-groupes ε et ζ<sup>3</sup>. Les passages –plus ou moins étendus et consistant parfois en des notices entières– qui constituent l’écart entre le texte court de la première branche et le texte long de la deuxième correspondent souvent aux notices de la *Synopsis* du Ps.-Athanase (CPG 2249)<sup>4</sup>. Sans compter les nombreux passages brefs, les notices suivantes sont communes aux deux *Synopses* (celle du Ps.-Athanase et celle transmise par la deux-

<sup>1</sup> Sur la *protheōria*, voir Dorival 2006.

<sup>2</sup> Une première étude de la tradition manuscrite de la *Synopsis* se trouve dans Barone 2009. Nous avons récemment terminé l’édition critique de ce texte, qui sera publiée dans les meilleurs délais dans la *Series Graeca* du *Corpus Christianorum*.

<sup>3</sup> Nous ne prenons pas en considération dans cette étude une troisième *recensio auctissima* de la *Synopsis*, transmise par le *Vaticanus gr.* 1889, car cela compliquerait notre exposé, sans fournir d’éléments utiles à la description du contenu de S, objet ici de notre attention.

<sup>4</sup> L’édition de Felckmann 1600 est reprise dans la PG 28: 281–438. Pour une synthèse récente des problèmes posés par la *Synopsis* du Ps.-Athanase, cf. Dorival 2005a, 70–81.

ième branche de la tradition pseudo-chrysostomienne) : Lévitique, la partie finale de 4 Règles, 1–2 Paralipomènes, 1–2 Esdras, Esther, Tobit, Judith, Job, Sagesse de Salomon, Proverbes, Ecclésiastique, Cantique. À cela il faut encore ajouter des *excerpta* de la *Synopse* attribuée à Chrysostome, utilisés comme prologue aux livres bibliques dans les manuscrits de la Septante<sup>5</sup>, des chaînes<sup>6</sup> ou des recueils exégétiques<sup>7</sup> ; sans oublier un groupe de notices de la *Synopse* ayant eu une postérité propre, à savoir les sections des Proverbes, Ecclésiaste, Cantique, Sagesse de Salomon et Job, faussement attribuées à Hésychios (CPG 6560[4])<sup>8</sup>. Dans tous les cas ici évoqués, les *excerpta* présentent le même texte que la deuxième branche de la tradition : la question qui se pose est celle de savoir si ce texte constitue un original perdu dans le reste de la tradition ou bien une interpolation tardive visant à combler des lacunes survenues dans la première branche. Le lecteur mesurera l'enjeu critique : de la réponse donnée à cette question dépend l'interprétation de ces textes en tant que tradition indirecte de la *Synopse* attribuée à Chrysostome.

Dans les pages qui suivent nous porterons notre attention sur un manuscrit contenant un texte qui a des liens avec la *Synopse de la Sainte Écriture* attribuée à Chrysostome, sans pour autant correspondre de manière littérale à aucun témoin de la tradition directe : il s'agit du ms. *London, Lambeth Palace, Sion* L40.2/G11. Ce document présente des relations avec le texte long de la *Synopse* transmis par le sous-groupe ζ, dont le témoin principal est le *Barberinianus gr.* 317. Rappelons brièvement les caractéristiques de ce texte.

# 1. LA *SYNOPSIS* TRANSMISE PAR LE *BARBERINIANUS GR.* 317

Le *Barberinianus gr.* 317 (B) est un manuscrit en parchemin daté du XI<sup>e</sup> siècle. Il contient, dans les 328 folios qui le composent, une *Synopse* des livres de l'Ancien et du Nouveau Testament<sup>9</sup>. Il s'agit d'une *recensio auctissima* de la *Synopse*, réalisée par le

<sup>5</sup> Cf. le ms. *Marcianus gr.* I. 13 (coll. 1010). Sur ce témoin, voir Barone 2017.

<sup>6</sup> Cf., par exemple, le *Parisinus gr.* 151, qui transmet la chaîne inédite attribuée à Polychronios le Diacre sur les Proverbes (CPG C 90), l'Ecclésiaste (CPG C 102) et le Cantique (CPG C 83) à côté d'une chaîne sur Job (CPG C 50). Le manuscrit contient, aux ff. 1<sup>r</sup>–13<sup>v</sup>, les notices de la *Synopse* sur Pr, Eccl, Ct, Sg. Cf. Omont 1886, 18. Sur les extraits de la *Synopse* contenus dans ce manuscrit, cf. Ceulemans 2017, 371–372.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. par exemple le *Scorialensis* Ω. I. 7 (Andrés 508), du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle, qui contient, aux ff. 5<sup>r</sup>–6<sup>v</sup>, la notice de la *Synopse* sur les Proverbes utilisée comme prologue aux *Commentaire sur les Proverbes* du moine Malachie. Cf. Ceulemans 2013, 74–75.

<sup>8</sup> Comme l'a démontré Ceulemans 2017. Dans son étude, Ceulemans indique que ce texte est transmis par les mss. *Cambridge, Trinity College* O.10.33 (1485), ff. 1<sup>r</sup>–14<sup>r</sup> et *London, British Library, Harley* 1837, ff. 1<sup>r</sup>–34<sup>r</sup>. Les deux témoins datent du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle.

<sup>9</sup> De Ricci 1907, 106. Sur ce ms. cf. Klostermann 1895, 77–112 et Dorival 2005b, 97–100.

recours à plusieurs sources : la *Synopse* attribuée à Athanase, mais aussi Eusèbe de Césarée<sup>10</sup>. Le degré d'intervention n'est pas égal dans les différentes notices : pour l'Octateuque et pour les livres des Règles, le compilateur se borne à ajouter quelques passages provenant pour la plupart de la *Synopse* attribuée à Athanase. Il s'agit généralement de listes, comme, par exemple, le catalogue des *stathmoi*, les étapes des Juifs dans le désert, ou encore le catalogue des explorateurs envoyés en terre de Chanaan, ajoutés tous les deux à la notice sur les Nombres. Pour les Prophètes, il y a généralement juxtaposition des textes des deux *Synopses*, celle attribuée à Chrysostome et celle attribuée à Athanase. En revanche, pour les livres qui ne sont transmis que par la deuxième branche de la tradition (Lévitique, la partie finale de 4 Règles, 1–2 Paralipomènes, 1–2 Esdras, Esther, Tobit, Judith, Job, Sagesse de Salomon, Proverbes, Ecclésiastique, Cantique), le texte est généralement celui du Ps.-Athanase. Des inédits sont également présents. Cette *recensio auctissima* de la *Synopse*, nous l'appellerons *Synopse Barberini*.

## 2. LE DOCUMENT SYNOPTIQUE TRANSMIS PAR LE MS. LONDON, LAMBETH PALACE, SION L40.2/G11

Le *London, Lambeth Palace, Sion L40.2/G11* (S) est un manuscrit en papier du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle. Il contient, aux ff. 72<sup>r</sup>–75<sup>v</sup>, de courts extraits de quelques livres de l'Ancien Testament (Proverbes, Isaïe, Sagesse de Salomon) et aux ff. 76<sup>r</sup>–113<sup>v</sup>, une *Synopse de la Sainte Écriture* qui commence mutilée : <σπέρ>μα αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι ὡς τὰ ἄστρα<sup>11</sup>. Ces mots correspondent à la notice sur la Genèse de la *Synopse* attribuée à Chrysostome (PG 56: 319.34).

La collation intégrale du texte transmis par S m'a permis de vérifier qu'il ne s'agit pas d'un manuscrit appartenant à la tradition directe de la *Synopse* attribuée à Chrysostome ou Athanase, malgré les relations étroites avec ces deux textes. Une analyse plus approfondie a montré que le texte contenu dans ce manuscrit constitue un résumé de la *Synopse Barberini*.

La *Synopse Barberini* présente de nombreuses différences non seulement avec le texte court de la *Synopse*, transmis par la première branche de la tradition, mais également avec l'autre texte long de la deuxième branche, transmis par le sous-groupe ε. Ces différences peuvent être classées en deux groupes : les macro différences, dont le type le plus visible est constitué par les inédits propres à ce texte ; les micro différences, qui sont de l'ordre de la variante. Il n'est pas question ici de donner une liste exhaustive,

<sup>10</sup> Barone 2011. Nous renvoyons à notre étude pour le détail du contenu de ce manuscrit. Les relations avec le reste de la tradition manuscrite de la *Synopse* attribuée à Chrysostome seront décrites dans la préface de notre édition critique.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Wright, Argyrou & Dendrinou 2016, 500–506.

ni des unes ni des autres. La collation de S et l'analyse de ses leçons propres montrent que ce témoin s'accorde avec B partout où il s'éloigne des autres témoins de la *Synopse* attribuée à Chrysostome. Dans les pages qui suivent, nous nous limiterons à fournir un nombre d'arguments à notre avis suffisant pour montrer l'identité des textes transmis par B et par S. Comme on le verra, nous devons nous demander si S est un *descriptus* de B.

### 3. CARACTÉRISTIQUES PROPRES AUX DOCUMENTS SYNOPTIQUES TRANSMIS PAR B ET S

Les particularités de BS seront prises en compte en deux temps : tout d'abord, nous nous concentrerons sur les éléments externes au texte, pour en venir ensuite aux éléments textuels.

#### 3.1 *Éléments externes au texte : la stichométrie*

Un premier élément suggère la proximité entre les documents synoptiques contenus en B et S : la présence, à la fin des notices, d'une indication stichométrique, une phrase – généralement sous la forme *Ἐχει δὲ τὸ βιβλίον στίχους* – indiquant le nombre des versets de chaque livre. Il s'agit de données qui sont rares déjà dans les manuscrits bibliques<sup>12</sup>. En ce qui concerne la tradition directe de la *Synopse* attribuée à Chrysostome, aucun des manuscrits ne donne ce genre d'information, ni, par ailleurs, le texte imprimé de la *Synopse* du Ps.-Athanase<sup>13</sup>.

Le lien entre B et S ne repose pas sur la seule existence de ces stichométries : en effet, dans la plupart des cas, les données correspondent<sup>14</sup>. On remarquera que, si B donne une indication stichométrique pour chaque livre biblique, S ne contient ce genre d'information que pour les deux tiers des notices<sup>15</sup>.

	S	B
Gn	chiffre illisible	4308
Ex	3400	= S

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Ceulemans 2017, 362 (n. 67), où, compte tenu des rares manuscrits bibliques présentant ce genre d'indications, le lien est souligné entre ces informations et la tradition hexaplaire.

<sup>13</sup> Parmi les témoins liés à l'histoire de la tradition des deux *Synopses*, seuls le *Marcianus* gr. I. 13, le *Parisinus* gr. 151, le *Cantabrig.* O.10.33 et le *Londinensis*, Harley 1837 présentent des données stichométriques.

<sup>14</sup> Les chiffres indiqués par B ont été publiés par Klostermann (1895, 80–82) et repris ensuite par Swete (1902, 349–350).

<sup>15</sup> Dans la liste qui suit, l'ordre de succession des livres est celui de B. Sur ce point, voir plus loin, pp. 200–201.

	S	B
Lv	2000 <sup>16</sup>	2700
Nb	lacune	3535
Dt	3100	= S
Jos	2100	= S
Jg	2100	= S
Rt	aucune indication stichométrique	300
1 R	aucune indication stichométrique	2500
2 R	aucune indication stichométrique	2500
3 R	4003	2400
4 R	2600	= S
1 Par	aucune indication stichométrique	2000
2 Par	aucune indication stichométrique	3000
1 Esd	aucune indication stichométrique	1300
2 Esd	1800	= S
Ps	5100	= S
Od	aucune indication stichométrique	600
Jb	2200 / 1600 (avec/sans les versets marqués par un astérisque)	= S
Pr	1750	= S
Eccl	750	= S
Ct	286	= S
Sg	1250	= S
Si	aucune indication stichométrique	2650
XII Petits Prophètes	aucune indication stichométrique	plusieurs chiffres sont donnés pour le total (f. 203 <sup>r</sup> ) : 3750, 3500, 3300
Is	3820	= S
Jr	3800	= S
Ba	aucune indication stichométrique	350
Lm	660	860
Lettre de Jr	4000 <sup>17</sup>	200
Éz	4000	= S
Dn	1720	= S
Est	aucune indication stichométrique	750
Tb	750	= S
Jdt	1300	= S

Les données ici reportées s'accordent avec l'hypothèse d'une relation étroite entre B et S. Sur 23 indications stichométriques présentes en S, 19 fois elles correspondent à celles

<sup>16</sup> Swete (1902, 349) indique qu'un autre manuscrit présente le même chiffre : l'*Athènes*, EBE 44.

<sup>17</sup> Le chiffre pourrait se référer au livre suivant. Il faut cependant préciser que le chiffre est répété à la fin de la notice sur Ézéchiél.

de B<sup>18</sup>. La comparaison des indications stichométriques de nos deux manuscrits avec la stichométrie de Nicéphore<sup>19</sup>, ou encore avec les indications contenues dans le chapitre 32 (§ 3) de la *Doctrina Patrum* (CPG 7781)<sup>20</sup>, montre l'existence d'une importante hétérogénéité de chiffres et de calculs<sup>21</sup>. Dans ce cadre, la proximité entre B et S est encore plus manifeste.

### 3.2 *Éléments textuels*

Seules les différences majeures seront ici cataloguées, et de façon non exhaustive. L'exposition procédera par livre biblique, selon l'ordre de succession des livres suivi par B.

#### 3.2.1 *La notice sur le Lévitique*

Une notice sur le livre du Lévitique n'est attestée que dans la deuxième branche de la tradition de la *Synopse* attribuée à Chrysostome, la première passant d'Exode à Nombres.

La notice transmise par le sous-groupe  $\epsilon$  correspond à l'intégralité du texte de la *Synopse* du Ps.-Athanase (PG 56: 328.46–329.55 = PG 28: 300–301), auquel fait suite une partie propre à la tradition de la *Synopse* du Ps.-Chrysostome (PG 56: 329.55–330.35). La notice de B (ff. 41<sup>v</sup>–45<sup>r</sup>) sur le Lévitique correspond à la seule partie commune aux deux *Synopses* (PG 56: 328.46–329.55). Le ms. S (f. 80<sup>r-v</sup>) présente le même texte que B.

#### 3.2.2 *La notice sur les Nombres*

La notice sur le livre des Nombres transmise par B présente de nombreuses particularités, du fait que B ajoute plusieurs passages qui correspondent au texte de la *Synopse* du Ps.-Athanase. Trois exemples sont suffisants pour montrer les relations entre B et S :

Tout d'abord, l'*incipit* : la *Synopse Barberini* (ff. 45<sup>r</sup>–46<sup>v</sup>) fait précéder le texte de la PG 56: 330 par un *incipit* bien plus long, correspondant *grosso modo* au Ps.-Athanase (PG 28: 301.26–304.24)<sup>22</sup>. Le ms. S (f. 80<sup>v</sup>) résume le même texte transmis par B.

<sup>18</sup> Dans quatre cas elles ne correspondent pas : Lévitique, 3 Règles, Lamentations et la Lettre de Jérémie. Nous n'avons pas pu lire l'indication relative à Genèse.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. de Boor 1880, 132–135. Les indications stichométriques de Nicéphore ont été publiées par Swete 1902, 346–348, qui ajoute celles du *Cod. Claromontanus* ainsi que de la *Liste de Mommsen*.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. Diekamp 1981, 238–240.

<sup>21</sup> Les manuscrits *Cantabrig.* O.10.33 et *Londinensis*, Harley 1837, déjà cités, fournissent des indications stichométriques. Elles correspondent à celles de B et S : Pr 1750, Eccl 750, Ct 286, Jb 2200/1600. Les mêmes indications se trouvent dans le *Parisinus gr.* 151, exception faite pour Job, que ce dernier ne transmet pas. Il faut remarquer que ces trois témoins ne donnent aucune indication stichométrique pour la Sagesse (cf. Ceulemans 2017, 360).

<sup>22</sup> Voir Barone 2011, 297 pour des renseignements ultérieurs.



À PG 56: 331.21–25 la *Synopse* pseudo-chrysostomienne synthétise les faits racontés en Nb 10 : Moïse reçoit l'ordre de fabriquer deux trompettes d'argent pour donner le signal au peuple en plusieurs circonstances, comme pour lever le camp, pour sortir en guerre ou pour les holocaustes dans les néoménies. La *Synopse Barberini* (ff. 49<sup>r</sup>–51<sup>v</sup>) ajoute ici un long passage qui correspond au Ps.-Athanase (PG 28: 305.17–308.8) : il s'agit du catalogue des *stathmoi*, les étapes de la marche des Juifs dans le désert après la sortie d'Égypte pour arriver au Jourdain (cf. Nb 33). Le ms. S (f. 81<sup>r</sup>) suit B<sup>23</sup>.

À PG 56: 332.2, B (f. 53<sup>v</sup>) ajoute un passage correspondant au texte du Ps.-Athanase (PG 28: 308.29–46 = fin de la notice) : il s'agit du catalogue des explorateurs envoyés par Moïse pour aller reconnaître la terre des Chananéens (cf. Nb 13). Le ms. S (f. 81<sup>r</sup>) suit B.

### 3.2.3 La notice sur les livres des Règles

La totalité de la tradition directe de la *Synopse* attribuée à Chrysostome commence la notice sur 1 Règles par la référence à l'histoire d'Elkana et de ses deux femmes (1 R 1,1–2). À la différence de tous les témoins, la *Synopse Barberini* commence la notice par deux passages du Ps.-Athanase (f. 87<sup>v</sup>) : une explication du titre du livre (PG 28: 313.54–56) et une référence aux *res gestae* de chaque roi qui ont été écrites par les prophètes contemporains (PG 28: 329.1–3). Dans le texte attribué à Athanase, ces deux passages non seulement ne se suivent pas, mais ils n'appartiennent pas à la même notice (le premier se lit dans le résumé de 1 Règles, le second dans celui de 1–2 Paralipomènes) : leur enchaînement est un élément original de la *Synopse Barberini*. Le ms. S (f. 87<sup>v</sup>) correspond à B.

À PG 56: 348.13, B (f. 107<sup>r</sup>) ajoute un long passage qui correspond à la presque totalité de la notice sur 2 Règles du Ps.-Athanase (PG 28: 316.31–317.30) : il s'agit du catalogue des noms et des gestes des généraux de David (cf. 2 R 23,8–39). Le ms. B recommence ensuite avec le texte de la *Synopse* pseudo-chrysostomienne, en partant exactement du point où il s'était arrêté. En marge, on trouve l'indication ἅλλη ἐκδοσις (f. 109<sup>v</sup>). Le ms. S (ff. 91<sup>v</sup>–92<sup>r</sup>) résume le même texte que B.

Dans la notice sur 3 Règles, la *Synopse* attribuée à Chrysostome évoque la sagesse de Salomon, la paix qui règne en son temps ainsi que ses richesses (PG 56: 349.18). La

<sup>23</sup> Il faut signaler ici que, si en général la tradition rabbinique ainsi que la tradition chrétienne estiment à 42 les étapes de la marche des Juifs dans le désert, le chiffre donné dans la *Synopse* du Ps.-Athanase est de 43. Ce chiffre est repris en B et S. Le décompte rabbinique se fonde sur le fait qu'on lit 42 fois *ils décampèrent*, entre Nb 33,3 et 33,48. Mais les versets 3 et 5 parlent de la même étape. La LXX, quant à elle, a, en Nb 33,36, un membre de phrase absent du TM : « et ils décampèrent du désert de Sin et campèrent dans le désert de Pharan ». Cela permet d'arriver à un nombre d'étapes de 42. Cf. Dorival 1994, 152–153 (introduction) et 542–543 (traduction et notes au chapitre 33).

*Synopse Barberini* (f. 112<sup>v</sup>) présente alors un long passage qui correspond au Ps.-Athanasie, au cours duquel la fortune du roi est passée en revue (PG 28: 317.39–320.1). Le passage se termine par le souvenir des richesses qui lui furent apportées par la reine de Saba (3 R 10). Le ms. B (f. 113<sup>v</sup>) reprend ensuite le texte du Ps.-Chrysostome, exactement à l'endroit où il s'en était éloigné<sup>24</sup>. Sans surprise, B est suivi par S (f. 92<sup>v</sup>). À la fin de cette même notice (PG 56: 351.14), B (f. 119<sup>r</sup>) ajoute un passage qui correspond au Ps.-Athanasie (PG 28: 320.18–35, fin de la notice) : il s'agit d'un résumé des miracles accomplis par Élie (cf. 3 R 17–20 et 4 R 2). Le ms. S (f. 94<sup>v</sup>) suit B.

Au cours de la section qui porte sur 4 Règnes, on lit dans la *Synopse* pseudo-chrysostomienne : Τὸν δὲ Ζαχαρίαν ἀνελὼν ὁ Σελῦς<sup>25</sup> ἐβασίλευσε τοῦ Ἰσραήλ. Οὗτος ἐχρήσατο τῇ συμμαχίᾳ Φουᾶ<sup>26</sup> βασιλέως Ἀσσυρίων, χίλια τάλαντα δοὺς αὐτῷ (« Shalloum gouverna Israël après avoir tué Zacharie ; il eut pour allié Foua, le roi des Assyriens, à qui il avait donné mille talents », PG 56: 353.17–18). Ce même passage présente, dans la *Synopse Barberini*, une phrase supplémentaire après le mot Ἰσραήλ : τὸν δὲ Ἐλīm (lege Σελλήμ) ἀνελὼν Μαναή ἐβασίλευσεν τοῦ Ἰσραήλ (f. 125<sup>v</sup>). Le texte devient donc le suivant : « Shalloum gouverna Israël après avoir tué Zacharie ; Menahem gouverna Israël après avoir tué Elim (lire : Shalloum) ; il eut pour allié Foua, le roi des Assyriens, à qui il avait donné mille talents ». Les faits synthétisés ici sont racontés en 4 R 15 : Zacharie devient roi pendant 6 mois (v. 8) mais Shalloum organise une conjuration contre lui et le tue, pour devenir roi à sa place (v. 10). Il règne un mois. Menahem le tue et devient roi à son tour (v. 14). Il règnera pendant 10 ans. Sous son règne, le roi des Assyriens envahit le pays (v. 19). Menahem lui donne mille talents d'argent pour qu'il l'aide à consolider son pouvoir (v. 19). Le roi qui paie un tribut aux Assyriens n'est donc pas Shalloum mais Menahem : tous les témoins de la *Synopse* attribuée à Chrysostome présentent ainsi un texte corrompu en raison d'une omission dont l'origine est très facile à expliquer (saut du même au même : Ἰσραήλ). Le texte correct est celui qui est transmis par B, auquel correspond celui de S (f. 96<sup>v</sup>).

### 3.2.4 La notice sur les Psaumes

À l'intérieur de la tradition manuscrite de la *Synopse* attribuée à Chrysostome, aucun manuscrit ne transmet de notice sur les Psaumes, exception faite de B. En revanche,

<sup>24</sup> Dans le texte de B, il est à nouveau question de la reine de Saba quelques lignes plus loin (PG 56: 349.31). Cependant, cette dernière est appelée cette fois-ci « reine du Sud (Νότου) ». Ces phénomènes (répétitions et incohérences, ici dans la dénomination) confirment la nature composite de la *Synopse Barberini*.

<sup>25</sup> La tradition présente plusieurs variantes du nom du roi, sur lesquelles nous ne nous attarderons pas ici.

<sup>26</sup> Nous passons sous silence ici la question du nom du roi des Assyriens, dont plusieurs formes sont attestées.

la *Synopse* attribuée à Athanase transmet une notice sur ce livre biblique. La notice de B, contenue aux ff. 142<sup>v</sup>–158<sup>r</sup>, est composée par le texte du Ps.-Athanase (ff. 142<sup>v</sup>–151<sup>r</sup> = PG 28: 331–340), suivi par les petits traités d’Eusèbe de Césarée sur la division du Psautier et sur les *periachai* des Psaumes (ff. 151<sup>r</sup>–158<sup>r</sup>)<sup>27</sup>. Le ms. B indique de façon explicite sa source, Eusèbe (f. 151<sup>r</sup>). Le ms. S (f. 87<sup>r-v</sup>) se rapproche doublement de B, car il présente une notice sur les Psaumes dont le texte correspond à celui de B, résultant de l’enchaînement des deux parties –Ps.-Athanase et Eusèbe– et dans le même ordre.

### 3.2.5 *Les notices sur Job, les Proverbes, l’Ecclésiaste et le Cantique*<sup>28</sup>

À l’intérieur de la tradition de la *Synopse* pseudo-chrysostomienne, seule la deuxième branche transmet des notices résumant le contenu de ces quatre livres sapientiaux ; la première branche présente ici une lacune importante<sup>29</sup>. Cependant, à l’intérieur de la deuxième branche, le sous-groupe ε présente des notices composées par deux parties : la notice du Ps.-Athanase, puis un résumé détaillé de chaque chapitre du livre (les mss. appellent cette section *anakephalaiōsis*). Dans chacun des quatre cas, B et S ne transmettent que la première partie de la notice, celle qui est commune à la *Synopse* du Ps.-Athanase.

### 3.2.6 *Les notices sur les livres des Prophètes*

Pour les Prophètes, la première branche de la tradition de la *Synopse* pseudo-chrysostomienne présente un texte qui correspond au texte édité en PG 56: 376–386. En ce qui concerne la deuxième branche, le sous-groupe ε ajoute à ce texte l’intégralité des notices du Ps.-Athanase ainsi que des notices tirées des *Vitae Prophetarum* (dans la *Recensio Dorothei*)<sup>30</sup>. Le ms. B, quant à lui, enchaîne les notices du Ps.-Chrysostome et du Ps.-Athanase, sans avoir recours aux *Vitae Prophetarum*. Une notice fait exception,

<sup>27</sup> Voir PG 23: 66.33–72.52 ; nouvelle édition par Bandt 2019.

<sup>28</sup> Il ne sera pas question ici de la notice sur le Siracide, parce que S ne la transmet pas. Pour la Sagesse, voir plus loin, pp. 196–199. Les notices sur l’Ecclésiaste et le Cantique ne sont pas éditées en PG car les exemplaires manuscrits de Montfaucon (*Vossianus gr.* F° 48 et *Parisinus Coisl.* 388) ne les transmettent pas. Pour la même raison, une partie de la notice sur Proverbes est inédite.

<sup>29</sup> Le texte de la deuxième branche se trouve aussi dans deux autres mss. : *Londinensis*, Harley 1837 et *Cantabrig.* O.10.33 (sur ces deux mss. cf. ci-dessus, notes 8, 13 et 21). Dans les cas des Proverbes, de l’Ecclésiaste et du Cantique, ce texte se trouve aussi dans le *Parisinus gr.* 151 (voir plus haut, notes 6, 13 et 21). La notice sur les Proverbes se trouve également dans le *Scorialensis* Ω. 1. 7 (Andrés 508) (cf. n. 7).

<sup>30</sup> Pour le détail du contenu des manuscrits de la deuxième branche de la tradition dans les livres prophétiques, cf. Barone 2009, 15–16. En ce qui concerne les Petits Prophètes, le sous-groupe ε ne présente pas le *textus vulgatus* de la *Synopse* pseudo-chrysostomienne pour les notices d’Abdias, Jonas et Naoum. Le contenu des notices non éditées dans la PG (Ambakoum, Sophonie, Aggée, Zacharie, Malachie) sera décrit dans les études qui accompagnent notre édition critique.

celle sur Jonas : elle ne contient aucun mot de la *Synopse* attribuée à Chrysostome, se présentant plutôt comme une *versio aucta* de la seule *Synopse* pseudo-athanasienne. Le ms. S correspond à B pour toutes les notices.

#### 4. LA NOTICE SUR LA SAGESSE DE SALOMON

Les données présentées plus haut montrent que S transmet le même document synoptique que B, dont il constitue un résumé. Une notice parmi toutes permet de vérifier ces conclusions avec évidence : celle sur la Sagesse de Salomon.

##### 4.1 La notice dans B

La notice sur la Sagesse qu'on trouve en B constitue un élément caractéristique de la *Synopse Barberini*. Voici la transcription du texte inédit, contenu aux ff. 184<sup>r</sup>–185<sup>v</sup>, suivie d'une traduction de travail<sup>31</sup>.

Σοφία Σολομώντος ἡ πανάρετος· κβ<sup>132</sup>

Καὶ τοῦτο τὸ βιβλίον Σολομώντα γράψαι λέγεται· ἐκ δὲ τῆς ἀρετῆς τῶν νοημάτων καὶ τοῦ κάλλους τῶν ἐνθυμημάτων καὶ σοφία πανάρετος ἐκλήθη.

Διαλαμβάνει δὲ ἀληθῆ δικαιοσύνην καλῶν τὴν σοφίαν καὶ πάντας προτρέπεται ταύτης ἀντέχεσθαι ὡς πάντων οὖσαν τῶν παρὰ θεοῦ γεγονότων τὸ κάλλιστον· καὶ ὅτι διὰ τῆς σοφίας τις γινώσκει τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ ποιήματα.

Διαφόρως δὲ ἐπαινέσας αὐτὴν τε καὶ τὸν κεκτημένον αὐτὴν ὡς αὐτῇ ὄργανῳ χρώμενος καὶ δογμάτων τινῶν ἅπτεται· ἐνταῦθα κεῖται ὅτι ὁ θεὸς ἔκτισεν τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐν ἀφθαρσίᾳ, φθόνῳ δὲ διαβόλου ὁ θάνατος εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὸν κόσμον ὅπερ ὁ ἀπόστολος εἶρηκεν.

Ἐπαινεῖ δὲ ἐνταῦθα καὶ τοὺς δικαίους ἄνδρας· λέγει δὲ καὶ περὶ πιστῶν δούλων οὓς καὶ εὐνούχους καλεῖ ὡς γέρα παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ ληψομένους τῆς εἰς τοὺς δεσπότας εὐνοίας· λέγει δὲ καὶ κατὰ πονηρῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ τὴν ἀπάντων διάγνωσιν τούτων τῇ σοφίᾳ ἀνατίθησιν· ἐπαινῶν δὲ καὶ τὸν σοφὸν ἄνδρα ποιεῖ αὐτὸν ὡς ἐκ ταπεινώσεως ἀνυψωθέντα, ὅπερ εἰς τὸν Χριστὸν ἀναφέρεται, καὶ τοὺς ἐπιχαρέντας τῇ ἐκείνου πτώσει ὡς ἐκ μεταμελείας θαυμάζοντας καὶ ὡς ἐν ἐκστάσει λέγοντας· Οὐχ οὗτος ἐστὶν ὃν ἡμεῖς κατεβάλομεν καὶ γέλωτα πεποιήκαμεν;

<sup>31</sup> Nous remercions chaleureusement Andrea Cozzo, Giorgio Di Maria et Sever J. Voicu, qui ont accepté de discuter avec nous de cet inédit. Tous nos remerciements vont également à Christian Boudignon et à Anne Petrucci, qui ont relu cette traduction.

<sup>32</sup> B ajoute, à côté du titre de chaque notice, un chiffre progressif indiquant la place du livre dans la Bible. La Sagesse est pour lui le livre n° 22. Sur l'ordre de succession des livres bibliques, voir plus loin, pp. 200–201.

Παραίνει δὲ καὶ βασιλεῦσι καὶ ἄρχουσι καταλέγων αὐτοῖς τὰ ἐκ τῆς σοφίας ἀγαθὰ καὶ τὸ ἐξουσιαστικὸν καὶ ἐλευθέριον τῶν κεκτημένων αὐτὴν ἔνοικον.

Εἴτα ἐξυμνῶν τὴν σοφίαν ἀναφέρει ταύτην εἰς τὸν θεόν· κἀντεῦθεν ἐν συντόμῳ διηγείται ὡς ἐν εὐχῆς τρόπῳ ἐξομολογούμενος ἐκ προσώπου τῆς σοφίας τὰ τε τῆς Γενέσεως καὶ τῆς Ἐξόδου ὡς ἐν ᾧδῆς τρόπῳ· ἔστι δὲ καὶ ὅσα ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς τῷ λαῷ αὐτοῦ Ἰσραήλ.

Ὑποκατιῶν δὲ λέγει ὀνειδιστικῶς καὶ κατὰ γλυπτῶν καὶ εἰδόλων τῶν θεῶν ὀνομαζομένων καὶ τῶν λατρευόντων αὐτὰ διεξερχόμενος τὴν αὐτῶν ἀψύχων ὄντων ἀσθένειαν καὶ τὴν τῶν εἰς αὐτὰ πιστευόντων πλάνην οὕσαν προφανῆ.

Ἐν αὐτῇ οὖν ταύτῃ τῇ διηγηματικῇ ᾧδῃ ἐξυμνῶν Σολομῶν τὸ θεῖον καὶ ἀποδεικνύς τὴν διὰ τῆς ἀληθινῆς σοφίας πίστιν εἰς θεὸν καὶ τὴν διὰ τε σαρκὸς καὶ διὰ πνεύματος ἰσχὺν ἦν ἐκτίσαντο κατὰ τῶν ἐχθραινόντων αὐτοῖς οἱ εἰς αὐτὸν πεπιστευκότες· οὕτω τελειοῖ τὸ βιβλίον.

Ἔχει τὸ βιβλίον ἡ πανάρετος στίχους ,ασν'.

« Sagesse de Salomon, la toute vertueuse (n° 22) »

« Ce livre aussi, on dit que c'est Salomon qui l'écrivit ; mais, en raison de la vertu de ses pensées ainsi que de la beauté de ses arguments il fut également appelé *Sagesse toute vertueuse*.

Il définit la sagesse en l'appelant vraie justice et exhorte chacun à s'attacher à elle, dans l'idée qu'elle est la plus belle de toutes les créatures de Dieu ; et parce que c'est par la sagesse que l'on connaît les œuvres de Dieu.

Après avoir loué de multiples façons la sagesse ainsi que celui qui la possède, il s'attaque aussi à certaines opinions en l'utilisant comme instrument. Là se trouve le verset : *Dieu a créé l'homme dans l'incorruptibilité ; c'est par la jalousie du diable que la mort est entrée dans le monde*, comme l'a dit l'Apôtre<sup>33</sup>.

Là, il loue aussi les hommes justes ; il parle également des esclaves fidèles, qu'il appelle aussi eunuques : ceux-ci recevront une récompense de Dieu pour leur bienveillance à l'égard de leurs maîtres<sup>34</sup> ; mais il parle aussi contre les hommes mauvais et attribue à la sagesse la capacité de discerner tous ceux-là ; et lorsqu'il loue aussi l'homme sage, il le montre comme relevé de son humiliation – ce qui fait référence au Christ ; quant à ceux qui se sont réjouis de sa chute, il les montre comme saisis de stupeur sous l'effet du remord, disant, désorientés : *N'est-ce pas celui-ci que nous avons méprisé et tourné en ridicule*<sup>35</sup> ?

<sup>33</sup> Sg 2,23–24. La citation ne se retrouve pas dans les lettres pauliniennes. Il pourrait s'agir ici d'une allusion à Rm 5,2.

<sup>34</sup> Cf. Sg 3,14.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. Sg 5,2–3.

Il conseille aussi les rois et les chefs : il leur expose les bienfaits de la sagesse, ainsi que l'autorité et la noblesse qui résident en ceux qui la possèdent.

Ensuite, il célèbre par des hymnes la sagesse et la rapporte à Dieu ; de là, il la décrit en synthèse sous forme de prière et, sous forme de cantique, il reconnaît au nom de la sagesse ce qui est dans le livre de la Genèse et dans celui de l'Exode ; il y est question, en outre, de tout ce que Dieu fit pour son peuple Israël.

Plus bas, il tient un discours injurieux contre les prétendus dieux, images gravées et idoles, et ceux qui les adorent : il expose la faiblesse de ces objets sans âme et l'erreur manifeste de ceux qui croient en eux.

Dans ce même cantique descriptif, Salomon célèbre par des hymnes le divin et il montre la foi en Dieu acquise par la vraie sagesse ainsi que la force dans la chair et l'esprit qu'acquièrent contre leurs ennemis tous ceux qui ont cru en lui. Ainsi s'achève le livre.

Le livre de la *Toute vertueuse* compte mille deux cent cinquante versets. »

#### 4.2 *La notice dans S*

Le ms. S présente, au f. 100<sup>r-v</sup>, une notice sur la Sagesse qui est inconnue par ailleurs. L'analyse de la notice montre que S résume le texte de B, bien que l'ordre des péripécies ne corresponde pas complètement. Le tableau suivant permet de visualiser les relations entre les deux textes. En gras, les mots de B communs au texte de S :

	B	S
(1) titre, attribution à Salomon	Σοφία Σολομώντος ἡ <b>πανάρετος</b> κβ'. Καὶ τοῦτο τὸ βιβλίον Σολομώντα <b>γράφαι</b> λέγεται·	Πανάρετον γέγραφε τοῦ Δαυὶδ γόνος
(2) explication du nom du livre	<b>ἐκ δὲ τῆς ἀρετῆς τῶν νοημάτων καὶ τοῦ κάλλους τῶν ἐνθυμημάτων</b> καὶ σοφία <b>πανάρετος ἐκλήθη</b> .	ἐκ τῆς ἀρετῆς τῶν νοημάτων καὶ τοῦ βάθους τῶν ἐνθυμημάτων ἡ πανάρετος ἐκλήθη
(3) la sagesse est la chose la plus belle dans la création (cf. Sg 1)	<b>Διαλαμβάνει</b> δὲ ἀληθὴ δικαιοσύνην καλὴν <b>τὴν σοφίαν</b> καὶ πάντας προτρέπεται ταύτης ἀντέχεσθαι ὡς <b>πάντων</b> οὐσαν <b>τῶν</b> παρὰ θεοῦ <b>γεγονότων τὸ κάλλιστον</b> · καὶ ὅτι διὰ τῆς σοφίας [...] δογμάτων τινῶν ἄπτεται [...]	διαλαμβάνει δὲ περὶ τῆς σοφίας ὅτι πάντων τῶν γεγονότων αὕτη τὸ κάλλιστόν ἐστι
(5) cf. Sg 3	Ἐπαινεῖ δὲ ἐνταῦθα καὶ τοὺς δικαίους ἄνδρας· λέγει δὲ καὶ <b>περὶ πιστῶν δούλων</b> οὓς καὶ εὐνούχους καλεῖ ὡς <b>γέρα παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ ληψομένους</b> τῆς εἰς τοὺς δεσπότης εὐνοίας· λέγει δὲ καὶ κατὰ πονηρῶν ἀνδρῶν [...]	διαλαμβάνει δὲ περὶ πιστῶν δούλων ὡς γέρα παρὰ θεοῦ λήψονται
(7) cf. Sg 6,3, aux gouvernants	<b>Παραίνει δὲ καὶ βασιλεῦσι καὶ ἄρχουσι</b> καταλέγων αὐτοῖς <b>τὰ ἐκ τῆς σοφίας ἀγαθὰ καὶ τὸ ἐξουσιαστικὸν καὶ ἐλευθέριον τῶν κεκτημένων αὐτῇ</b> ἔνοικον.	Παραίνει βασιλεῦσι καὶ ἄρχουσι τὰ ἐκ τῆς σοφίας ἀγαθὰ <καὶ> τὸ ἐξουσιαστικὸν ἐλευθέριον τῶν κεκτημένων αὐτῇ

	B	S
(8) Sg 6–10	Εἶτα ἐξυμνῶν τὴν σοφίαν ἀναφέρει ταύτην εἰς τὸν θεόν· κἀντεῦθεν ἐν συντόμῳ διηγείται ὡς ἐν εὐχῆς τρόπον ἐξομολογούμενος ἐκ προσώπου τῆς σοφίας τὰ τε τῆς γενέσεως καὶ τῆς ἐξόδου ὡς ἐν ᾧδῆς τρόπῳ· ἔστι δὲ καὶ ὅσα ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς τῷ λαῷ αὐτοῦ Ἰσραήλ.	Ἐξυμνεῖ τὴν σοφίαν καὶ ἀναφέρει αὐτὴν εἰς θεόν· καταλέγει ὅσα ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς ἀγαθὰ τῷ λαῷ αὐτοῦ τῷ Ἰσραήλ ἐν διαφόροις τόποις κατὰ διαφοροῖς ποικίλοις τρόποις
(9) cf. Sg 13–15, contre l'idolatrie	Ἵποκατιῶν δὲ λέγει ὀνειδιστικῶς καὶ κατὰ γλυπτῶν καὶ εἰδόλων τῶν θεῶν ὀνομαζομένων καὶ τῶν λατρευνόντων αὐτά [...]	Ἵποκατιῶν δὲ λέγει ὀνειδιστικῶς καὶ κατὰ γλυπτῶν καὶ εἰδόλων καὶ τῶν λατρευνόντων αὐτοῖς
(4) cf. Sg 2,23–24	ἐνταῦθα κεῖται ὅτι ὁ θεὸς ἔκτισεν τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐν ἀφθαρσίᾳ, φθόνῳ δὲ διαβόλου ὁ θάνατος εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὸν κόσμον ὅπερ ὁ ἀπόστολος εἶρηκεν.	Ἐνταῦθα κεῖται ὅτι ὁ θεὸς ἔκτισεν τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐν ἀφθαρσίᾳ, φθόνῳ δὲ διαβόλου ὁ θάνατος <εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὸν> κόσμον.
(6) cf. Sg 5	ἐπαινῶν δὲ καὶ τὸν σοφὸν ἄνδρα ποιεῖ αὐτὸν ὡς ἐκ ταπεινώσεως ἀνυψωθέντα ὅπερ εἰς τὸν Χριστὸν ἀναφέρεται καὶ τοὺς ἐπιχαρέντας τῇ ἐκείνου πτώσει ὡς ἐκ μεταμελείας θαυμάζοντας καὶ ὡς ἐν ἐκστάσει λέγοντας· Οὐχ οὗτος ἐστὶν ὃν ἡμεῖς κατεβάλομεν καὶ γέλωτα πεποιήκαμεν;	Ἐπαινεῖ τὸν σοφὸν ἄνδρα καὶ [...] ἐκ ταπεινώσεως ὑψοῦσθαι ὅπερ εἰς τὸν [...] ἀναφέρεται· καὶ κατὰ τῶν ἐπιχαρέντων Ἰουδαίων τῇ ἐκείνου σταυρώσει λεγόντων· Οὐχ οὗτος ἐστὶν ὃν ἡμεῖς κατεβάλομεν; καὶ ἔτερα δὲ τούτοις ὅμοια.
	Stichométrie ,ασν'	Stichométrie ,ασν'

Le texte de S est clairement un résumé de la *Synopse Barberini* sur Sagesse, réalisé en utilisant les mêmes mots. L'ordre des passages en deux occasions n'est pas identique. L'indication des chapitres de Sagesse auxquels le résumé se réfère permet de conclure que l'ordre de B est correct. On remarquera cependant que les deux passages reportés à la fin en S contiennent des citations, la première introduite par la formule Ἐνταῦθα κεῖται. S semble donc avoir choisi d'indiquer en fin de notices des passages célèbres du livre biblique<sup>36</sup>.

##### 5. LES CARACTÉRISTIQUES PROPRES DE S PAR RAPPORT À B

Les notices sur Sagesse démontrent que S contient un résumé de B. Une analyse des particularités propres à chacun de ces manuscrits permettra de savoir si le résumé contenu dans S a été rédigé directement sur B, ou bien s'il faut postuler l'existence d'un troisième témoin, contenant la *Synopse Barberini* à un stade différent de celui qui est représenté par B. Les caractéristiques propres de S par rapport à B seront passées en revue en trois groupes : les caractéristiques externes au texte, les différences paratextuelles et les différences textuelles ou *variae lectiones*.

<sup>36</sup> Des différences de cet ordre (déplacements ou ajouts de citations) apparaissent ailleurs dans le texte. Voir plus loin, pp. 200–201.

5.1 *Les éléments externes au texte : l'ordre des livres*

Le premier élément qui marque une différence entre B et S est représenté par la succession des notices des livres bibliques<sup>37</sup> :

B	S
Octateuque	
1-4 R (+ ajouts), 1-2 Par, 1-2 Esd	
Ps	
Od	1-4 R
Jb	1-2 Par
Pr, Eccl, Ct, Sg	
Sir	
Os, Am, Mi, Jl, Ab	
Jon, Na, Ha, So, Ag, Za, Ml	Na, Jon
Is, Jr	
Ba, Lm, Lettre de Jr, Éz, Dn	Lm, Lettre de Jr, Éz, So, Dn, Ba, Ag, Ha, Za
Est	Jb
Tb, Jd	
	Est, 1-2 Esd + Flavius Josèphe, <i>Antiquités juives</i> XI, 8-XVII, fin <sup>38</sup>

Les différences entre B et S concernent

- les Psaumes, qui précèdent dans S les livres des Règles ;
- les Prophètes : à la différence de B, et de tous les manuscrits de la *Synopse* attribuée à Chrysostome, S n'identifie pas un bloc de Grands Prophètes et un bloc de Petits Prophètes. Les notices sur les Prophètes commencent par sept Petits Prophètes (Osée, Amos, Michée, Joël, Abdias, Naoum, Jonas)<sup>39</sup>, auxquels font suite trois Grands Prophètes (Isaïe, Jérémie, Ézéchiél). La notice attendue sur Daniel est précédée par Sophonie. Aggée, Ambakoum et Zacharie complètent la série ;

<sup>37</sup> L'ordre des livres résumés varie régulièrement à l'intérieur de la tradition manuscrite de la *Synopse* attribuée à Chrysostome. Voir Barone 2017, 52-53.

<sup>38</sup> Sur cette notice, voir plus loin, p. 202.

<sup>39</sup> On remarquera que ces sept Petits Prophètes se succèdent dans l'ordre de B, exception faite pour Naoum qui précède Jonas à la place de le suivre.



- à la différence des Lamentations et de la Lettre de Jérémie, Baruch<sup>40</sup> ne suit pas Jérémie, trouvant sa place parmi les Prophètes (avant Aggée) ;
- Job est séparé du bloc des livres sapientiaux ;
- l'ordre relatif des livres Esther, Tobit, Judith ainsi que leur place dans l'ensemble ;
- 1–2 Esdras sont éloignés des livres historiques ;
- par rapport à B, manquent en outre les notices sur les Odes, Siracide et Malachie, ainsi que les ajouts à la fin de 4 Règnes (voir plus loin).

Sans chercher pour le moment à élucider l'ordre des livres représenté par S, il est clair qu'il s'agit d'un ordre propre, indépendant de B.

### 5.2 *Différences paratextuelles et textuelles*

Pour certaines notices, S introduit le résumé d'un livre biblique par des épigraphes en dodécasyllabes byzantins, qui ne se trouvent pas dans B<sup>41</sup>.

Quant aux différences textuelles entre les textes de S et de B, en voici les principales<sup>42</sup> :

- (1) Le ms. S introduit et conclut les textes d'une façon propre<sup>43</sup>.

<sup>40</sup> La Bible des LXX présente, à la suite du livre de Jérémie, trois petits textes : Baruch, les Lamentations et la Lettre de Jérémie. L'édition de référence des trois suppléments à Jérémie est celle de Ziegler 1957. Voir en outre Moore 1977 et (pour une traduction française avec un riche commentaire) Assan-Dhôte & Moatti-Fine 2005. Parmi ces trois textes, seules les Lamentations figurent dans la Bible hébraïque, bien qu'elles soient rangées non pas parmi les Prophètes mais dans les Écrits (cf. Assan-Dhôte & Moatti-Fine 2005, 19–22). Baruch est généralement mentionné par les Pères grecs comme formant un seul groupe avec Jérémie dont il ne serait pas distinct. Cf. à ce sujet les nombreuses études de P.-M. Bogaert : 1974, 1977, 1981a, 1982, 1991. Quant à la Lettre, elle deviendra, à partir du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, le sixième chapitre du livre de Baruch.

<sup>41</sup> Ainsi, la notice sur le Lévitique s'ouvre par une dédicace : Λευϊτικοῦ σύνταγμα συνεσταλμένον | βασιλέως δέδεξο παγκλεοῦς τέκνον (f. 80<sup>r</sup>). Une dédicace également introduit à la lecture du livre de Ruth : Καὶ τὸ βραχὺ μάνθανε τῆς Πούθ βιβλίον (f. 86<sup>v</sup>). Un exemple encore au début du livre des Psaumes : Ψαλμοὺς Δαυὶδ γίνωσκε συντόμῳ λόγῳ (f. 87<sup>r</sup>).

<sup>42</sup> Nous ne considérons pas ici les erreurs propres de S, car cela n'apporte aucune réponse à la question examinée, à savoir la possibilité que S soit un *descriptus* de B.

<sup>43</sup> Un exemple pour tous : la fin du livre du Deutéronome en S diffère de celle de B ainsi que des témoins de la *Synopse* pseudo-chrysostomienne, selon la liste qui suit :

S (f. 83<sup>r</sup>) : ἔως ὧδε ἡ Πεντάτευχος τοῦ Μωϋσέως. Τέλος τοῦ Δευτερονομίου

B (f. 69<sup>v</sup>) : καὶ οὕτω τελειοῦται τὸ βιβλίον· ἔχει τὸ βιβλίον Δευτερονόμιον στίχους γρ'

PG 56 : 336.34–35 : Ἐνταῦθα ἐτελειώθησαν τὰ πέντε βιβλία τοῦ Μωϋσέως, ἃ μόνᾳ ἐδέξαντο οἱ Σαμαρεῖται. Cette phrase n'est transmise que par le sous-groupe ε de la deuxième branche de la tradition. Elle n'a pas d'équivalent dans la *Synopse* du Ps.-Athanasie.

- (2) Le ms. S dispose différemment les passages correspondant au texte du Ps.-Athanase et du Ps.-Chrysostome<sup>44</sup>. L'hypothèse d'un document d'origine avec des notes de marges intégrées dans le texte différemment lors des copies pourrait expliquer ce type de phénomènes.
- (3) Aux notices qu'il partage (en forme résumée) avec B, S ajoute des éléments propres. Il s'agit parfois d'informations supplémentaires dont il est le seul témoin<sup>45</sup>, ou d'un passage qui existe, du moins partiellement, en B, mais qui se trouve à une autre place<sup>46</sup>.
- (4) Le ms. S présente une notice propre, absente de B : le document synoptique transmis par S se termine, aux ff. 109<sup>r</sup>–113<sup>v</sup>, par une notice qui constitue une synthèse des *Antiquités juives* de Flavius Josèphe (XI, 8 – XVII, fin). Rien de tel n'existe dans B.
- (5) Le ms. S omet des notices ou des longs passages de B. Si l'absence de courts passages n'est pas interprétable dans un texte qui résume le contenu d'un autre, l'absence de notices entières ne peut qu'interpeller. Or, S ne contient pas de notice sur les Odes, le Siracide et Malachie ; il n'est pas possible de savoir s'il s'agit d'une omission intentionnelle ou bien de lacunes matérielles de son antigraphe. Une notice cependant attire notre attention : la longue fin de 4 Règles. Voici le comportement des différents témoins :
- La première branche de la tradition pseudo-chrysostomienne conclut la notice sur 4 Règles à PG 56: 354.27 (Εὐλὰδ Μαρωδάκ). Suit une vaste lacune, qui

<sup>44</sup> Pour Michée, B introduit, à l'intérieur de la notice du Ps.-Chrysostome, des passages qui correspondent au Ps.-Athanase (ff. 193<sup>r</sup>–194<sup>r</sup>). Les mêmes passages se trouvent dans S, mais dans un ordre différent (f. 101<sup>r-v</sup>) :

B	S
Athanase 1 (PG 28: 360.1–7 <i>post initium</i> )	
Chrysostome 1 (PG 56: 384.49–385.5)	
Athanase 2 (PG 28: 360.7–10 <i>post initium</i> )	Chrysostome 2 (PG 56: 385.5–7)
Chrysostome 2 (PG 56: 385.5–7)	Athanase 2 (PG 28: 360.7–10 <i>post initium</i> )

Le même phénomène s'enregistre pour la notice d'Aggée.

<sup>45</sup> Par exemple : dans la notice sur le livre des Nombres, il est question du nombre de toutes les tribus d'Israël. Le ms. S ajoute l'information : καὶ Ἰώσηπος μαρτυρεῖ (f. 80<sup>r</sup>).

<sup>46</sup> Par exemple : S ajoute une phrase à la fin de la notice sur Job : οὗτος ἐν ταῖς ἡμετέραις θείαις εὕρεσκειται βίβλοις· πέμπτος ἀπὸ Ἀβραὰμ καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἡσαΐ ἔχων τὴν γενεαλογίαν οὐχ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ναχὼρ (f. 106<sup>r</sup>). Il s'agit ici du contenu de B (f. 160<sup>v</sup> ; cf. PG 56: 362.20), que S n'avait pas résumé avant. Cependant, l'allusion polémique à la généalogie de Job est originale et ne se retrouve pas ailleurs.

s'étend jusqu'au Siracide, notice qui commence *in medias res*, privée pour le moins de son titre.

- Le sous-groupe ε de la deuxième branche présente, à la suite de PG 56: 354.27, un long passage, constitué de la façon suivante :
  - la partie finale de la notice sur 4 Règnes de la *Synopse* du Ps.-Athanase (PG 56: 354.29–39 = PG 28: 321.7–17) ;
  - un long passage (PG 56: 354.40–357.14) correspondant aux deux notices qui, dans le Ps.-Athanase, viennent après 4 Règnes : les *Epitomae gestorum regum Judae et Israel* et les *Reges Israel* (PG 28: 321.20–328.35). Ces deux notices se sont donc fondues entre elles, et avec 4 Règnes, de sorte qu'aucune solution de continuité n'existe.
- Le ms. B présente ces mêmes passages (fin de 4 Règnes + *Epitomae* + *Reges*), qui cependant ne se confondent pas complètement avec la notice sur 4 Règnes : si les deux dernières notices ne font qu'une entre elles et si elles n'ont pas de titre propre, elles sont tout de même séparées de 4 Règnes par une stichométrie et par une frise ornementale très simple (f. 128<sup>r</sup>).
- Le ms. S, en revanche, n'ajoute que la partie finale pseudo-athanasienne de 4 Règnes (PG 28: 321.7–17). Autrement dit, S (f. 97<sup>v</sup>) ne contient pas les deux notices *Epitomae* + *Reges*, ni en tant que notices séparées entre elles et de 4 Règnes (comme dans le Ps.-Athanase), ni en tant que notice unique mais séparée de 4 Règnes (comme en B), ni en tant que notice unique à la suite de 4 Règnes, sans solution de continuité (sous-groupe ε).

Ces données peuvent être interprétées de la manière suivante : le texte original de la *Synopse* attribuée à Chrysostome, représenté à mon avis *grosso modo* par la première branche de la tradition, présente à partir de la fin de 4 Règnes une lacune très étendue. Les autres branches de la tradition ont essayé de combler cette lacune en utilisant le matériel disponible et en premier lieu l'autre grande *Synopse*, celle attribuée à Athanase. Si cette hypothèse est correcte, en ce qui concerne nos passages, le stade le plus ancien de ces interventions serait représenté par S, qui termine 4 Règnes en ajoutant la fin prise au Ps.-Athanase. L'étape suivante serait constituée par B, qui ajoute la même fin pseudo-athanasienne, marque la conclusion de la notice, puis copie les deux notices suivantes (*Epitomae* et *Reges*), sans titre propre et réunies en une seule. Le dernier stade serait représenté par le sous-groupe ε, qui transmet ces trois ajouts sans aucune solution de continuité, comme s'il s'agissait toujours de la même notice, 4 Règnes.

Si cette interprétation est correcte, l'exemplaire sur lequel le résumé de S a été rédigé n'est pas B mais un manuscrit moins interpolé (et plus ancien ?) que B.

## 6. CONCLUSIONS

Le manuscrit que nous avons étudié au cours de cette contribution, le *London, Lambeth Palace, Sion* L40.2/G11 (S), apparaît comme un abrégé d'une *recensio auctissima* de la *Synopse* pseudo-chrysostomienne, qui est transmise par le *Barberinianus* gr. 317 (B) et que nous avons appelée *Synopse Barberini*. En effet, si la *Synopse Barberini* présente de nombreuses différences, textuelles et paratextuelles, avec les textes transmis par les autres manuscrits appartenant à la tradition directe de la *Synopse* du Ps.-Chrysostome, nous avons vu que S suit B de manière constante. Cependant, la relation entre ces deux manuscrits ne semble pas être directe, car S présente des caractéristiques propres. L'analyse de ces dernières semble montrer que le texte de S n'a pas été rédigé sur B, mais sur un autre manuscrit, probablement plus ancien et moins interpolé que celui de B.

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# LES VERS INÉDITS SUR LES PSAUMES TRANSMIS SOUS LE NOM DE NICÉTAS CHARTOPHYLAX

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LES ARCHIVES DU P. Joseph Paramelle, conservées à l'Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes à Paris, recèlent une transcription rapide des ff. 262<sup>r</sup>–263<sup>r</sup> d'un manuscrit du Mont Athos, le *Pantocratoros* 234<sup>1</sup>. On y lit 358 vers servant de « titres » métriques et résumant à l'aune de la typologie chrétienne, en deux ou trois stiques, chacun des 150 Psaumes canoniques, numérotés selon l'ordre de la Septante. Il s'agit de trimètres iambiques, à l'exception notable de huit hexamètres dactyliques en langue homérique concernant les psaumes 77, 118 et 150. Le titre, dans le manuscrit, porte comme nom d'auteur Nicétas Chartophylax et a pour incipit Ὑαλμῶν ὁ πρῶτος πρῶτον ἐν θεῷ λέγει. Ce sont ces *Vers sur les Psaumes*, déjà remarqués<sup>2</sup>, dont, sans vouloir en résoudre toutes les énigmes, je donne ici l'édition d'après leurs rares témoins, après avoir tenté d'en éclairer l'usage et le contexte de composition.

## 1. LES MANUSCRITS

### 1.1 Athous *Pantocratoros* 234 (A)

Le *codex* athonite en parchemin est à la fois épais (il comporte 547 folios) et de dimension très réduite (165 x 115 mm). Difficile à lire en raison soit de dégâts partiels causés par l'humidité, soit, plus généralement, de la petitesse de l'écriture, c'est une œuvre d'une graphie soignée ; les titres et les initiales sont dorés et plusieurs enluminures l'agrémentent. Il est daté entre le XII<sup>e</sup> et le XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle<sup>3</sup>.

Ce recueil est aussi copieux qu'hétérogène, juxtaposant textes bibliques, patristiques, canoniques et juridiques. Après le Nouveau Testament, quarante *Discours* de Grégoire de Nazianze et d'autres textes, les *Vers sur les Psaumes* se situent juste après la

<sup>1</sup> À Reinhart Ceulemans et à Georgi Parpulov va toute ma reconnaissance pour leur aide déterminante dans la phase finale de ce travail, dont j'avais préparé une première version en 2014.

<sup>2</sup> Jagić 1904, 21 ; Mercati 1952, 179 (n. 1) ; Parpulov 2014, 65 (n. 4) et 141.

<sup>3</sup> Lambros 1895, I:112–113 (n° 1268) ; Mossay 1995, 161–162 ; Burgmann et al. 1995, 48–50 (n° 36.17).

*Lettre à Marcellin sur les Psaumes* d'Athanase et juste avant le Psautier lui-même. Celui-ci se trouve donc pourvu de deux riches introductions, dont la première est antique, mais présente des points communs avec la seconde : souci didactique, résumé, pistes interprétatives, conseils de lecture.

La composition est faite en pleine page, à raison de 46 lignes par page, avec 10 alinéas marqués par des initiales en retrait sur la marge gauche correspondant aux psaumes 1, 21, 40, 46, 62, 77, 95, 100, 118 et 127 – sans que la raison s'en laisse deviner, sachant que les cinq sections traditionnelles du Psautier commencent aux psaumes 1, 41, 72, 89 et 106. Ces initiales sont écrites dans un plus gros calibre, avec une plume plus large et une encre différente, de même que le titre de l'œuvre et les numéros de chaque psaume (précédés d'un point très épais exécuté dans la même encre) ; ces éléments de calligraphie privilégient naturellement l'onziale, mâtinée de minuscule.

Les fautes d'orthographe et les fautes tout court sont rares : ψαλέτω pour ψαλλέτω (Ps 125 et 130), τελαία pour τελευταία (Ps 96), προθυμηδία pour προθυμία (Ps 131). Le manuscrit peut donc servir de base relativement fiable à l'établissement du texte, non sans l'aide des autres témoins (voir l'apparat aussi du dernier vers sur le Ps 72). Le cas des stiques consacrés au Ps 94, en lieu et place desquels A a laissé, après le chiffre ζδ', une ligne presque vierge, restera à examiner.

## 1.2 Parisinus graecus 1630 (P)

Le *Parisinus gr.* 1630, manuscrit en papier, constitué de 278 folios de taille comparable (159 x 112 mm), a été copié à Constantinople dans la première moitié du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle par Chariton des Hodèges<sup>4</sup>. C'est un recueil de miscellanées composé de textes médicaux ou poétiques qui a déjà servi à plusieurs études ou éditions modernes<sup>5</sup>. Selon I. Pérez Martín, cette « collection de collections » est une « encyclopédie personnelle » rassemblant des « textes brefs et utiles pour le corps et pour l'âme »<sup>6</sup> ; « l'aspect du codex est celui d'une copie de qualité moyenne destinée à l'usage privé et non à la vente »<sup>7</sup>. Le *pinax* élaboré par Chariton, aux ff. K-M, recense 75 *kephalaia*, dont le 64<sup>e</sup> est intitulé Γαληνού περί ισχυάδος και ποδάγρας και αρθρίτιδος. Ἐν ᾧ και εὐχή (ce qui correspond au contenu des ff. 216bis<sup>r</sup>-218<sup>v</sup>), et le 65<sup>e</sup>, Διστιχα εἰς τὸν ψαλτῆρα. Ἐν ᾧ και εἰδησις περί χρυσογραφίας<sup>8</sup>. De fait, les *Vers sur les Psaumes*, aux ff. 219<sup>r</sup>-221bis<sup>r</sup>, sont

<sup>4</sup> Pérez Martín 2011 ; RGK I:378 = II:522. Voir aussi Omont 1888, II:112 ; Lauxtermann 1999, 290–293 ; Vassis 2005, 875.

<sup>5</sup> Voir notamment Sonderkamp 1987 ; Sotiroudis 1989, 213–214 ; Thurn 2000, 6–8 ; Mariev 2009 ; De Groote 2012.

<sup>6</sup> Pérez Martín 2011, 366 et 381.

<sup>7</sup> Pérez Martín 2011, 363.

<sup>8</sup> Pérez Martín 2011, 374.



précédés d'un traité galénique sur la goutte (jusqu'au f. 218<sup>v</sup>) et suivis d'une méthode de chrysographie (f. 222<sup>r-v</sup>). Examiné dans l'ensemble, l'entourage du texte y est donc moins significatif que dans A, mais nous verrons plus loin que le contexte immédiat réserve des surprises.

Écrits sur deux colonnes à raison de 30 lignes par page, les *Vers sur les Psaumes* sont, contrairement à A et aux autres témoins, copiés pour eux-mêmes, sans le texte des Psaumes. Ils sont accompagnés en marge gauche de la numérotation de chaque psaume ; chaque groupe de stiques correspondant à un psaume est suivi d'une croix et la plupart des initiales de la colonne gauche, placées en vedette, est rubriquée ; le dernier stique est le plus souvent centré, sans égard pour la disposition en colonnes ; pour le Ps 150 (f. 221<sup>bis</sup><sup>r</sup>), les deux hexamètres sont centrés. Quant aux quatre hexamètres dédiés au Ps 77 (f. 220<sup>v</sup>), ils sont entièrement rubriqués, sur une seule colonne centrale, avec la mention ἡρωικοί en marge ; en revanche, à la place de ceux que présente A au Ps 118 se lisent des iambes peu satisfaisants.

À moitié coupé lors de la rognure, un titre se devine en marge supérieure du f. 219<sup>r</sup> : στῖ<χοι> εἰς τ<ὸν> ψαλτ<ῆ>ρ<α>. Le copiste a travaillé avec soin : avec λάχος au lieu de λέγει (sur le Ps 1), P a sa plus grossière erreur de lecture. Il semble vouloir combler les lacunes et a accompagné le texte de plusieurs ajouts dont il sera question plus bas.

### 1.3 Parisinus graecus 43

Dû au même copiste, le *Parisinus gr.* 43, arrivé de Chypre à Paris le 16 juillet 1676, où il a rejoint la collection de Colbert<sup>9</sup>, est lui aussi un manuscrit en parchemin du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle<sup>10</sup>. Ce Psautier de petit format et contenant 216 folios comporte trois distiques, écrits à l'encre rouge de la main de Chariton : ceux des psaumes 139 (f. 182<sup>v</sup>, marge supérieure), 148 (f. 192<sup>v</sup>, marge supérieure) et 150 (f. 194<sup>v</sup>, entre le titre et le v. 1 du psaume)<sup>11</sup>. Le texte est identique à celui des autres manuscrits et ces vers ne comportent pas de variantes, si bien que ce témoin n'apparaît pas dans l'apparat.

### 1.4 Vaticanus graecus 342 (V)

Le *Vaticanus gr.* 342 est un luxueux manuscrit en parchemin<sup>12</sup>, épais de 283 folios et de taille réduite (176 x 130 mm), copié à Constantinople en 1087/1088 par Michel, moine<sup>13</sup>. Aux ff. 25<sup>r</sup>-246<sup>r</sup>, après diverses pièces introductives, il contient une chaîne

<sup>9</sup> Jackson 2010, 50.

<sup>10</sup> Omont 1886, I:8.

<sup>11</sup> Parpulov 2014, 65.

<sup>12</sup> Devreesse 1937, 15-18 ; Mercati 1955.

<sup>13</sup> Ce Michel, qui n'est pas Michel Attaliatès (RGK III:472), n'est pas non plus Michel Panergès (RGK I:289) : l'identification au profit du second proposée par Gamillscheg 2009 et reprise par

du Psautier, avec disposition marginale. Les *Vers sur les Psaumes* sont écrits, dans une encre un peu plus foncée et par une main plus tardive, dans les marges supérieures (et inférieures, à seulement dix reprises) des ff. 25<sup>r</sup>–244<sup>v</sup>. Les stiques sont disposés sur deux colonnes ; quand il y en a trois, le troisième est centré.

Suite à la rognure, notamment en marge supérieure, bien des vers ont été coupés<sup>14</sup> ou sont à peine lisibles<sup>15</sup>. Le phénomène, qui entraîne la disparition complète de 49 vers, affecte ainsi plus de 80 vers, soit plus d'un cinquième du total, et nécessite la rédaction d'un appareil positif.

Chaque groupe de stiques est délimité en ses deux extrémités par quatre points disposés en losange. Ce détail, combiné à la hauteur des pages, laisse penser que le titre (f. 25<sup>r</sup>), ainsi que les mots *ὅδῃ τῶν ἀναβαθμῶν* précédant les deux vers qui les expliquent avant leur première occurrence au Ps 119 (f. 216<sup>v</sup>), n'ont pas été rognés, mais omis.

Le manuscrit V a, de fait, quelques fautes propres (voir appareil), comme l'omission du v. 3 sur le Ps 88 (f. 154<sup>v</sup>). Mais, comme A, V ne semble pas avoir de vers consacrés au Ps 94, ce qui n'est pas sans incidence sur les relations entre les manuscrits.

### 1.5 *Relation entre les manuscrits*

Une tradition bifide se dessine nettement. Les nombreuses leçons communes de P et de V montrent clairement leur dépendance vis-à-vis d'un même ancêtre et la famille qu'ils forment face à A –et à laquelle on peut supposer qu'appartient aussi le *Parisinus gr.* 43, dû au même copiste que P–, tandis que les leçons propres à chacun d'eux excluent l'hypothèse d'une dépendance de l'un vis-à-vis de l'autre.

De même, si A se distingue par son texte, l'absence des stiques sur le Ps 94 se retrouvant dans V permet de penser que les trois témoins dépendent d'un même ancêtre, sans doute devenu illisible à cet endroit. L'espoir de combler cette lacune grâce à P doit être tempéré, et même abandonné, pour trois raisons : (1) P et V dépendent du même témoin ; (2) P, qui est le seul à transmettre les *Vers* indépendamment du texte des Psaumes, se caractérise par des ajouts divers, y compris le remplacement des stiques du Ps 118 par des vers maladroits ; (3) les trois vers fournis par P sur le Ps 94 détonent quelque peu par rapport aux autres, notamment l'emploi au subjonctif de la première

Pérez Martín 2016 est refusée par Parpulov 2014, 130 (n. 21).

<sup>14</sup> Vv. 1–2 in Ps 50 ; in Ps 60 ; in Ps 61 ; vv. 1–2 in Ps 62 ; vv. 1–2 in Ps 72 ; vv. 1–2 in Ps 75 ; in Ps 76 ; vv. 1–2 in Ps 77 ; vv. 1–2 in Ps 78 ; vv. 1–2 in Ps 79 ; vv. 1–2 in Ps 92 ; vv. 1–2 in Ps 93 ; vv. 1–2 in Ps 95 ; vv. 1–2 in Ps 96 ; vv. 1–2 in Ps 98 ; vv. 1–2 in Ps 102 ; vv. 1–2 in Ps 103 ; vv. 1–2 in Ps 106 ; vv. 1–2 in Ps 108 ; vv. 1–2 in Ps 109 ; vv. 1–2 in Ps 121 ; vv. 1–2 in Ps 124 ; vv. 1–2 in Ps 128 ; vv. 1–2 in Ps 129 ; vv. 1–2 in Ps 145.

<sup>15</sup> V. 1 in Ps 30 ; in Ps 34 ; v. 2 in Ps 36 ; v. 1 in Ps 37 ; v. 1 in Ps 40 ; v. 2 in Ps 42 ; v. 1 in Ps 43 ; vv. 2–3 in Ps 44 ; in Ps 63 ; vv. 1–2 in Ps 74 ; vv. 1–2 in Ps 111 ; vv. 1–2 in Ps 120 ; vv. 1–2 in Ps 122 ; vv. 1–2 in Ps 126 ; in Ps 130 ; vv. 1–2 in Ps 135.

personne du pluriel alors qu'ailleurs pour exprimer le souhait ou l'injonction la deuxième personne est systématique ; malgré un emploi d'ἀγαλλιᾷσθε au deuxième stique sur le Ps 80, ἀγαλλιῶμεν semble trop commun en contexte liturgique pour ne pas accréditer l'hypothèse d'un ajout secondaire ; Chariton pourrait être l'auteur de ces vers comblant la lacune. Nous éditons donc ceux-ci tout en les mettant en atéthèse, pour que le lecteur puisse juger sur pièce.

## 2. LE CONTEXTE LITTÉRAIRE DU *PARISINUS GR.* 1630

L'environnement textuel des *Vers sur les Psaumes* dans P mérite une attention particulière, car il permet de préciser un contexte de lecture : les *Vers*, en effet, s'y trouvent entrecoupés et suivis d'éléments poétiques ou liturgiques, au sein d'un ensemble très complexe, décrit comme « décoratif » par G. Parpulov. Celui-ci en a édité séparément presque chacun des éléments, non seulement à partir de ce manuscrit, mais d'autres comme le *Parisinus gr.* 43 et l' *Athous Iviron* 1384, copiés eux aussi par Chariton<sup>16</sup>. Pour mieux comprendre le contexte concret dans lequel les *Vers sur les Psaumes* ont été lus, il me paraît intéressant d'examiner dans son enchaînement propre ce « bouquet » qu'on peut qualifier de « paraliturgique » plutôt que de « liturgique ». La présence de prières liturgiques, de fait, ne signifie pas qu'il s'agisse d'un manuscrit à usage liturgique<sup>17</sup> : Chariton a assemblé ces éléments, en a peut-être composé lui-même certains, pour un usage privé, notamment didactique. La poésie, en particulier, y tient une place prépondérante, marquée par une disposition sur deux colonnes à chaque fois qu'il s'agit de vers.

### 2.1 *Les ajouts liturgiques*

Dans le texte lui-même, deux ajouts liturgiques, à tonalité pénitentielle marquée, ont été insérés au f. 219<sup>r</sup>, l'un à la suite des stiques pour le Ps 8, l'autre après ceux pour le Ps 16, c'est-à-dire à la fin des deux premiers kathismes<sup>18</sup>. En voici une transcription<sup>19</sup> :

[...] λύθρω (Ps 8) + Τρισά<α>ρ<ιον> <τροπ<α>ρ<ιον> πλ<α>γιος> β'. Ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς, κύριε, ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς· πάσης γὰρ <ἀπολογίας><sup>20</sup>. Κύριε, ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς· ἐπὶ σοὶ γὰρ πεποιθάμεν. Καὶ νῦν. Τῆς εὐσπλαγχνίας τὴν πύλην. Εὐχ<ή>· Ὁ ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ [...]

<sup>16</sup> Parpulov 2014, 65.

<sup>17</sup> Parpulov 2014, 69.

<sup>18</sup> Parpulov 2014, 129 (n. 15).

<sup>19</sup> Pour l'identification des multiples occurrences de chacun de ces éléments dans les sources liturgiques, voir Follieri 1960–1966 ; seuls sont relevés ici les emplois attestés dans les psautiers et recensés par G. Parpulov.

<sup>20</sup> Parpulov 2014, 252 : K.vi.5 (je remercie G. Parpulov pour avoir corrigé ma lecture).

[...] ἐξαιτουμένοις (Ps 16) + Τροπάριον. Ἐν ἀνομίαις συλληφθεὶς ἐγὼ ὁ ἄσωτος οὐ τολμῶ ἀτενίσαι εἰς τὸ ὕψος τοῦ οὐρανοῦ (cf. Ps 50,7 ; Is 38,14 = Od 11,14 ; Ac 7,55), ἀλλὰ θαρρῶν εἰς τὴν φιλανθρωπίαν σου κρᾶζω· ὁ θεὸς ἰλάσθ<ητί μοι τῷ ἁμαρτωλῷ> (Lc 18,13)<sup>21</sup>. Καὶ νῦν· Κύριε, κύριε, σὴ ἐστίν ἡ ἡμέρα καὶ σὴ ἐστίν ἡ νύξ· σὺ κατηγρίσω φαῦσιν καὶ ἡλίον· σὺ ἐποίησας πάντα τὰ ὥραία τῆς γῆς (Ps 73,16–17), σοῦ δεόμεθα· συνανέτειλας τῷ φωτὶ τῆς ἡμέρας, τὰ πλούσια ἐλέησας ἐπὶ τὴν ταπείνωσιν ἡμῶν, ἐλευθέρωσον ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ σκοτόους καὶ σκιάς θανάτου (cf. Lc 1,79 = Od 9,79) καὶ πάσης ἐπιβουλῆς καὶ τέχνης τοῦ πονηροῦ· ὅτι δό<ξα καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς.>

Au f. 221bis<sup>r</sup>, une dernière séquence clôt le dernier kathisme en même temps que le Psautier :

Τὸ Δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις θεῷ (Od 14,1). Καὶ στιχ<η>ρ<ὰ> κατανυκτικά<sup>22</sup>. Μετάνοιαν οὐ κέκτημαι, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ πάλιν<sup>23</sup>.

Γυμνὸν με εὐρών τῶν ἀρετῶν ὁ ἐχθρὸς<sup>24</sup> τῷ βέλει τῆς ἁμαρτίας ἔτρωσεν, ἀλλὰ σὺ ὡς ἱατρὸς ψυχῶν τε καὶ σωμάτων τὰ τραύματα τῆς ψυχῆς μου θεράπευσον ὁ θεὸς καὶ ἐλέ<ησον>.

Οὐδείς προστρέχων ἐπὶ σοὶ κατησχυμμένος<sup>25</sup>.

<Τρι>σά<γιον>. Κύριε ἐλέ<ησον> λ'. Καὶ τὴν εὐχὴν ταύτην<sup>26</sup>. Σωθεὶς Μανασσῆς τὸν θεὸν μεγαλύνει· Κύριε παντοκράτωρ, ὁ θεὸς τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν (Od 12,1).

Τῶν πρὶν ἕκαστος εἶπερ ἐκστῇ σφαλμάτων, / σωθήσεται πᾶς· ἐγγνώμαι γνησίως<sup>27</sup>.

Τὸν Ἐζεκίαν εὐλογοῦντά μοι σκόπει· εὐχ<ή>· Ἐγὼ εἶπα Ἐν τῷ ὕψει τῶν ἡμερῶν μου (Is 38,10 = Od 11,10)<sup>28</sup>.

Par leur caractère partiel et leur situation isolée, de telles indications ne laissent guère reconnaître une quelconque utilisation liturgique des *Vers*, mais plutôt un phénomène livresque et privé. En effet, plutôt que d'imaginer que Chariton ait eu pour modèle un Psautier liturgique pourvu non seulement des *Vers sur les Psaumes*, mais aussi de ces notations liturgiques –cette triple combinaison n'est pas attestée–, je pense, étant donné son penchant à l'accumulation, qu'il a voulu ajouter ces notations, se ravisant assez vite en réalisant qu'elles rendaient les *Vers* peu lisibles.

<sup>21</sup> Ce tropaire (Parpulov 2014, 248 : K.i.1) intervient normalement non après le 2<sup>e</sup> cathisme, mais après le 1<sup>er</sup> : faut-il y voir l'indice d'un désordre dans la copie ?

<sup>22</sup> Parpulov 2014, 129 (n. 15).

<sup>23</sup> Parpulov 2014, 252 : Σ.vi.4.

<sup>24</sup> Parpulov 2014, 252 : Σ.vi.3.

<sup>25</sup> Parpulov 2014, 253 : Θ.vi.2.

<sup>26</sup> Parpulov 2014, 129 (n. 15) ; Parpulov 2010, 103.

<sup>27</sup> Denys de Fournas, dans son *Manuel d'iconographie* rédigé vers 1730 et 1733 (éd. Papadopoulos-Kerameus 1909, 223 ; voir aussi pp. 267 et 291), attache ces deux vers à l'image de Jean Chrysostome, à qui il les attribue ; voir aussi Parpulov 2014, 129 (n. 14).

<sup>28</sup> Cf. Parpulov 2010, 103.

## 2.2 *Λε « bouquet » paraliturgique*

L'ensemble qui suit, du f. 221bis<sup>v</sup> au f. 222<sup>r</sup>, ne laisse pas facilement deviner les raisons de son enchaînement ni des choix effectués. Il n'offre pas non plus de structure visible. Celle que je propose, artificielle, n'a pas d'autre ambition que de faciliter la description.

### 2.2.1 *Conclusion du Psautier*

Au f. 221bis<sup>v</sup> est dédié à la fin des Psaumes un quintuple κύκλος, sans doute à l'image des cinq parties du Psautier : Τέλος κράτιστον ἀρετῶν ψαλμῶν τέλος, des. Καὶ πενταπλοῦς οὗτός γε νῦν ὥφθη κύκλος<sup>29</sup>.

Les douze iambes suivants sont un « chant de la perle » inspiré de la parabole de Matthieu (13,45–46) : Χεῖρες φίλαι, κόλποι τε καὶ σύ, καρδία, des. οὕτως ἄχραντον, λάμπον οὕτως εἰς τέλος<sup>30</sup>. Comme le titre de la pièce l'explicite dans le *Parisinus gr.* 43, f. 196<sup>r</sup>, la perle désigne ici le Psautier : στίχοι ἱαμβοὶ εἰς τὸν ψαλτήρα.

### 2.2.2 *Λε Odes*

Les lignes suivantes, encore au f. 221bis<sup>v</sup>, semblent vouloir compléter le poème psalmique par leur suite naturelle, en fournissant une série de titres métriques des Odes, là encore sans le texte des Odes elles-mêmes. D'origine incertaine, ceux-ci ont une tradition séparée et sont absents des autres témoins des *Vers sur les Psaumes* ; ils n'ont donc probablement pas été composés en même temps ni par le même auteur qu'eux. Diverses versions, en tout cas, circulent depuis au moins la moitié du XI<sup>e</sup> siècle<sup>31</sup> ; la forme attestée dans P se retrouve en partie dans le *Commentaire des Odes* écrit par Jean le Géomètre (mort vers l'an 1000)<sup>32</sup>.

Sur deux colonnes, les Odes sont présentées par leur titre, en un iambe, avec un numéro en marge. Le neuvième est placé par erreur non pas au niveau du *Magnificat*, mais de la ligne inférieure, où un monostique signalant la provenance lucanienne est écrit entre deux croix, centré et accompagné également de ἄλλος en marge<sup>33</sup>. Enfin, un dixième numéro est attribué au *Benedictus* de Zacharie, ordinairement attaché au *Magnificat* pour former l'Ode 9 (la formule finale, ὡδὴν τελειῶν μητροπαρθένου κόρης, y fait peut-être allusion)<sup>34</sup>. En voici le texte tel qu'il est dans le manuscrit<sup>35</sup> :

<sup>29</sup> Édité par Parpulov 2014, 228 (voir aussi 130 [n. 16]) ; <https://www.dbbe.ugent.be/types/6347>.

<sup>30</sup> Parpulov 2014, 225 ; <https://www.dbbe.ugent.be/types/2119>.

<sup>31</sup> Parpulov 2014, 65–66, et 245–247 pour leur édition, incluant la plupart de ceux de P.

<sup>32</sup> Voir De Groot 2004 et Schneider 1949, 491–493. Cf. également le commentaire de Néophyte le Reclus († v. 1220), éd. Detorakis 2001, 531–559.

<sup>33</sup> Parpulov 2014, 129 (n. 14).

<sup>34</sup> Cf. Harl et al. 2014, 35–36 et 277.

<sup>35</sup> Pour des variantes, voir Parpulov 2014, 245–247, ainsi que les multiples entrées correspondantes en DBBE.

- α' Ἰδὴ Μωϋσέως ἐν τῇ Ἐξόδῳ·  
Αἰγυπτίων πόντωσις ὥδῃ Μωσέως<sup>36</sup>.
- β' Ἰδὴ δευτέρα ἐν τῷ Δευτερονομίῳ·  
νόμου γραφέντος πάλιν ὥδῃ Μωσέως<sup>37</sup>.
- γ' Προσευχὴ Ἀννης τῆς μητρὸς Σαμουὴλ·  
αἶνος Σαμουὴλ μητρὸς εὐχαριστία<sup>38</sup>.
- δ' Προσευχὴ Ἀββακούμ τοῦ προφήτου·  
τοῦ δεσπότη τοῦ σάρκωσιν Ἀββακούμ ἔφη<sup>39</sup>.
- ε' Ἡσαίου τοῦ προφήτου·  
Ἡσαίου πρὸς ῥρησὶς αἰτήσις δ' ἅμα<sup>40</sup>.
- ς' Ἰωάνᾳ τοῦ προφήτου·  
ἐκ θηρὸς ἐκραύγασεν Ἰωάνᾳ τὰδε<sup>41</sup>.
- ζ' Τῶν ἁγίων τριῶν παίδων·  
αἶνος φλόγα σβέννυσσι τῶν τριῶν νέων<sup>42</sup>.  
καὶ Δανιὴλ τοῦ προφήτου·  
τῶν εὐσεβῶν ὑμνησις ἣν ἤδον νέων<sup>43</sup>.
- η' Ἰδὴ ὁ γδὴ τῶν τριῶν<sup>44</sup> γ' παίδων·  
τὸν δεσπότην ὑψωσον ἢ κτιστῶν φύσις<sup>45</sup>.  
Ἰδὴ τῆς θ<εοτό>κου·  
<ὡ>δῇ θεάνδρου μητροπαρθένου κόρης<sup>46</sup>.
- θ' ἄλλος Εὐαγγελικῶν ἐκ Λουκᾶ ταῦτα λόγων<sup>47</sup>.
- ι' Ἰδὴ <ῆ> Ζαχαρίου τοῦ προφήτου πατρὸς τοῦ προδρόμου·  
αἰνεῖ προφήτης τὸν θεὸν Ζαχαρίας<sup>48</sup>,  
ὥδῃν τελειῶν μητροπαρθένου κόρης<sup>49</sup>.

Répondant en quelque sorte au *Magnificat*, une prière à Marie –composition originale de Chariton<sup>50</sup>?– clôt la série des Odes :

Τοὺς προστρέχοντας εἰς σὲ σῶζε, παρθένε·  
τὴν σὴν σκέπην, δέσποινα, δὸς σοῖς οἰκέταις.

<sup>36</sup> Cf. Vassis 2005, 18 ; <https://www.dbbe.ugent.be/types/3981>.

<sup>37</sup> Cf. Vassis 2005, 490 ; <https://www.dbbe.ugent.be/types/3200>.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. Vassis 2005, 59 ; <https://www.dbbe.ugent.be/types/3304>.

<sup>39</sup> Cf. Vassis 2005, 791 ; <https://www.dbbe.ugent.be/types/3289>.

<sup>40</sup> Cf. Vassis 2005, 319 ; <https://www.dbbe.ugent.be/types/3982>.

<sup>41</sup> Cf. Vassis 2005, 208 ; <https://www.dbbe.ugent.be/types/3983>.

<sup>42</sup> Cf. Vassis 2005, 21 ; <https://www.dbbe.ugent.be/types/1855>.

<sup>43</sup> Cf. Vassis 2005, 814 ; <https://www.dbbe.ugent.be/types/3202>.

<sup>44</sup> τριῶν scripsi] γ' P.

<sup>45</sup> Cf. Vassis 2005, 773, <https://www.dbbe.ugent.be/types/2090>.

<sup>46</sup> Cf. Vassis 2005, 883 ; <https://www.dbbe.ugent.be/types/3292>.

<sup>47</sup> Cf. Vassis 2005, 262 ; <https://www.dbbe.ugent.be/types/3986>.

<sup>48</sup> Cf. Vassis 2005, 20 ; <https://www.dbbe.ugent.be/types/3987>.

<sup>49</sup> Cf. Vassis 2005, 882.

<sup>50</sup> Parpulov 2014, 130 (n. 17).

2.2.3 *Épigrammes et hexamètres*

Hétéroclite dans ses choix, Chariton semble ensuite célébrer la poésie même comme parole inspirée, à travers David, Grégoire de Nazianze, Théodore Studite et Apolinaire.

Au f. 221*bis*<sup>51</sup>, quatre iambes, édités d'après notre manuscrit par J.-F. Boissonade<sup>51</sup>, évoquent pour commencer ce qui pourrait bien être le cantique de David en 2 R 22 (voir aussi 1 R 16,23 pour la mention de la κινύρα ou κιννύρα, harpe à dix cordes) :

Κινῶν ὁ Δαυὶδ τὴν κιννύραν εὐρύθμῳς  
τῇ πνευματικῇ φόρμιγγι συνημμένην  
βάλλει, διώκει τῇ βοῇ ταύτης ξένῳς  
στίφος νοητῶν δυσμενῶν ἀλαστόρων.

À côté d'un court titre marginal, difficile à lire, τοῦ <Γρηγορίου> τοῦ Θεολ<όγου>, figurent les vers 45 à 47 du poème *Sur lui-même et sur les évêques* de Grégoire de Nazianze (2, 1, 12)<sup>52</sup> :

Ἀλγοῦντός ἐστιν ἐξερεύγεσθαι πάθος.  
Θεῶ, φίλοις, γονεῦσι, γείτοσι, ξένοις·  
εἰ δ' οὖν, χρόνῳ τε καὶ βίῳ τοῖς ὕστερον.

Suivent, sans titre, quelques épigrammes de Théodore Studite célébrant la Croix, à commencer par l'épigramme 58, composé de monostiques, chaque vers formant un tout, comme les croix initiales le montrent<sup>53</sup> :

+ Σταυρὸς βλεπόντων ἀστραπηβόλου σέλας.  
+ Σταυρὸς μοναστῶν εὐδρομος σωτηρία.  
+ Σταυρὸς φιλοῦντων ἔνθεος πορνοκτόνος.  
+ Σταυρὸς κλαιόντων ἐξαλείπτωρ πταισμάτων.  
+ Σταυρὸς φιλάγων ἀσφαλέστατος φύλαξ.

Puis, toujours sur la Croix, les épigrammes 53, 54, 55, 56 et 52 formant un tout<sup>54</sup> :

+ Χαίροις, τρόπαιον τῆς ἄνω παντευχίας·  
ἐν σοὶ τέτραπται πᾶσα δαιμόνων φάλαγξ.  
Χαίροις παντευλόγητον ἄχραντον ξύλον·  
ἐν σοὶ πέπαυται τῆς ἀρᾶς ἡ θνητότης.

<sup>51</sup> Boissonade 1831, 40 (n. 5) ; de même Parpulov 2014, 244 ; <https://www.dbbe.ugent.be/types/6427>. Cf. un poème similaire dans le *Hierosolymitanus S. Sepulchri* 53 : Papadopoulos-Kerameus 1981, I:132.

<sup>52</sup> PG 37: 1169A.

<sup>53</sup> Édition par Speck 1968, 208 ; voir Parpulov 2014, 240–241 ; <https://www.dbbe.ugent.be/types/7019>.

<sup>54</sup> Éd. Speck 1968, 203–207. Le premier stique de l'épigramme 56 a été omis : Χαίροις, φυλακτήρ οὗ παρεδρεύεις τόπου. Dans le deuxième stique, P donne ἀσινῶς (pour ἀσσηνείς) ; les autres variantes sont moins fautives. Cf. <https://www.dbbe.ugent.be/types/4243>.

Χαίροις μοναστῶν παντέλαφρον φορτίον·  
 ἐν σοὶ γὰρ αὐτοῖς κοῦφος ὁ Χριστοῦ δρόμος.  
 Σκέποις ἀσηνεῖς τοὺς μένοντας ἐνθάδε.  
 Ἐν τῷδε χεῖρας ἐξαπλῶν ὁ δεσπότης  
 ἤγειρε κόσμον ἐκ βαράθρων παισμάτων. +

Au f. 222<sup>r</sup>, quatre iambes brodent à partir du thème traditionnel du Psautier comme nouveau Pentateuque<sup>55</sup> :

Ἄλλην σ<οι> πεντάτευχον γράφει τὸ πνεῦμα,  
 δι' ἧς ὁ πιστὸς ἐγκαινίζεται ξένως  
 καὶ νεαρὰν τὴν ψυχὴν πᾶς τις κτᾶται,  
 ἐπεὶ δεκαπλοῦν τῇ ψυχῇ τὸ σαρκίον.

Par des extraits de la *Métaphrase des Psaumes* attribuée à Apollinaire de Laodicée, évoquant notamment les titres et premiers vers des psaumes, est illustrée cette composition en cinq parties (Ps 1–40, 41–71, 72–88, 89–105, 106–150) par une numérotation de 1 à 5, avec deux références aux Psaumes notées de la main d'un lecteur moderne<sup>56</sup>.

	Θεοπάτορος πινυτοῦ μελιθδέα ἄσματα Δαυιδ·	α'
	Δαβιδου πινυτοῦ μελέων βεβοημένος ὕμνος <sup>57</sup> ,	
	εὐκελάδου κιθάρης βασιλῆϊος αἴνος ἐτύχθη <sup>58</sup> .	
5	Ὁλβιος ὅστις οὐ πεπόρευτ' ἀσεβῶν ἐνὶ βουλῇ καὶ πόδας οὐκ ἐστήσατ' ἀλιτροτάτησι κελεύθοις <sup>59</sup> .	
	Εἰς πινυτὴν ποτε παισὶν ὑπερθύμοιο Κοραίου κῶμος τεσσαρακοστὸς ἔην καὶ πρῶτος ἀοιδῆς.	β'
	Ἡτύε πηγαίων ὑδάτων κεμᾶς ἱμεύουσα, ὦδ' ἐμὸς ἱμεῖρει σεῦ, ἄναξ πανυπέρτατε, θυμός <sup>60</sup> .	
10	διψαλὲς ἐλάφοιο ἀτὰρ πᾶς τις ἔκεν ἀνήρ <sup>61</sup> . Δαυιδου μελέων μὲν ἐπαύσατο θεσπεσίη φρὴν παιδὸς Ἰεσσαίου ἐξ ὀλιγοδρανῆς.	γ'
	Ἄσαφος δ' ἀνόρουσε καὶ ἴαχε πνεύματι θείων <sup>62</sup>	

<sup>55</sup> Auwers 2000, 77–89.

<sup>56</sup> Le texte se trouve au f. 222<sup>r</sup>. Les vers 1 (<https://www.dbbe.ugent.be/types/4217>), 2–3 (<https://www.dbbe.ugent.be/types/4292>) et 11.13 (<https://www.dbbe.ugent.be/types/4294>) se retrouvent dans l'*Athous Iviron* 1384 et ont été relevés par Parpulov 2014, 144 (n° 41) et 243, ainsi que par Vassiss 2005, 345 et 131 et par Rhoby 2018, 212–214 (n° GR32–34 ; voir en particulier l'analyse du v. 1, n° GR33). Sur une telle utilisation de la *Métaphrase*, voir la contribution de Rachele Ricceri aux pp. 259–275 de ce volume (en particulier les pp. 270–271).

<sup>57</sup> Δαβιδου – ὕμνος : Apollinaire, *Métaphrase du Ps* 67, éd. Ludwig 1912, 131 (titre).

<sup>58</sup> εὐκελάδου – ἐτύχθη : Apollinaire, *Métaphrase du Ps* 66, éd. Ludwig 1912, 130 (titre).

<sup>59</sup> Ὁλβιος (v. 4) – κελεύθοις : Apollinaire, *Métaphrase du Ps* 1, éd. Ludwig 1912, xxvi.1–2.

<sup>60</sup> Εἰς πινυτὴν (v. 6) – θυμός : Apollinaire, *Métaphrase du Ps* 41, éd. Ludwig 1912, 86 (titre et ll. 1–2).

<sup>61</sup> Vers non identifié, au texte problématique (même en lisant ἔοικεν), glose ou suite probable de la métaphrase du Ps 41, non retenu par Ludwig 1912.

<sup>62</sup> θείων scripsi] θείω P<sup>sup</sup> lin., θύων P.



- ἐβδομάτης δεκάδος δεύτερον ὕμνον ἰείς. Ps 72  
 15 Πῶς τόσον ἰθυνόοις ἀγαθὸς θεὸς Ἰσραήλου;  
 Καὶ κεν ἐμοὶ κλονέοιντο πόδες παρὰ βαιὸν ἀνάγκη  
 καὶ κέ μευ ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα κατέρρεον ἰχνια πέζης,  
 οὐνεκα δὴ κατὰ θυμὸν ἐμὸν φθονέεσκον ἀλείταις<sup>63</sup>.  
 Εἰ θέμις οὐράνιον φᾶσθαι βροτὸν αἰὲν ἐτύχθη·  
 20 Μωσῆς ἀθανάτου πιστότατος θεράπων· δ'  
 ὃς πάρος εὐχολῆν τήνδ' ἴαχεν· ἡ δὲ τέτα <κται>·  
 ὀγδοάτης δεκάδος ἀμφ' ἐνάτω γε μέλει. Ps 89  
 Ἄμμι, μάκαρ, γενοῦ ἔρκος ἐπ' ἀλλήκοισι γενέθλαις,  
 πρὶν κεν ἔδρας ὀρέων, πρὶν καὶ χθονὸς ἔρμα γενέσθαι·  
 25 ἐκ παλαχῆς βασιλῆα καὶ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνά σε μέλψω.  
 Μὴ μοι ἀποτρέψας χθαμαλὸν πάλιν ἀνέρα τεύξης<sup>64</sup>.  
 Ἐκτος δὲ ἀλληλούϊα βοῇ θείων στρατιῶν· ε'  
 Λαοί, μιλίχιν ἀναμέλψατε παμβασιλῆος·  
 οὐνεκα νωλεμέως σφετέρην ἐλεητὺν ἀέξει.  
 30 Βαζόντων, θεὸς οἷσιν ἐλεύθερον ὥπασεν ἡμαρ,  
 Οὓς ποτε δυσμενέων κρατερῆς ἀπελύσατο χειρός<sup>65</sup>.

Enfin, au bas du même f. 222<sup>r</sup>, dans une autre encre et sur une seule colonne centrale, comme pour les *Vers sur les Psaumes* au Ps 77, se lisent huit hexamètres faisant de David un héros homérique et du Psautier un remède souverain, sous le titre Στίχοι ἡρωϊκοὶ εἰς τὸν ψαλτῆρα : Λύρης θειοκρότου μελιηδέος εὐλαλος ἡχώ, des. σωφρονέοντι νόῳ θεοτερπέα ὕμνον ἀείσας<sup>66</sup>.

En somme, ce « bouquet » mêle des pièces de genres différents : éléments liturgiques, prières, titres métriques, métaphrases, poésies de lettrés. Le fil directeur presque constant réside en l'évocation métrique des Psaumes – accompagnés des Odes –, dont la prétention didactique ou scolaire ne peut être niée. Tous ces traits consonent en tout cas parfaitement avec ceux des *Vers sur les Psaumes*.

### 3. QUELQUES CARACTÉRISTIQUES DES *VERS SUR LES PSAUMES*

La forme des *Vers* dépend en grande partie de leur emploi – qui ne remet pas en cause l'unité de leur composition – comme « titres » métriques, à raison de deux ou trois stiques par psaume (la variation semble libre). À vrai dire, ils ne servent pas de titres,

<sup>63</sup> Δαυίδου (v. 11) – ἀλείταις : Apolinaire, *Métaphrase du Ps 72*, éd. Ludwig 1912, 146 (titre et ll. 1–4). Cf. Parpulov 2014, 243.

<sup>64</sup> Εἰ θέμις (v. 19) – τεύξης : Apolinaire, *Métaphrase du Ps 89*, éd. Ludwig 1912, 188 (titre et ll. 1–4).

<sup>65</sup> Ἐκτος (v. 27) – χειρός : Apolinaire, *Métaphrase du Ps 106*, éd. Ludwig 1912, 224 (titre et ll. 1–4).

<sup>66</sup> Parpulov 2014, 227–228. Acrostiche, la pièce révèle le nom Λιβάνιος. Voir <https://www.dbbe.ugent.be/types/6367>.

mais plutôt de « sous-titres » complétant le titre de chaque psaume, ou même de « surtitres » puisqu'ils sont parfois copiés en marge supérieure. Leur propre titre dans A, Στίχοι ἐκτεθέντες ἐφ' ἑνα ἕκαστον τῶν ψαλμῶν (« vers placés en exergue à chacun des Psaumes ») explicite bien cet emploi et cette place : bien qu'A et P copient les vers à la suite et indépendamment des Psaumes, les deux autres témoins confirment cet usage sans doute originel, que corrobore un témoignage indirect.

Le commentaire métrique des Psaumes transmis à tort sous le nom de Michel Psellos recèle en effet cette indication destinée au copiste : Ἐάν σοι δόξῃ, ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ τοῦ ψαλτηρίου γράψον ταῦτα (« s'il te plaît, écris ceci au début du Psautier »)<sup>67</sup> ; la précision vaut en fait pour chaque psaume, puisque le commentaire est précédé du titre de chacun, puis de sous-titres métriques<sup>68</sup> ; ceux-ci pourraient être dus à un certain « Marc, moine », commanditaire de l'*Oxonienensis*, *Clarkianus* 15, daté de 1077–1078<sup>69</sup>. Datant des années 1070, on dispose donc d'un parallèle assez exact. Certes, les sous-titres du Ps.-Psellos, qui mettent en vers les ὑποθέσεις ou περιοχαὶ εἰς τοὺς ψαλμοὺς d'Eusèbe de Césarée<sup>70</sup>, varient assez des nôtres : ils reprennent davantage la forme nominale des titres (commençant par περὶ ou avec des substantifs au nominatif : ἐπίθεσις, προσδοκία, καταδρομή, πρόρρησις, διδασκαλία, etc.) et emploient un vocabulaire légèrement différent (par ex. θεολογεῖν ou θεολογία sont récurrents). Pour le reste, ils concordent avec les nôtres dans leurs principales caractéristiques.

Comme il est naturel, notre texte insiste d'abord sur la psalmodie, le chant ou la louange ; or même si ce champ sémantique est omniprésent, il n'est vraiment manifeste que par le vocabulaire. Comme bien d'autres pièces iambiques, l'œuvre ne peut guère, en dehors de la prosodie ou, dans certains cas, à cause d'elle, se prévaloir de qualités poétiques. Alors que l'abus de la préposition ἐκ et la présence irrégulière des articles, par exemple, peuvent s'expliquer par les contraintes du mètre, le goût pour les allitérations faciles, propres à frapper les tympans des novices, trahit une artificialité trop susceptible de « siffler sur nos têtes » de lecteurs modernes<sup>71</sup>.

<sup>67</sup> Éd. Westerink 1992, 333 (v. 158).

<sup>68</sup> Voir aussi Ciccolella 1991, 51–54 ; Parpulov 2014, 66.

<sup>69</sup> Lauxtermann 2012, 198 et 205–206.

<sup>70</sup> PG 23: 66A–72C ; nouvelle édition par Bandt 2019. Voir Mercati 1948, 95–104 ; Devreesse 1970, 146 ; Rondeau 1982, I:71–72 ; Parpulov 2014, 66 et 151 (n° E3).

<sup>71</sup> Quelques exemples : πρῶτος πρῶτον et φαῦλα μὲν φεύγοντα (Ps 1) ; δίκαιοις, δίκη et δίκαιοις (Ps 7) ; Χριστὸς ἐσχάτοις χρόνοις (Ps 13) ; ἀκριβοῦς βίου et βιούς (Ps 14) ; προσευχὴν προσφέρειν θεῷ θέμις (Ps 24), etc. Voir également θεοῦ θέμις (Ps 65), dont j'ai tâché de rendre l'allitération par « saluer... Dieu est pieux », ce qui est à peu près aussi subtil. En général, les lecteurs, en lisant ma traduction, s'apercevront vite que je n'ai pas cherché à faire œuvre littéraire : par respect pour la visée générale des *Vers*, j'ai sacrifié l'élégance, et parfois même l'acribie, sur l'autel de la commodité.

La principale visée des *Vers*, en effet, est didactique. Composé en trimètres iambiques, le texte comporte deux stiques placés avant le Ps 119 pour introduire les Psaumes des montées, avec une injonction à garder la leçon en mémoire. La façon, presque comique dans l'itération, dont sont présentés les psaumes 115 à 117, la répétitivité générale du vocabulaire – et des sonorités –, l'importance accordée aux chiffres, l'emploi régulier de phrases nominales<sup>72</sup> (même si l'on peut dans la plupart des cas suppléer une forme d'εἶναι), ainsi que l'usage des verbes γινώσκειν (Ps 87 et 124), μανθάνειν (Ps 103) ou εἰδέναι (Ps 47 et 110) sont comme l'un des deux miroirs qui, par une mise en abyme, font du psalmiste lui-même un enseignant : les formes διδάσκει (Ps 18, 123 et 134) et ἐκδιδάσκει (Ps 11 et 28), avec un psaume pour sujet, font ainsi écho à διδάσκομαι (Ps 109) renvoyant à l'auteur des *Vers* ou à son lecteur répétant la leçon.

La leçon est elle-même essentiellement morale : pour mieux enseigner, les psaumes usent de persuasion (Ps 6, 121 et 126) et d'exhortation (formes de προτρέπειν aux Ps 4, 32, 46, 116 et 146 ; παραινεί au Ps 107 ; ὁτρύνοντα au Ps 110) ; visant à réformer la vie et le comportement, le discours se fait explicitement protreptique et tropologique à plusieurs reprises (Ps 14, 36, 100, 120, 132, etc.). À cet égard, la vision du Jugement dernier apparaît par endroits comme un spectacle destiné à inspirer la crainte (Ps 49 notamment). De fait, par le jeu des verbes, des pronoms et des points de vue, jeu souvent arbitraire et en tout cas riche en ruptures, on assiste à une mise en scène très variée. Dans ce petit théâtre spirituel, les Psaumes montrent (δηλοῖ aux Ps 3 et 10 ; δείκνυσι au Ps 135), signifient (μηνύων aux Ps 89 et 100), manifestent (ἐμφαίνει au Ps 44) et représentent (παριστᾷ aux Ps 2 et 38). Alors que la première personne du singulier est tour à tour celle de l'auteur (Ps 47, 49, 50, 109 et 126) et celle de tel ou tel psaume (Ps 115–117 et 119), la seconde concerne surtout le lecteur<sup>73</sup>, surtout à un mode injonctif, et y compris au pluriel<sup>74</sup>. Les prières rapportées au discours direct (Ps 69 et 78) et celles adressées au Christ, Verbe et Maître (Ps 59, 78, 105, 109 et 114) font écho à celles où celui-ci parle lui-même (Ps 40 et 81) : l'interprétation prosopologique identifiant le locuteur des Psaumes avec le Christ affleure nettement çà et là<sup>75</sup>. Sans parler de possibles jeux sur l'ambivalence du mot λόγος, quelques considérations christologiques sont perceptibles, comme au Ps 106, où le Verbe est dit « de condition égale » au Père (σύμμορφος)<sup>76</sup>, ou au Ps 85, où les mots « mortel et Dieu » (βρότῳ καὶ θεῷ) précédés de l'unique article τῷ

<sup>72</sup> Treize psaumes sont concernés : 16, 19, 27, 28, 35, 45, 47, 51, 53, 66, 79, 140 et 141.

<sup>73</sup> Ps 24, 25, 33–37, 50, 58, 61, 74, 83, 87, 90, 95, 103, 110, 119–122, 133, 137, 143 et 144 ; le Ps 145 est présenté comme un soliloque adressé à son âme. La première du pluriel est plus rare : Ps 77, 94 (« les fidèles »), 135 et 146.

<sup>74</sup> Ps 80, 106 et 147, ainsi que l'adresse aux nations (Ps 104) et celle aux juges (Ps 57).

<sup>75</sup> Rondeau 1985, II:21–93.

<sup>76</sup> Cf. Ph 3,21.

semblent bien se rapporter tous deux au mot λόγῳ ; remarquons aussi l'emploi de θέλων en un sens quasiment adverbial, soulignant la volontaire « kénose » du Fils<sup>77</sup>. Quant à David, nommément il n'est le sujet du discours qu'au Ps 107. Il est tout de même bien présent en tant que « prophète » (Ps 46) : la perspective typologique, massivement adoptée, fait de l'ensemble des Psaumes la « figure » prophétique de la vie chrétienne (τύπος aux Ps 14 et 54). Le vocabulaire prophétique est donc récurrent : σὺν προφητείᾳ λόγων (Ps 27), ὁ προφητικὸς λόγος (Ps 135), προφαίνει (Ps 7), πρόρρησιν (Ps 8), προδηλοῖ (Ps 9 et 88), formes de προγράφειν (Ps 11, 12, 52, 87 et 113), προμηνύει (Ps 108).

À vrai dire, à force de voir dans les Psaumes d'autres réalités auxquelles ils sont censés renvoyer, la distance avec le texte rend parfois opaque, et même déconcertant, le rapport supposé exister avec lui. Sans que la raison de leur emploi se laisse deviner, les hexamètres – mis en italique dans la présente édition – portent l'artificialité à son comble, avec le vocabulaire homérique attendu et de possibles réminiscences des poèmes de Grégoire de Nazianze<sup>78</sup>. L'efficacité didactique en est compromise et l'espoir d'y trouver une synthèse des traditions patristiques s'évanouit dans le même temps. L'auteur ne dépend pas de telle ou telle source, c'est une libre méditation, en grande partie personnelle et subjective, qu'il entreprend, et même si elle est enrichie de références, on peut penser que celles-ci sont depuis longtemps assimilées. Ainsi le jeu de mots ὁ Χριστός ἐστι χρηστός (Ps 44) remonte aussi loin que les gnostiques combattus par Irénée<sup>79</sup>. Les traces les plus visibles de cette tradition diffuse se retrouvent dans la prise en compte de certains titres de psaumes, utilisés comme des clés de lecture<sup>80</sup>. Ainsi, ἡγαπημένος fait allusion au titre du Ps 44 dans la Septante (ὥδῃ ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ) ; de même Ἀσσυρίου pour le Ps 75 (ὥδῃ πρὸς τὸν Ἀσσύριον), les « pressoirs » pour le Ps 83 (ὑπὲρ τῶν ληνῶν) ou le « sabbat » pour le Ps 91 (εἰς τὴν ἡμέραν τοῦ σαββάτου), etc. ; quant à εἰρηνικός, le mot reflète l'étymologie du nom Salomon à qui le Ps 71 est attribué et qui à ce titre a été compris dès les premiers exégètes comme une figure du Christ<sup>81</sup>. Très net dans le cas du Ps 29 (dont le titre dans la Septante porte la précision ψαλμὸς ὥδῃς τοῦ ἐγκαινισμοῦ τοῦ οἴκου), le motif de l'habitation spirituelle, peut-être inspiré de He 5,6 ou de 1 P 2,5, revient assez souvent (Ps 14, 90, 121, 122, 127 et 132), non sans lien avec celui de la familiarité avec Dieu ou de l'appropriation (οἰκεῖος, Ps 79 ;

<sup>77</sup> Ps 21, 40, 50, 73 et 98, notamment avec un autre participe.

<sup>78</sup> Homère : εὐφραδέως (*Od.* 19.352) et ἐπιπάγχυ λαθέσθαι (*Il.* 10.99–100) au Ps 77 ; νωλεμέως (*Il.* 4.428), ἐνὶ θυμῷ (*Il.* 2.223) et θέσκελα ἔργα (*Od.* 11.374) au Ps 118 ; διηνεκέως (*Od.* 4.836) au Ps 150, etc. Grégoire : οὐρανίου βιότοιο (*Poème* 2, 2, 1.307, PG 37: 1473A) et αἴσιμα ῥέζων (*Poème* 2, 1, 1.182, PG 37: 984A) au Ps 118, etc.

<sup>79</sup> *Contre les hérésies* 1, 29, 1.

<sup>80</sup> Pour ce principe, voir notamment le traité de Grégoire de Nysse *Sur les titres des Psaumes*.

<sup>81</sup> Cf. par ex. l'un des fragments sur les Proverbes mis sous le nom d'Hippolyte : Σολομώντος, ὃ ἐστὶν εἰρηνικοῦ, ἦτοι τοῦ σωτῆρος Χριστοῦ (PG 10: 616B).

ὡκειωμένους, Ps 105). Ce qui est révélateur dans cette métaphore, c'est qu'elle intervient sans introduction, ménagement ou indice de comparaison, comme si le langage allégorique pouvait sans difficulté se substituer au langage courant. Plus pédagogiques sont les explications du chiffre cent, symbolisant la perfection<sup>82</sup>, ou celle des « montées » (Ps 119–133) qui ne désignent plus les marches du Temple, mais la montée vers Dieu<sup>83</sup>. D'une façon ou d'une autre, tout est spiritualisé.

Ni chant, ni exégèse, ni résumé, ni même vraiment poésie, cette pièce aux prétentions didactiques se révèle être avant tout un jeu littéraire, à la fois scolaire et spirituel. Au reste, ces vers ne semblent pas laisser d'indices probants sur leur époque ni sur leur auteur.

#### 4. L'AUTEUR

Alors que la pièce est anonyme dans le *Parisinus*, le titre du *codex* du Mont Athos mentionne Nicétas Chartophylax. Appelé aussi, de manière peu heureuse, Nicétas de Maronée – c'était le neveu de l'évêque de Maronée –, il était chartophylax à Sainte-Sophie de Constantinople et est devenu archevêque de Thessalonique en 1132 ou 1133. Mort vers 1145, il est l'auteur des *Six dialogues sur la procession de l'Esprit saint*<sup>84</sup>. Divers écrits, essentiellement canoniques, pourraient également lui être attribués<sup>85</sup> ; d'après K. Krumbacher, des manuscrits transmettent aussi sous son nom des hymnes et un commentaire des *Hymnes* de Jean Damascène, mais l'information reste à prouver<sup>86</sup>.

Étant donné le peu de certitudes touchant à cette partie de son œuvre, et eu égard à la pertinence réduite qu'aurait une comparaison entre des textes de nature très différente, il paraît de bonne méthode de vérifier qu'il ne puisse s'agir d'un autre Nicétas. En tout, d'après la base *Prosopography of the Byzantine World*<sup>87</sup>, quatre autres personnes du nom de Nicétas ont occupé la fonction de chartophylax, et toutes ont vécu au XI<sup>e</sup> ou au début du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle ; mais aucune ne semble avoir laissé d'œuvres. Quant au Nicétas, archevêque de Thessalonique vers 1020–1025 et auteur d'écrits hagiographiques<sup>88</sup>, il n'était pas chartophylax. On peut songer par ailleurs à Nicétas Seidès (v. 1050 – mort après 1116), rhéteur de Constantinople et auteur d'ouvrages de polémique ainsi que

<sup>82</sup> Cf. par ex. Clément d'Alexandrie, *Stromates* 6, 11, 84, 5 ; Maxime le Confesseur, *Questions à Thalassios* 55.241–242 Vinel.

<sup>83</sup> Bouet 2013, 85–96 et 115.

<sup>84</sup> Bucossi 2017 et D'Amelia 2020.

<sup>85</sup> Voir Bucossi & Despotakis 2017 pour l'identification de ce Nicétas et une liste des témoins manuscrits. Je remercie A. Bucossi pour l'échange qu'elle a eu avec moi à ce sujet.

<sup>86</sup> Krumbacher 1897, I:89–90.

<sup>87</sup> <https://pbw2016.kdl.kcl.ac.uk/browse/>, consultée le 7 août 2018.

<sup>88</sup> Poirier 2017.

d'une *Synopse des Écritures* ; mais il n'était pas chartophylax et n'a pas laissé d'écrit versifié ; quant à son chapitre sur les Psaumes, il ne fournit aucun point de contact avec notre texte<sup>89</sup>.

Un autre candidat à la paternité des *Vers* pourrait être Nicétas David, identifié avec Nicétas de Paphlagonie, où il est né vers 885 (David est son nom de moine) ; il a notamment commenté les *Poèmes arcanes* de Grégoire de Nazianze et écrit un *Commentaire des Psaumes*<sup>90</sup>.

Il est difficile de ne pas penser aussi à Nicétas d'Héraclée (v. 1030 – mort après 1117), appelé aussi Nicétas de Serrès en tant que neveu de l'évêque de Serrès<sup>91</sup>. Diacre puis didascale à Sainte-Sophie de Constantinople, auteur de chaînes exégétiques, notamment sur les Psaumes (entre 1088/89 et 1105)<sup>92</sup>, d'un commentaire de seize discours de Grégoire de Nazianze, d'un *Discours apologetique* contre Eustratios de Nicée, peut-être aussi de 113 *Questions et réponses* – dont au moins deux sont aussi attribuées à Nicétas Chartophylax : la confusion dans l'attribution comporte donc des précédents. Ce Nicétas est aussi – et c'est là un indice possible – l'auteur de poèmes didactiques (sur la grammaire, la morphologie, l'orthographe, les noms des douze dieux, des mers, fleuves, lacs, etc.).

Grands lettrés, excellents connaisseurs de la poésie, et notamment de celle du Théologien, ces deux Nicétas sont donc d'assez bons prétendants. Mais ils n'avaient pas la fonction de chartophylax et leurs écrits respectifs sur les Psaumes ne semblent pas concorder avec nos *Vers*<sup>93</sup>.

Cette vérification rapide renvoie donc *in fine* au nom de Nicétas Chartophylax qui n'a, à l'évidence, pas été précisé sans raison. Sorte de *lectio difficilior*, le nom demeure, en attente d'éléments permettant une vérification, outre ceux, indirects, que l'on peut invoquer. Même approximative, la date du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle pour le manuscrit du Pantokrator n'infirmerait pas la possibilité de cette attribution, par sa proximité elle la confirmerait plutôt. De plus, l'époque connaît au moins un parallèle, antérieur de quelques décennies, attribué à Psellos ; composé et copié pour un usage personnel<sup>94</sup>, sans pour autant se revendiquer comme une œuvre personnelle, ce précédent illustre aussi la postérité nécessairement limitée de ce type d'entreprise.

<sup>89</sup> Simotas 1984, 258–260.

<sup>90</sup> Krumbacher 1897, I:167–168 et II:679–680 ; Beck 1959, 548–549 et 565–566 ; Dorival 1981.

<sup>91</sup> Krumbacher 1897, I:211–212 et 587–588 ; II:681–682 ; Beck 1959, 651–653 ; Hunger 1978, II:14–15, 20–21 et 52 ; Roosen 1999.

<sup>92</sup> Roosen 1999, 143.

<sup>93</sup> Dorival 1981, 276–280 ; Dorival 1992, 528–533 et 549–551 (Ps 1 et 150).

<sup>94</sup> Lauxtermann 2012, 206.

Car, en réalité, la question peut se poser autrement : puisqu'il s'agit d'un paratexte plutôt que d'un texte, est-il seulement censé avoir un auteur ? En tant que paratexte, les *Vers sur les Psaumes* témoignent en tout cas assez bien d'un usage, livresque sans être érudit, du Psautier, entre piété personnelle et ambition didactique. En tant que texte, copiés pour eux-mêmes, ils forment une sorte de « précipité » littéraire de diverses traditions : scolaire, poétique, biblique, patristique – liturgique aussi en partie. La présente édition tend du moins à susciter de plus amples analyses qui mettent en lumière ces multiples facettes.

## 5. ÉDITION ET TRADUCTION

### *Sigles et conventions*

A	<i>Athous Pantocratoros</i> 234, XII <sup>e</sup> s., ff. 262 <sup>r</sup> –263 <sup>r</sup>
P	<i>Parisinus gr.</i> 1630, XIV <sup>e</sup> s., ff. 219 <sup>r</sup> –221 <sup>bis</sup> <sup>r</sup>
V	<i>Vaticanus gr.</i> 342, marginalia posteriora a. 1087/1088, ff. 25 <sup>r</sup> –244 <sup>v</sup>
/	lettre(s) illisible(s) en nombre indéterminé
[ ]	texte en atéthèse
< >	conjecture

Vers placés en exergue à chacun des Psaumes,  
par Nicétas Chartophylax

- 1 Des psaumes, le premier dit qu'est premier en Dieu  
celui qui fuit le mal et fait le bien.
- 2 Le deuxième représente clairement  
la sottise des nations et la jalousie des Hébreux,  
ainsi que la Passion du Christ et la puissance de son règne.
- 3 Dans l'infortune il faut tourner ses regards vers Dieu  
qui sait sauver : c'est ce que montre le troisième.
- 4 Le quatrième invite tout le monde à louer  
celui qui a sauvé de la corruption la race des mortels.
- 5 Le cinquième rappelle avec beaucoup de sagesse  
à qui est pieux qu'il faudrait chercher son héritage.
- 6 Le sixième persuade de se détourner du mal  
en tremblant d'effroi devant le jugement dernier.
- 7 Le septième promet aux injustes  
les malédictions du jugement et aux justes la renommée.
- 8 Le huitième porte une prédiction des Églises  
fixées dans le sang divin du Maître.



Στίχοι ἐκτεθέντες ἐφ' ἑνα ἕκαστον τῶν ψαλμῶν  
παρὰ τοῦ Χαρτοφύλακος κύρ Νικήτα<sup>95</sup>

α' Ψαλμῶν ὁ πρῶτος πρῶτον ἐν θεῷ λέγει<sup>96</sup>  
τὸν φαῦλα μὲν φεύγοντα, χρηστῶν δ' ἐργάτην<sup>97</sup>.

β' Ὁ δεύτερος δὲ τῶν ἐθνῶν τὴν μωρίαν<sup>98</sup>  
σαφῶς παριστᾷ καὶ τὸν<sup>99</sup> Ἑβραίων φθόνον,  
πάθος τε Χριστοῦ καὶ βασιλείας κράτος.

γ' Ἐν συμφοραῖς χρηὶ πρὸς θεὸν βλέπειν μόνον  
ὃς οἶδε σῶζειν· τοῦτο δηλοῖ δ' ὁ τρίτος.

δ' Ὁ δ' οὖν<sup>100</sup> τέταρτος πάντας ὑμνεῖν προτρέπει  
τὸν ἐκ φθορᾶς σῶσαντα τὰ βροτῶν γένη<sup>101</sup>.

ε' Ὁ πέμπτος ὅνπερ κλῆρον ἐκζητεῖν δέον  
τὸν εὐσεβοῦντα νουθετεῖ σοφωτάτως.

ς' Ἐκτος τὸ φρικτὸν τῆς τελευταίας δίκης  
πεῖθει τρέμοντας ἐκ κακῶν ἐπιστρέφειν.

ζ' Τοῖς μὴ δικαίοις ἐβδομος τὰς ἐν δίκῃ  
ἄρὰς προφαίνει, τοῖς δὲ δικαίοις<sup>102</sup> κλέος.

η' Ἐκκλησιῶν πρόρρησιν ὄγδοος φέρει  
πῆξιν λαβουσῶν δεσπότου θείῳ λύθρῳ<sup>103</sup>.

<sup>95</sup> στίχοι ... νικήτα A] στί<χοι> εἰς τ<ὸν> ψαλτ<ῆ>ρ<α> P, om. V

<sup>96</sup> λέγει A V] λάχος P

<sup>97</sup> ἐργάτην A V] ἐρώντα P

<sup>98</sup> τὴν μωρίαν A V] τιμωρίαν P

<sup>99</sup> τὸν A] τῶν P, τ/ V

<sup>100</sup> οὖν A] αὖ P V

<sup>101</sup> τὰ βροτῶν γένη A] τὸ βροτῶν γένος P V

<sup>102</sup> δὲ δικαίοις A] δικαίοις δὲ P V

<sup>103</sup> λύθρῳ A V] τρισά<γιον> etc. add. P (cf. supra, p. 211)

- 9 De l'Incarnation de Dieu, le neuvième annonce  
l'indicible parole et la profondeur du mystère.
- 10 Celui qui fuit vers Dieu, le dixième montre  
qu'il ne craint pas l'effrayant tribunal.
- 11 De même celui-ci, par ce qui est écrit d'avance,  
enseigne que le Verbe est un juste juge.
- 12 Le douzième, à partir de la Passion du Christ, pour la race  
des mortels décrit d'avance le meilleur des saluts.
- 13 Le Christ est venu dénoncer l'ancien égarement des démons  
par sa chair mortelle, aux derniers temps.
- 14 Le psaume est la figure d'une vie scrupuleuse,  
en vivant ainsi l'on habitera une demeure divine.
- 15 En stèle triomphale pour le Verbe victorieux,  
celui-ci proclame sa puissance sur les pires ennemis.
- 16 Prière qui convient aux justes ici bas  
demandant la protection du Créateur.
- 17 Qui a été délivré de l'embûche des méchants démons  
loue celui qui t'a racheté par amour.
- 18 Annonce des apôtres au monde entier  
il enseigne que le Christ est le Créateur.
- 19 Prière bienfaisante pour ceux qui se fient en Dieu,  
les gens pieux les aidant par leurs paroles.

- θ' Σαρκώσεως ἔννατος ἄρρητον λόγον  
θεοῦ προδηλοῖ καὶ βάθος μυστηρίου.
- ι' Τὸν πρὸς θεὸν φεύγοντα τὴν φρικτὴν κρίσιν  
δηλοῖ δέκατος μηδαμῶς δεδοικέναι.
- ια' Τὸν αὐτὸν οὗτος τῷ προγραφέντι τρόπον  
κριτὴν δίκαιον ἐκδιδάσκει τὸν λόγον.
- ιβ' Ὁ δωδέκατος ἐκ παθῶν Χριστοῦ γένει  
βροτῶν ἀρίστην προγράφει σωτηρίαν.
- ιγ' Πλάνην παλαιὰν ἤλθε δαιμόνων λύων  
σαρκὶ βροτεῖα Χριστὸς ἐσχάτοις χρόνοις.
- ιδ' Ὁ ψαλμός ἐστὶν ἀκριβοῦς βίου τύπος,  
καθ' ὃν βιούς τις θεῖον οἰκῇσει δόμον.
- ιε' Στηλογραφεῖται τῷ τροπαιούχῳ λόγῳ  
τρόπαιον ὧδε τοῦ κατ' ἐχθίστων κράτους.
- ισ' Εὐχὴν πρέπουσα τοῖς δικαίοις ἐνθάδε,  
τὸν δημιουργὸν φρουρὸν ἐξαιτουμένοις<sup>104</sup>.
- ιζ' Ὁ τῆς ἐνέδρας τῶν πονηρῶν δαιμόνων  
ῥυσθεὶς ἀνυμνεῖ τὸν λυτρωτὴν ἐκ πόθου.
- ιη' Ἀποστόλων κήρυγμα τὴν οἰκουμένην  
Χριστὸν διδάσκει δημιουργὸν εἰδέναι.
- ιθ' Εὐεργὸς<sup>105</sup> εὐχὴ τοῖς θεῷ πεποιθόσιν  
ἐξ εὐσεβούντων συμμαχούντων ἐν λόγοις.

<sup>104</sup> ἐξαιτουμένοις A V] τροπάριον etc. add. P (cf. supra, p. 212)

<sup>105</sup> εὐεργὸς A] συνεργὸς P V

- 20 Le psaume sait que le roi qui se fie en Dieu  
est très puissant : à lui il demande que soit donné  
le pouvoir divin et qu'il soit gardé de toute atteinte.
- 21 Il a fait jaillir les rayons de l'aurore dans la vie,  
lui la lumière, le Christ, fixé au bois de plein gré.
- 22 Le troupeau des ouailles spirituelles appelle  
le Bon pasteur pour qu'il les garde.
- 23 Le psaume dit l'élévation aux cieux  
du Christ après sa Passion pour le salut des mortels.
- 24 Considère quelle prière peut présenter à Dieu  
le fidèle qui crie de tout son cœur.
- 25 Avance vers Dieu et chante avec confiance, comme il sied,  
ce chant si mélodieux pour toi.
- 26 Que celui qui a reçu la lumière divine en son cœur  
n'aie donc pas peur du prince des ténèbres.
- 27 C'est ici la supplique en même temps que les paroles prophétiques  
de ceux qui ont quitté la tromperie de la vie.
- 28 Chant de la sortie, montrant qu'il faut  
toujours se souvenir de la sortie de l'égarement des idoles.
- 29 Ceux qui sont devenus une habitation nouvelle par la nouveauté  
de leur doctrine adressent des louanges au Verbe.
- 30 Ceux qui se sont écartés du mal pour mener une vie droite  
doivent chanter ces versets avec ardeur.

- κ' Ὁ ψαλμὸς οἶδε τὸν θεῶ πεπεισμένον  
 βασιλέα κράτιστον, ᾧ θεῖον κράτος  
 αἰτεῖ δοθῆναι καὶ φυλάττεσθαι βλάβης.
- κα' Ἐωθινὰς ἤστραψεν αὐγὰς ἐν βίῳ  
 τὸ φῶς ὁ Χριστός, προσπαγεῖς ζύλῳ θέλων.
- κβ' Τὸ τῶν νοητῶν θρεμμάτων καλεῖ στίφος  
 τὸν καλὸν εἰς τήρησιν αὐτοῖς ποιμένα.
- κγ' Εἰς οὐρανούς ὕψωσιν ὁ ψαλμὸς λέγει  
 Χριστοῦ παθόντος καὶ βροτοὺς σεσωκότος.
- κδ' Οἶαν προσευχὴν προσφέρειν θεῶ θέμις  
 ἐκ καρδίας κράζοντα τὸν πιστὸν νόει.
- κε' Θεῶ προκόπτων, ἄδε θαρρῶν προσφόρως  
 ὡς ἐμμελῇ σοι τήνδε τὴν μελωδίαν.
- κς' Ὁ φῶς τὸ θεῖον προσλαβὼν ἐν καρδίᾳ  
 Μὴ δὴ<sup>106</sup> φοβείσθω τὸν σκότους ἀρχηγέτην.
- κζ' Δέησις ὥδε σὺν προφητεία λόγων  
 τῶν τὴν ἀπάτην ἐκλιπόντων τοῦ βίου.
- κη' Τῆς ἐξόδου μέλισμα, δηλοῦν ἐξόδου  
 αἰεὶ μεμνήσθαι τῆς ἀπ' εἰδώλων πλάνης.
- κθ' Οἱ καινὸς οἶκος καινότητι δογμάτων  
 δειχθέντες ὕμνους προσφέρουσι τῷ λόγῳ.
- λ' Τοὺς ἐκ κακῶν ἐκστάντας εἰς ὀρθὸν βίον  
 ἄδειν προσήκει ταῦτα σὺν προθυμίᾳ.

<sup>106</sup> μὴ δὴ P V] μηδὲ A

- 31 Enviable est celui qui a trouvé le rachat de ses fautes  
par un bon repentir et une digne purification.
- 32 Le psaume invite ceux qui ont plu à Dieu  
à chanter pour lui avec la cithare.
- 33 Si tu as changé ta conduite du tout au tout,  
tu recevras vite la rémission de tes erreurs  
et tu béniras le Maître qui t'a racheté.
- 34 Si tu tombes sur des brigands du monde spirituel, appelle Dieu  
et par les armes du salut il te sauvera.
- 35 C'est ici une charge contre les impies meurtriers du Christ  
et contre celui qui a trahi le vénérable sang du Maître.
- 36 Ne jalouse pas la vie des méchants,  
jalouse plutôt la vie et le comportement des bons.
- 37 Si tu t'es attiré la juste colère du Maître,  
afflige-toi comme il faut et tu l'éteindras vite.
- 38 Le chant de ce psaume représente nettement  
le peu de prix de l'existence mortelle.
- 39 Qui a tenu bon et a été racheté de ses peines  
rend grâce au Seigneur de l'avoir exaucé.
- 40 Celui qui, de son plein gré, a été fixé comme chair  
et est apparu pauvre et indigent parle à charge contre Judas.
- 41 Ceux qui ont soif de Dieu à cause de la flamme de l'égarement,  
il convient qu'ils disent ce psaume.
- 42 De la tyrannie des ennemis les méchants démons,  
tout fidèle demande au Seigneur d'être délivré.

- λα' Ζηλωτὸς ὅστις εὔρε λύτρον<sup>107</sup> πταισμάτων  
καλῶς μεταγνοὺς καὶ καθαρθεὶς ἀξίως.
- λβ' Ὁ ψαλμὸς ᾄδειν τῷ θεῷ σὺν κιθάρα  
τοὺς εὐαρεστήσαντας αὐτῷ προτρέπει.
- λγ' Μεταλλαγείς ἐκ πράξεων ἐναντίων,  
ἀπαλλαγὴν τάχιστα λήψη σφαλμάτων  
καὶ τὸν λυτρωτὴν εὐλογήσεις δεσπότην.
- λδ' Λησταῖς νοητοῖς ἐμπесών, θεὸν κάλει  
καὶ τοῖς ὅπλοις σώσει σε τοῦ σωτηρίου.
- λε' Ἐλεγχος ὡδὲ δυσσεβῶν χριστοκτόνων  
καὶ τοῦ προδόντος αἷμα σεπτὸν δεσπότη.
- λς' Τὸν τῶν πονηρῶν μὴ παραζήλου βίον,  
ζήλου δὲ χρηστῶν καὶ βίον καὶ τὸν τρόπον.
- λζ' Θυμὸν δίκαιον δεσπότη παροργίσας,  
πένθησον ὡς χρή καὶ τάχει τοῦτον σβέσεις.
- λη' Τὴν εὐτέλειαν τῆς βροτείας οὐσίας  
τρανώς παριστᾷ τοῦδε τοῦ ψαλμοῦ μέλος.
- λθ' Ὁ καρτερήσας καὶ λυτρωθεὶς ἐκ πόνων  
ὡς εἰσακουσθεὶς εὐχαριστεῖ κυρίῳ.
- μ' Ὁ σὰρξ παγείς, πένης τε καὶ πτωχὸς θέλων  
ὀφθεῖς, Ἰούδαν ἐξελέγχει τῷ λόγῳ.
- μα' Τοὺς τὸν θεὸν διψώντας ἐκ φλογὸς πλάνης  
προσηκόν ἐστι τόνδε τὸν ψαλμὸν λέγειν.
- μβ' Ἐχθρῶν πονηρῶν δαιμόνων τυραννίδος  
αἰτεῖ λύτρωσιν πᾶς ὁ πιστὸς κυρίῳ.

<sup>107</sup> εὔρε λύτρον A] λύτρον εὔρε P V

- 43 Ceux qui fuient vers Dieu, au souvenir  
de ses prodiges, entonnent cet air.
- 44 Le Christ est bon, il est le bien-aimé,  
il est plein de beauté et c'est le Verbe de Dieu,  
ce que met en évidence le très auguste chant.
- 45 Annonce des apôtres et manifestation des mystères  
sacrés, par lesquels nous avons été sauvés de l'égarement.
- 46 Le prophète invite maintenant toutes les nations  
à louer le Maître avec de divines acclamations.
- 47 Annonce de l'Église ou de la résurrection  
finale ou repos des affaires :  
car le sabbat, je le sais, signifie repos.
- 48 Au juste et unique tribunal de Dieu,  
le divin Verbe convoque tout le monde sans exception.
- 49 En voyant distinctement le jugement dernier,  
je frémis ainsi devant l'effrayant tribunal.
- 50 Voulant échapper à un abîme de griefs,  
plein de vigilance j'ai versé un abîme de larmes,  
sachant que c'est un abîme de miséricorde que celui de Dieu ;  
puisses-tu recevoir de lui, si tu as été purifié, la grâce de l'Esprit !
- 51 Chute évidente de l'ennemi dans sa démente,  
qui se vante de ses machinations contre nous.



μγ' Οἱ πρὸς θεὸν φεύγοντες ὡς μεμνημένοι  
τεραστίων τούτου γε<sup>108</sup> μέλπουσιν<sup>109</sup> τάδε.

μδ' Ὁ Χριστὸς ἐστὶ χρηστός, ἡγαπημένος,  
ῥαῖος ἐν κάλλει τε<sup>110</sup> καὶ θεοῦ λόγος,  
ὅπερ<sup>111</sup> τὸ πανσέβαστον ἐμφαίνει μέλος.

με' Ἀποστόλων κήρυγμα καὶ μυστηρίων  
δήλωσις ἀγνῶν, οἷς<sup>112</sup> σεσώσμεθα πλάνης.

μς' Ὑμνεῖν ἔθνη σύμπαντα σὺν θείοις κρότοις  
τὸν δεσπότην νῦν ὁ προφῆτης προτρέπει.

μζ' Ἐκκλησίας κήρυξις ἢ τῆς ἐσχάτης  
ἐγέρσεως ἢ παῦσις ἐστὶ πραγμάτων·  
τὸ σάββατον γὰρ παῦσιν οἶδα μηνύον.

μη' Εἰς τὴν δικαίαν καὶ μόνην θεοῦ κρίσιν  
ἀπαξάπαντας συγκαλεῖ θεῖος λόγος.

μθ' Ὅρων ἐναργῶς τὴν τελευταίαν κρίσιν,  
φρίττω τὸ φρικτὸν ὧδε τοῦ κριτηρίου.

ν' Ἐγκλημάτων ἄβυσσον ἐκδῦναι θέλων,  
νήψας ἄβυσσον ἔκχεον τῶν δακρύων,  
εὐσπλαγχνίας ἄβυσσον εἰδὼς κυρίου  
ἄφ'<sup>113</sup> οὐ καθαρθεῖς πνεύματος λάβοις χάριν.

να' Καταδρομὴ πρόδηλος ἐχθροῦμανίας  
ἐν ταῖς καθ' ἡμῶν μηχαναῖς καυχωμένου.

<sup>108</sup> γε Α] τε Ρ V

<sup>109</sup> μέλπουσιν Α Ρ] μέλπουσι V

<sup>110</sup> ἐν κάλλει τε Α Ρ (cf. Ps 44,3)] fortasse ἐκκαλεῖται paene legitur V

<sup>111</sup> ὅπερ Α] ὅνπερ Ρ V

<sup>112</sup> οἷς Α V] ὧν Ρ

<sup>113</sup> ἄφ' Α] ὑφ' Ρ V

- 52 Ce psaume décrit d'avance la folie des impies  
qui n'ont pas reçu le Christ à sa venue.
- 53 Prière d'un homme en lutte contre des ennemis étrangers,  
appelant le Maître à lutter avec lui.
- 54 L'ombre des souffrances du Christ est ici figurée  
et on y enseigne la figure  
de la juste prière pour ceux qui ont quitté la vie.
- 55 Le juste délivré des êtres hostiles bénit  
et remercie maintenant son bon Sauveur.
- 56 Celui qui a fait s'envoler son intelligence pour fuir la vie,  
puisse-t-il vouloir être couvert par les ailes divines !
- 57 Rendez de justes sentences dans vos jugements,  
vous qui rendez justice, sans mélanger en rien les jugements,  
mais en craignant le juste tribunal de Dieu !
- 58 Quand tu t'avances vers Dieu, qu'il n'y ait rien de corrompu en toi,  
mais jusqu'à la fin demande-lui sa protection.
- 59 Tu nous as détruits, nous qui avons été repoussés, ô Verbe,  
mais tu as eu pitié de ceux qui avaient reçu ta grâce :  
tous ceux qui ont été sauvés le clament !
- 60 Le psaume parle de l'appel des nations au salut  
et de ceux des Juifs qui ont été rejetés.
- 61 Si tu te soumets au commandements divins de bon gré,  
puisses-tu recevoir la consolation du salut !
- 62 Celui qui a la sagesse de fuir la nuit de l'ignorance,  
une fois parvenu à l'aube spirituelle, qu'il chante  
du psaume le très mélodieux air divin !

- νβ' Τῶν δυσσεβῶν ἄνοιαν οὐ δεδεγμένων  
ἐλθόντα Χριστὸν ψαλμὸς οὗτος προγράφει.
- νγ' Ἄνδρὸς προσευχὴ πρὸς μάχην ἀλλοτρίων  
ἐχθρῶν, καλοῦντος σύμμαχον τὸν δεσπότην.
- νδ' Σκιαγραφεῖται τῶν παθημάτων τύπος  
ἐνταῦθα Χριστοῦ, καὶ διδάσκεται τύπος  
εὐχῆς δικαίας τοῖς ἀποστᾶσι βίου.
- νε' Τῶν δυσμενῶν ῥυσθεὶς δίκαιος εὐλόγως  
νῦν εὐχαριστεῖ τῷ καλῶς σεσωκότι.
- νς' Τὸν νοῦν πτερώσας εἰς φυγὴν τις τοῦ βίου  
θείαις πτέρυξι συγκαλύπτεσθαι θέλοι.
- νζ' Ὑψίφους δικαίας ἐν δίκαις, δικασπόλοι,  
ποιεῖσθε, συμπλέκοντες οὐδαμῶς δίκας,  
κρίσιν δικαίαν τοῦ θεοῦ δεδοικότες.
- νη' Θεῷ προσελθὼν, μὴ διαφθείρης ὅλως,  
ἕως τέλους δὲ τοῦτον αἵτει προστάτην.
- νθ' Καθεῖλες ἡμᾶς ὡς ἀπωσμένους, λόγε,  
ἀλλ' ἠλέησας σὴν δεδεγμένους χάριν·  
βοῶσι ταῦτα πάντες οἱ σεσωσμένοι.
- ξ' Ὁ ψαλμὸς ἐθνῶν κλῆσιν εἰς σωτηρίαν  
τοὺς ἐκβόλους<sup>114</sup> τε τῶν Ἰουδαίων λέγει.
- ξα' Θείαις ὑπέικων προσταγαῖς ἐκουσίως,  
σωτηριώδη τὴν παραψυχὴν λάβοις.
- ξβ' Ὁ τῆς ἀγνοίας νύκτα φεύγων ἐμφρόνως,  
ὡς ὄρθρον εὐρὼν τὸν νοητὸν ἀδέτω  
ψαλμοῦ τὸ θεῖον ἐμμελέστατον μέλος.

<sup>114</sup> τοὺς ἐκβόλους A] τὴν ἐκβολὴν P, legi nequit V

- 63 Si quelqu'un sue dans les combats et les peines inspirés par Dieu,  
qu'il appelle d'avance Dieu pour peiner avec lui.
- 64 Le monde passe d'un coup de l'incrédulité à la foi  
et fait retentir de divines acclamations.
- 65 Saluer la résurrection du Maître et Dieu est pieux,  
ainsi que d'appeler tout le monde à la bénédiction.
- 66 Annonce des apôtres en vue du salut  
des nations appelant le Dieu et Maître.
- 67 Les ennemis qui jusqu'alors anéantissaient tout le genre humain,  
le Christ, par la puissance de la force  
de sa Passion les a dispersés, car seul il est Dieu.
- 68 À qui est tombé dans la houle de terribles infortunes,  
le psaume apprend à demander la délivrance  
au seul Sauveur, dont il connaît les moyens.
- 69 Que tout être qui souffre dans le malheur se mette à crier :  
« Prête-moi attention, secours et rachète-moi, mon Christ ! »
- 70 A ceux qui se détournent du mal qu'ils font depuis longtemps,  
le Christ est une espérance et un abri solide.
- 71 Quel autre homme de paix y a-t-il, sinon le Christ seul,  
par qui les mortels se sont joints aux rangs des anges ?
- 72 La longanimité de Dieu est admirable,  
lui qui ne châtie pas tout de suite  
les profanes et qui est bon pour les hommes droits.

- ξγ' Ἄθλοισ ἐνιδρῶν καὶ πόνοις τις<sup>115</sup> ἐνθέοις  
θεὸν συνεργὸν προκαλείσθω τῶν πόνων.
- ξδ' Εἰς πίστιν εὐθὺ<sup>116</sup> κόσμος ἐξ ἀπιστίας  
μεθίσταται τε καὶ κροτεῖ θείου κρότους.
- ξε' Χαίρειν ἐγέρσει δεσπότη τοῦ θεοῦ θέμις  
καὶ συγκαλεῖν ἅπαντας εἰς εὐφημίαν.
- ξς' Ἀποστόλων κήρυγμα πρὸς σωτηρίαν  
ἐθνῶν καλούντων τὸν θεὸν καὶ δεσπότην.
- ξη' Τοὺς πᾶσαν ἄρδην τὸ πρὶν ἀνθρώπων φύσιν  
ὀλλύντας ἐχθροὺς Χριστὸς ἰσχύος κράτει  
παθῶν διεσκόρπισεν ὡς θεὸς μόνος.
- ξη' Τὸν ἐμπεσόντα συμφορῶν δεινῶν σάλῳ  
ὁ ψαλμὸς αἰτεῖν ἐκδιδάσκει τὴν λύσιν  
ἐκ τοῦ μόνου σῶζοντος οἷς οἶδε τρόποις.
- ξθ' Κατώδυνος πᾶς ἐν κακοῖς ὧν κραζέτω·  
πρόσχε, βοήθε καὶ λυτρωτά, Χριστέ μου.
- ο' Ἐπιστρέφουσιν ἐκ μακρᾶς πονηρίας  
ἐλπίς βεβαία Χριστὸς ἐστὶ καὶ σκέπη.
- οα' Εἰρηνικὸς τίς ἄλλος ἢ Χριστὸς μόνος,  
βροτοὺς συνάψας τάξεσι τῶν ἀγγέλων;
- οβ' Τὸ μακρόθυμον τοῦ θεοῦ θαυμαστέον,  
ὃς τοῖς βεβήλοις οὐ παρευθὺ προσνέμει  
τιμωρίαν, ἔστι δὲ χρηστός<sup>117</sup> εὐθέσιν.

<sup>115</sup> τις A V(ut vid.)] τοῖς P<sup>116</sup> εὐθὺ A] εὐθῇ P V<sup>117</sup> χρηστός P V] χρηστοῖς A

- 73 Si quelqu'un est tenu pour moins que rien et veut devenir familier  
de Dieu, qu'il entonne ce chant !
- 74 Fais attention à toi, ne te laisse pas corrompre à la fin  
et ne participe pas à la corruption par des activités corrompues :  
ceci est pour toi une exhortation à contribuer au bien.
- 75 Elle est tombée, la force de l'Assyrien qui s'est caché,  
par la très puissante vaillance du Maître Christ,  
à qui il réussit à tous de faire appel.
- 76 La voix d'un cœur clamant sa plainte  
est bien reçue aux oreilles du Seigneur.
- 77 *Le Verbe presse son peuple avec bonté, intelligence  
et éloquence à recevoir sa précieuse loi dans le cœur :  
en effet, mieux vaut pour nous le faire que manquer entièrement,  
faute d'attention, les signes de Dieu.*
- 78 « De méchantes nations ont ruiné ton héritage sacré, ô Verbe,  
c'est terrible ! Sauve donc vite  
ton troupeau ! » C'est ce que crie ton peuple.
- 79 C'est ici la prière de ceux qui, égarés jadis,  
maintenant se réfugient en Dieu, le seul abri,  
et l'invoquent comme guide en tout.
- 80 Vous qui avez reçu le vin spirituel, exultez de joie  
et acclamez le Maître qui vous secourt !
- 81 Aux terribles gouvernants le Verbe enjoint  
de s'attacher sincèrement à la droiture,  
car Dieu juge dignement en ce cas.

- ογ' Ἐξουθενημένος τις, οἰκεῖος θέλων  
θεῶ γενέσθαι, τοῦτο μελπέτω μέλος.
- οδ' Πρόσχες σεαυτῷ, μὴ διαφθείρης τέλει  
καὶ συμφθάρῃση φθαρτικαῖς ἐργασίαις·  
παραΐνεσίς σοι ταῦτα πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον.
- οε' Ἀσσυρίου πέπτωκε τοῦ κεκρυμμένου  
ἰσχύς, κρατίστῳ δεσπότης Χριστοῦ σθένει,  
οὐ κλήσις ὀρθὴ πᾶσιν ὠνομασμένη.
- ος' Φωνὴ βοῶντος ἐν στεναγμοῖς καρδίας  
τοῖς ὡσὶν εὐπρόσδεκτός ἐστι κυρίου.
- οζ' *Λαὸν ἐὸν κέλεται λόγος εὐνομίῃ συνέσει τε  
εὐφραδέως νόμον ἐσθλὸν ἐνὶ κραδίῃσι δεδέχθαι·  
λώϊον ὥδε γὰρ ἔρδειν ἡμέας ἢ θεοῖο<sup>118</sup>  
οὐ<sup>119</sup> πινυτῇσι φρέσιν<sup>120</sup> τεράτων ἐπιπάγχυ λαθέσθαι.*
- οη' Ἔθνη πονηρὰ κλῆρον ἀγνὸν σόν, λόγε,  
δεινῶς ἐλυμήναντο· σῶσον οὖν τάχει  
τὸ ποιμνιόν σου· σὸς λεὼς κράζει τάδε.
- οθ' Δέησις ὥδε πεπλανημένων πάλαι,  
νῦν προσφευγόντων<sup>121</sup> τῇ θεοῦ μόνη σκέπη,  
ὁδηγὸν αὐτὸν πᾶσι προσκαλουμένων.
- π' Οἶνον νοητὸν οἱ δεδεγμένοι, κρότοις  
ἀγαλλιᾶσθε τῷ βοηθῷ δεσπότη.
- πα' Ἀρχουσι δεινοῖς ἐγκελεύεται λόγος  
τῆς εὐθύτητος ἀντέχεσθαι γνησίως  
ὡς τοῦ θεοῦ κρίνοντος ἀξίως τάδε.

<sup>118</sup> θεοῖο A P] θεοῦ V<sup>119</sup> οὐ A V] om. P<sup>120</sup> φρέσιν A P] φρέσι V<sup>121</sup> προσφευγόντων A] προσφυγόντων P, legi nequit V

- 82 Les ennemis impudents vis-à-vis de la connaissance du Seigneur,  
le psaume demande qu'ils soient aisément brisés.
- 83 N'aie aucun mépris pour les pressoirs spirituels :  
car ils contiennent un vin divin qui réjouit le cœur  
et ils sauvent ceux qui y goûtent.
- 84 Racheté après son égarement, grâce au bon vouloir du Verbe,  
le fidèle demande encore une fois le salut.
- 85 Aux faibles sied la prière,  
elle sied aussi au Verbe, à la fois mortel et Dieu.
- 86 La sûreté de la foi venue de Dieu,  
le psaume la connaît : sur les paroles des apôtres,  
le Christ l'a établie comme sur la puissance imperturbable des montagnes.
- 87 La Passion du Christ et son ensevelissement porteur de vie,  
tu les connaîtras ici décrits d'avance en paroles.
- 88 De David a germé le Christ, comme ce chant  
l'annonce : il sauve la race des fils de la terre,  
il répand la pitié de sa compassion depuis les temps anciens.
- 89 Tout en signifiant que le Créateur est le principe sans principe,  
le psaume demande sa miséricorde.
- 90 Pour peu tu aies fait de toi une habitation divine,  
puisses-tu habiter à l'abri divin du Très-Haut !



- πβ' Ἐχθροὺς ἀναιδεῖς γνώσεως<sup>122</sup> τοῦ κυρίου  
ὁ ψαλμὸς αἰτεῖ συντριβῆναι ῥαδίως.
- πγ' Ἀνηνῶν νοητῶν μηδαμῶς καταφρόνει·  
θεῖον γὰρ οἶνον ἡδύνοντα καρδίας  
ἔχουσι καὶ σῶζουσι τοὺς γεγευμένους.
- πδ' Πλάνης λυτρωθεῖς, εὐδοκήσαντος λόγου<sup>123</sup>,  
ὁ πιστὸς αἰτεῖ καὶ πάλιν σωτηρίαν.
- πε' Τοῖς ἀσθενούσιν ἡ προσευχὴ συμπρέπει,  
καὶ τῷ βροτῷ δὲ καὶ θεῷ λόγῳ πρέπει.
- πς' Τὴν ἀσφάλειαν πίστεως τῆς ἐνθέου  
ὁ ψαλμὸς οἶδεν<sup>124</sup>, ἣν ἀποστόλων λόγοις  
ἠδράσε Χριστὸς ὡς ὀρῶν στερεῶ κράτει.
- πζ' Πάθη τὰ Χριστοῦ καὶ ταφὴν ζωηφόρον  
ἐνταῦθα γνώσῃ προγράφοντα τὸν λόγον.
- πη' Ἐκ Δαυὶδ ἐβλάστησε Χριστός, ὡς μέλος  
τοῦτο προδηλοῖ, γηγενῶν σῶζων γένος,  
ἀρχαῖον οἶκτον συμπαθείας ἐκχέων<sup>125</sup>.
- πθ' Ἀρχὴν ἀναρχον δημιουργοῦ μηνύων  
ὁ ψαλμὸς αἰτεῖ τοῦδε τὴν εὐσπλαγχνίαν.
- ς' Οἶκον σεαυτὸν θεῖον ἐξειργασμένος,  
θεία κατοικήσειας ὑψίστου σκέπη.

<sup>122</sup> γνώσεως A P] γνησίως V (ut vid.)

<sup>123</sup> λόγου A V] λόγος P

<sup>124</sup> οἶδεν A P] οἶδε V

<sup>125</sup> ἀρχαῖον ... ἐκχέων A P] om. V

- 91 Vraiment, il n'y a rien de préférable à la vénération  
et à la cessation totale, comme l'enseigne  
clairement l'appellation du « sabbat ».
- 92 Le Roi de toute chose en sa venue charnelle  
est apparu en roi majestueux, ceint  
de puissance contre les ennemis, ressuscité du tombeau.
- 93 L'être façonné par les mains de son Maître  
est maintenant venu pour faire justice en toute liberté  
et il a détruit toute la puissance des démons.
- 94 [Exultons de joie et ouvrons la bouche,  
entremêlons nos voix pour chanter,  
tous les fidèles de notre Dieu, venez !]
- 95 Laisse tout et tourne ton regard vers Dieu seul,  
danse avec les élus du Seigneur,  
même si les égarés refusent de le faire.
- 96 Qu'exulte de joie toute la terre !  
Le Christ a régné sur la terre et lors de l'effrayant  
jugement dernier il réduit en cendres  
tous les adversaires dans le feu du châtement.
- 97 Que la multitude nouvelle chante un chant nouveau  
au merveilleux Verbe qui a fait des merveilles !
- 98 Le Christ, fixé comme chair, est apparu en roi, de son plein gré :  
il faut donc se réjouir, même si, irrités en vain,  
ses ennemis l'irritent avec une folle obstination.

- σα' Ὡς κρείττον οὐδέν ἐστι τῆς σεβασμίας  
ἀκηράτου τε<sup>126</sup> λήξεως, ὡς τοῦτό γε<sup>127</sup>  
σαφῶς διδάσκει κλήσις<sup>128</sup> ἢ τοῦ σαββάτου.
- σβ' Ὁ παμβασιλεὺς σαρκικῇ παρουσίᾳ  
ᾧφθη βασιλεὺς εὐπρεπῆς, ἐζωσμένος  
κράτος κατ' ἐχθρῶν, ἐξαναστάς τοῦ τάφου.
- σγ' Τὸ πλάσμα χειρῶν τῶν ἑαυτοῦ δεσπότης  
νῦν ἐκδικήσων ἦλθε σὺν παρρησίᾳ  
καὶ συγκαθεῖλε πᾶσαν ἰσχὺν<sup>129</sup> δαιμόνων.
- σδ' [Ἀγαλλιῶμεν καὶ πλατύνωμεν στόμα,  
λόγον πλέκοντες ἐκ λόγων μελωδίας,  
ἅπαντες πιστοὶ τῷ θεῷ ἡμῶν δεῦτε.]<sup>130</sup>
- σε' Πάντων ἀπογνοὺς πρὸς θεὸν μόνον βλέπε<sup>131</sup>,  
τοῖς ἐκλεκτοῖς τοῦ συγχόρευε κυρίου,  
κἂν οἱ πλάνοι θέλωσι μὴ ποιεῖν τάδε.
- ςς' Ἀγαλλιάσθω πᾶσα γῆ θυμηδία,  
Χριστοῦ βασιλεύσαντος ἐν γῇ καὶ κρίσει  
φρικτῇ τελευταίᾳ<sup>132</sup> τε τοὺς ἐναντίους  
τεφροῦντος ἄρδην ἐμπύρῳ τιμωρίᾳ.
- ςζ' Τὸ καινὸν ἄσμα καινὸς ὄχλος ἀδέτω  
θαυμαστὰ ποιήσαντι θαυμαστῷ λόγῳ.
- ση' Χριστὸς βασιλεὺς σὰρξ παγεῖς ᾧφθη θέλων·  
χαίρειν χρεὼν οὖν, κἂν μάτην ὠργισμένοι  
ἐχθροὶ παροργίζωσι τοῦτον ἀφρόνως.

<sup>126</sup> τε Α] om. P V<sup>127</sup> τοῦτό γε Α P] τοῦτ/ τὸ/ ν/ V<sup>128</sup> κλήσις Α P] λῦσις V<sup>129</sup> ἰσχὺν Α] ὀφρῦν P V<sup>130</sup> ἀγαλλιῶμεν ... δεῦτε supplevit P] vacant Α V<sup>131</sup> βλέπε Α] τρέχε P, legi nequit V<sup>132</sup> τελευταία P V] τελαία Α

- 99 Que tout fidèle l'acclame avec piété,  
faisant voir qu'il est le serviteur du Seigneur souverain de toute chose.
- 100 Le psaume, signifiant le nombre parfait,  
rend parfait celui qui par son comportement est parfait,  
en montrant comment doivent vivre les débutants.
- 101 Celui-ci, jetant au loin le chagrin des malheurs,  
donne la joie de Dieu.
- 102 Si se présente à toi l'occasion de rendre grâce,  
chante en ton âme et fais résonner ce chant !  
Car il enseigne la divine crainte de Dieu.
- 103 Si tu veux connaître celui qui dirige tout,  
parcours attentivement le chant du psaume :  
car tu verras que c'est le Créateur des choses.
- 104 Nations, sachez que la nature des Israélites est méchante  
et que la justice de Dieu est véritable,  
vous qui avez pris leur place !
- 105 Qui énumérera toutes les fois où tu as apporté le salut par le passé,  
Maître ? Car ceux qui t'étaient familiers,  
tu les as rejetés auparavant à cause de ceux qui étaient rejetés.
- 106 Chantez tous, vous en qui est écrit le Verbe  
de condition égale au Père, de tout lieu  
rassemblez-vous et recevez sa grâce !
- 107 Il faut être prêt à chanter le Seigneur :  
David y encourage et y rend habile les cœurs.

- ςθ' Ἄπας κροτεῖτω πιστὸς εὐσεβοφρόνως,  
τοῦ παντάνακτος δούλος ὁφθεὶς κυρίου.
- ρ' Ὁ τὸν ἀριθμὸν<sup>133</sup> τὸν τέλειον μηνῶν  
ψαλμός, τελειοῖ τὸν τέλειον τοῖς<sup>134</sup> τρόποις  
ὅπως βιοῦν χρὴ τοὺς ἐν ἀρχῇ δεικνύων.
- ρα' Οὗτος δὲ πόρρω τὴν κακῶν ἀκηδῖαν  
βάλλων δίδωσι τὴν θεοῦ θυμηδῖαν.
- ρβ' Εἴ σοι γένοιτο καιρὸς εὐχαριστίας  
ψυχῇ μελώδει καὶ μέλος ποιῶν τόδε·  
καὶ γὰρ διδάσκει τὸν θεοῦ θεῖον φόβον.
- ργ' Τὸν τῶν ὄλων πρύτανιν εἰ μαθεῖν θέλεις,  
ὥς νουνεχὴς διέλθε τὸ ψαλμοῦ μέλος·  
ὅψει γὰρ αὐτὸν δημιουργὸν κτισμάτων.
- ρδ' Ἔθνη πονηρὰν Ἰσραηλιτῶν φύσιν  
καὶ τὸν ἀληθῆ γνῶτε τοῦ θεοῦ δίκην  
εἰς τὴν ἐκείνων τάξιν ἐντεταγμένα.
- ρε' Τὰς ἑκπαλαί σου, δέσποτα, σωτηρίας  
τίς ἐκλαλήσει; Καὶ γὰρ ὠκειωμένους  
τὸ πρίν<sup>135</sup> ἀπώσω τῶν ἀπωσμένων χάριν.
- ρς' Αἰνεῖτε πάντες, οἷς ἐνεγράφη λόγος  
ὁ τοῦ πατρὸς σύμμορφος, ἐκ παντὸς τόπου  
συνηγμένοι<sup>136</sup>, δέχεσθε τὴν αὐτοῦ χάριν.
- ρζ' Ἔτοιμον εἶναι δεῖν πρὸς ὥδ' αὖς κυρίου  
Δαυῖδ παραινεῖ καὶ σοφίζει καρδίας.

<sup>133</sup> τὸν ἀριθμὸν A P] τῶν ἀριθμῶν V<sup>134</sup> τοῖς A P] ἐν V<sup>135</sup> τὸ πρίν A] πρῶην P V<sup>136</sup> συνηγμένοι A P] συνημμένοι V

- 108 La Passion du Christ et la jalousie des scribes  
et l'action funeste du disciple et ami :  
c'est précisément ce que signifie par avance ce psaume.
- 109 Me sont enseignés ici ton indicible engendrement, ô Verbe,  
ta naissance aux derniers temps,  
la chute des ennemis et le passage de cette vie à l'autre.
- 110 Ce psaume, sache-le, t'incite  
à chanter Celui qui est vraiment et à le vénérer avec foi.
- 111 Qui se réjouit vivement dans les commandements du Seigneur  
recevra vraiment toute joie  
et aura la gloire et sa part des biens.
- 112 Le psaume parle de l'appel du nouveau peuple,  
ainsi que du salut et du rachat des mauvaises actions.
- 113 Ce psaume décrit d'avance la fuite d'Israël  
loin de l'impiété des Égyptiens.
- 114 Tu es le libérateur des humbles, le gardien des petits  
et la source de la pitié : tout être le sait, mon Christ,  
pour peu qu'il ait été jugé digne de te plaire, à toi seul.
- 115 Mon propos est évident pour tous :  
il faut, dis-je, chanter Dieu par des louanges.
- 116 Moi aussi, j'ai le même but que le précédent :  
j'invite à honorer le Maître.
- 117 Moi non plus, je ne dis pas autre chose que mes voisins ;  
je dis la même chose ou presque.

ρη' Πάθη τὰ Χριστοῦ καὶ φθόνον γραμματέων  
καὶ σκαιότητα τοῦ μαθητοῦ καὶ φίλου  
ὁ ψαλμὸς οὗτος ἀκριβῶς προμηνύει.

ρθ' Διδάσκομαι γέννησιν ἄφραστον, λόγε,  
τὴν σὴν, τόκον τε τῶν χρόνων ἐπ' ἐσχάτων,  
καὶ πτώσιν ἐχθρῶν καὶ μεταλλαγὴν βίου.

ρι' Αἰνεῖν τὸν ὄντως ὄντα καὶ πιστεῖ σέβειν,  
τὸν ψαλμὸν ἴσθι τοῦτον ὁτρύνοντά σε.

ρια' Ὁ σφόδρα χαίρων ἐντολαῖς τοῦ κυρίου  
πάσης ἀληθῶς τεύξεται θυμηδίας<sup>137</sup>  
καὶ δόξαν ἔξει καὶ καλῶν μετουσίαν.

ριβ' Λαοῦ νέου κλησὶν τε καὶ σωτηρίαν  
καὶ τῶν κακῶν λύτρωσιν ὁ ψαλμὸς λέγει.

ριγ' Τὸν Ἰσραὴλ φυγόντα τῶν Αἰγυπτίων  
τὴν δυσσέβειαν ψαλμὸς οὗτος προγράφει.

ριδ' Ῥύστην ταπεινῶν καὶ φύλακα νηπίων  
οἴκτου τε πηγὴν οἶδε πᾶς σε, Χριστέ μου,  
ὃς εὐαρεστεῖν ἠξιώθη σοὶ μόνῳ.

ριε' Δῆλον πέφυκε πᾶσι τὸ πρόγραμμά μου·  
αἰνεῖν γὰρ ὕμνοις τὸν θεὸν πρέπειν λέγω.

ρις' Κἀγὼ τὸν αὐτὸν ὡς ἔχων τῷ πλησίον  
σκοπὸν γεραίρειν προτρέπω τὸν δεσπότην.

ριζ' Οὐ μὴν ἐγὼ τι τῶν σύνεγγύς μοι ξένον  
λέγω, τὰ δ' αὐτὰ καὶ παρωμοιωμένα<sup>138</sup>.

<sup>137</sup> θυμηδίας Α] συνεργίας Ρ V

<sup>138</sup> παρωμοιωμένα Α Ρ] παρομοιωμένα V

- 118 *Heureux celui qui chante ce chant doux comme le miel !  
Sans cesse en son âme il aime les prodigieuses œuvres de Dieu,  
il désire la vie céleste et agit avec sagesse,  
il veut chasser de son cœur ce qui est sans gloire.*

Ode des montées :

Sache que les montées sont des degrés  
menant sur les pas de Dieu, et garde-moi en mémoire.

- 119 Comme est grand le profit de la tribulation qui vient du cœur !  
Car tu peux en même temps demander et recevoir.
- 120 Une fois élevé à la hauteur de la montagne des vertus, tu peux voir  
Celui qui surveille tout lutter avec toi, facilement :  
c'est ce que dit le deuxième des montées.
- 121 Dès que tu as entendu ceux qui t'appellent à entrer  
là où habite Dieu, cours-y avec joie :  
que le troisième des montées t'en persuade !
- 122 Si tu lèves les yeux de l'âme vers le Maître  
qui habite les cieux, tu l'auras qui viendra vite  
à ton secours : ce psaume te le dit.
- 123 Le cinquième des montées enseigne  
les façons de rendre grâce quand on a bien été sauvé.



ρην' Ὀλβιος ὃς μελιγδέα τήνδε αἰέσοι ἀοιδήν,  
 νωλεμέως φιλέων ἐνὶ θυμῷ θέσκελα ἔργα<sup>139</sup>,  
 οὐρανίου βιότοιο ἐρών ἥδ' αἴσιμα ῥέζων,  
 νώνυμον ἐκ<sup>140</sup> καρδίας ἐθέλων ἐλάαν<sup>141</sup>.

Ὡδὴ τῶν ἀναβαθμῶν<sup>142</sup>.  
 Τοὺς ἀναβαθμοὺς κλίμακας πρὸς τὰς στίβους<sup>143</sup>  
 τὰς ἐνθέους γίνωσκε, καὶ σῶζοιό μοι.

ριθ' Ὅσον τὸ κέρδος θλίψεως ἐκ καρδίας·  
 ὁμοῦ γὰρ αἰτεῖν καὶ τυχεῖν ἔξεστί σοι.

ρκ' Εἰς ὕψος ἀρθεῖς ἀρετῶν ὄρους<sup>144</sup> ἴδοις<sup>145</sup>  
 τὸν παντεπόπτην σύμμαχόν σοι ῥαδίως·  
 τῶν ἀναβαθμῶν δεύτερος λέγει τάδε.

ρκα' Τῶν προσκαλουμένων σε πρὸς τοὺς ἐνθέους  
 οἴκους ἀκούσας, χαρμονῆς πλησθεῖς τρέχε·  
 τῶν ἀναβαθμῶν ὁ τρίτος σε πειθέτω.

ρκβ' Ψυχῆς ἐπάρας ὄμματα πρὸς δεσπότην  
 τοὺς<sup>146</sup> οὐρανοὺς οἰκοῦντα, τοῦτον ἐν τάχει  
 ἔξεις βοηθόν<sup>147</sup>, ψαλμὸς οὗτός σοι λέγει.

ρκγ' Τῶν ἀναβαθμῶν πέμπτος εὐχαριστίας  
 τρόπους διδάσκει τὸν καλῶς σεσωσμένον.

<sup>139</sup> ὀλβιος ... ἔργα A] τοὺς μακαρισμοὺς τῶν καθαρῶν μοι σκόπει καὶ μακαριστὸς τῷ θεῷ γίνῃ φίλος ὥς  
 φησι δαυὶδ προφητᾶναξ ἐνθάδε P, legi nequit V

<sup>140</sup> οὐρανίου ... ἐκ A V] om. P

<sup>141</sup> καρδίας ἐθέλων ἐλάαν A] καρδίας ἐθέλων ἐλάαν κακότ<ητα> V, om. P

<sup>142</sup> ὠδὴ τῶν ἀναβαθμῶν A] om. P V

<sup>143</sup> τοὺς ... στίβους A P] paene legitur V

<sup>144</sup> ὄρους A] ὄρους P, legi nequit V

<sup>145</sup> ἴδοις A] ἴδῃς P V

<sup>146</sup> τοὺς A] τὸν P V

<sup>147</sup> ἔξεις βοηθόν A] βοηθὸν ἔξεις P V

- 124 La montagne de Sion, sache-le, ce sont ceux qui se fient  
à la puissante et sage armure de Dieu :  
c'est ce que te dit le sixième des montées.
- 125 Qui a été racheté de la captivité spirituelle par les paroles  
divines, qu'il chante ce psaume d'un cœur joyeux :  
c'est ce dont parle le septième des montées.
- 126 Si Dieu ne sauve pas des terribles dangers, en vain  
s'efforce-t-on d'échapper aux peines incurables,  
car c'est lui le protecteur et gardien de tous :  
le huitième des montées m'en a persuadé.
- 127 Qui a dans le cœur, habitant avec lui, une divine crainte  
obtiendra de vénérables éloges.
- 128 Que celui qui est couvert des commandements de Dieu  
ne se laisse pas impressionner par les attaques des adversaires,  
même s'ils lancent souvent des attaques contre lui.
- 129 Des profonds replis de leur cœur, ils crient  
vers le Prince, ceux qui savent bien que c'est lui  
le salut propice pour les malheureux.
- 130 Que celui qui, en partant d'une hauteur moyenne, a atteint le degré  
le plus élevé chante ce psaume avec ardeur !
- 131 Qui est prêt à recevoir le Verbe  
à sa venue dit cela avec ardeur.

ρκδ' Σιών ὄρος γήνωσκε τοὺς πεποιθότας  
θεοῦ κραταιᾷ καὶ σοφῇ παντευχίᾳ·  
τῶν ἀναβαθμῶν φησιν ἔκτος ταῦτά σοι.

ρκε' Ὁ τῆς νοητῆς αἰχμαλωσίας λόγοις  
θείοις λυτρωθεὶς ψαλλέτω<sup>148</sup> χαίρων τάδε·  
τῶν ἀναβαθμῶν ἑβδομος φράζει τάδε<sup>149</sup>.

ρκς' Εἰ μὴ θεὸς σώσειε δεινῶν, εἰς μάτην  
σπεύδει φυγεῖν τις τοὺς ἀνηκέστους πόνους·  
πάντων γὰρ αὐτὸς<sup>150</sup> προστάτης τε καὶ φύλαξ·  
τῶν ἀναβαθμῶν ὄγδοος πέπεικέ με.

ρκζ' Φόβον σύνοικον θεῖον ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ  
ἔχων τις αἰνῶν τεύξεται σεβασμίων.

ρκη' Ταῖς ἐντολαῖς τις τοῦ θεοῦ πεφραγμένος  
μηδὲν πτοεῖσθω προσβολὰς ἐναντίων,  
καὶ<sup>151</sup> προσβαλεῖν ὁρμῶσι τούτῳ πολλάκις.

ρκθ' Ἐκ βαθέων κρᾶζουσι μυχῶν καρδίας  
πρὸς τὸν δυνάστην, τοῦτον οἱ κατειδότες  
ἰλασμόν ὄντα τοῖς κακῶς ἐπταικόσιν.

ρλ' Ὁ πρὸς μέγιστον ὕψος ἐκ τοῦ μετρίου  
φθάσας προθύμως ψαλλέτω<sup>152</sup> τάδε μέλη<sup>153</sup>.

ρλα' Ἔτοιμος ὢν τις εἰσδέχεσθαι<sup>154</sup> τὸν λόγον  
ἤκοντα ταῦτά φησι σὺν προθυμίᾳ<sup>155</sup>

<sup>148</sup> ψαλλέτω PV] ψαλέτω A

<sup>149</sup> τῶν ἀναβαθμῶν ἑβδομος φράζει τάδε A] om. P V

<sup>150</sup> αὐτὸς A P] αὐτῶν V

<sup>151</sup> καὶ A P] ἂν V

<sup>152</sup> ψαλλέτω PV] ψαλέτω A

<sup>153</sup> τάδε μέλη A] μέλη τάδε P V

<sup>154</sup> εἰσδέχεται A] τοῦ δέχεσθαι P V

<sup>155</sup> προθυμία P V] προθυμηδία A

- 132 S'il est un motif de plaisir, c'est que ceux qui sont unis  
par les paroles et le comportement habitent ensemble.
- 133 Considère comme le dernier des montées,  
décrit nettement les serviteurs du Seigneur,  
en les invitant à lui adresser la meilleure des bénédictions.
- 134 Ce psaume enseigne la façon  
dont il faut honorer le Dieu et Maître.
- 135 Ceux qui ont été délivrés des malheurs font souvent retentir  
des mots d'actions de grâce de toutes sortes :  
la parole prophétique nous le montre.
- 136 Que celui qui s'est repenti de ses actes mauvais  
chante cet air auguste et divin !
- 137 Quand tu auras reçu des bienfaits et te seras souvenu de Dieu,  
tu chanteras le psaume de tout ton cœur.
- 138 Comme ces paroles conviennent aux justes !  
C'est évident d'emblée, dès la première ligne.
- 139 Pour être délivré du mal fait par les mortels et les démons,  
que chacun importune Dieu par ses prières !
- 140 Mots d'un homme très pieux qui crie vers Dieu  
et avec Dieu tient bon dans les peines.
- 141 Prière d'un homme au cœur oppressé,  
qui adresse sa supplique avec véhémence  
au seul Maître qui veut le sauver.
- 142 Ceci est la supplique, encore une fois, d'un être  
au cœur oppressé qui crie vers Dieu.

ρλβ' Τὸς ἐν λόγοις τε καὶ τρόποις ἡνωμένους  
ὁμοῦ κατοικεῖν, τερπνὸν εἶπερ ἄλλο τι.

ρλγ' Τῶν ἀναβαθμῶν τὸν τελευταῖον νόει  
τρανώς διαγράφοντα δούλους κυρίου,  
οὓς εὐλογεῖν ἄριστα τοῦτον προτρέπει.

ρλδ' Ὡς χρη γεραίρειν τὸν θεὸν καὶ δεσπότην,  
ὁ ψαλμὸς οὗτος ἐκδιδάσκει τὸν τρόπον.

ρλε' Τὸς ἐκ κακῶν ῥυσθέντας εὐχαριστίαις  
φωναῖς κεκρῆσθαι πολλαχῶς καὶ ποικίλως,  
δείκνυσιν ἡμῖν ὁ προφητικὸς λόγος.

ρλς' Ἐκ τῶν πονηρῶν πράξεων ἐπιστρέφων,  
τὸ σεπτὸν ἅδε καὶ θεῖον τοῦτο<sup>156</sup> μέλος.

ρλζ' Εὐεργετηθεὶς καὶ θεοῦ μεμνημένος,  
τὸν ψαλμὸν ἅσεις ἐξ ὅλης τῆς καρδίας.

ρλη' Ὡς τοῖς δικαίοις οὗτος ἀρμόττει λόγος,  
πρόδηλόν ἐστιν εὐθὺς ἐκ πρώτου στίχου.

ρλθ' Ἐκ τῶν πονηρῶν καὶ βροτῶν καὶ δαιμόνων  
ἐξαιρεθῆναι πᾶς δυσωπεῖτω θεόν.

ρμ' Φωναὶ βοῶντος πρὸς θεόν, θείους πόνοις  
ἐγκαρτεροῦντος, ἀνδρὸς εὐσεβεστάτου.

ρμα' Ἀνδρὸς προσευχῇ καρδίαν τεθλιμμένου  
καὶ τὴν δέησιν ἐκχέοντος συντόνως  
πρὸς τὸν μόνον θέλοντα σῶζειν δεσπότην.

ρμβ' Αὕτη δέησις καὶ πάλιν τεθλιμμένου  
ἐκ καρδίας τε πρὸς θεὸν κεκραγός.

<sup>156</sup> καὶ θεῖον τοῦτο Α] τοῦτο καὶ θεῖον Ρ V

- 143 Quand la main droite de Dieu te sera acquise pour t'aider,  
bénis ton Maître qu'il est bon de bénir !
- 144 Chante très haut le Très-Haut, quand tu auras découvert  
qu'il lutte pour toi et qu'il t'aide dans la lutte spirituelle.
- 145 Fais retentir la louange des anges, dignement,  
mon âme, en cherchant à égaler, autant que possible, leur vie,  
en la chérissant et en l'imitant !
- 146 Cette divine louange nous invite tous à chanter  
à Dieu une louange qu'il agrée.
- 147 Adressez en paroles un éloge à votre Maître qui est digne d'éloge,  
vous tous qui avez été sauvés par sa divine puissance !
- 148 Le monde entier maintenant adresse cette louange au Seigneur :  
créatures visibles et invisibles !
- 149 Tout être sauvé fait résonner le chant nouveau  
sur le tambour et le subtil psaltérion.
- 150 *L'ultime psaume, avec constance et empressement,  
appelle tous les êtres à chanter ensemble la divine louange.*

- ργ' Θείαν συνεργὸν δεξιὰν κεκτημένος  
τὸν εὐλογητὸν εὐλόγει σου δεσπότην.
- ρμδ' Ὑψιστον ὕψου, τοῦτον εὐρὼν ἐν μάχῃ  
νοουμένη πρόμαχον ἢ συνεργάτην.
- ρμε' Τῶν ἀγγέλων ὕμνησον ὕμνον ἀξίως,  
ψυχή, τὸν αὐτῶν ὡς δυνατὸν σοι βίον  
ζηλοῦσα καὶ στέργουσα καὶ μιμουμένη.
- ρμς' Ὁ θεῖος ὕμνος οὗτος εἰς ὕμνωδίαν  
δεκτὴν θεῷ σύμπαντας ἡμᾶς προτρέπει.
- ρμζ' Τὸν αἰνετὸν σου δεσπότην αἶνει λόγοις,  
ἅπας ὁ σωθεὶς τοῦδε θείᾳ δυνάμει.
- ρμη' Παγκόσμιος νῦν οὗτος ὕμνος κυρίῳ  
ἐκ τῶν ὁρατῶν καὶ νοητῶν κτισμάτων.
- ρμβ' Ὑμνεῖ τὸ καινὸν ᾠσμα πᾶς σεσωσμένος  
ἐν τυμπάνῳ τε καὶ σοφῷ ψαλτηρίῳ.
- ρν' Λοίσθιος ἐν ψαλμοῖσι διηνεκέως προφρόνως τε  
πάντας ὁμοῦ καλεῖ τὸν θεῖον αἰεθεῖν ὕμνον.

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# THE BYZANTINE RECEPTION OF THE *METAPHRASIS PSALMORUM*: PARATEXTUALITY AND VISUAL REPRESENTATION

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THIS PAPER INVESTIGATES the Byzantine reception of the late antique *Metaphrasis Psalmorum* (henceforth *Metaphrasis*), a re-writing of the Greek Psalms in more than 5,300 dactylic hexameters, from the perspective of its manuscript tradition. The present study focuses on the relationship between the *Metaphrasis* and the Psalms themselves in the extant manuscripts. In particular, the analysis of the manuscript tradition answers the question of whether the *Metaphrasis* was perceived by Byzantine readers (and scribes) as an independent text or whether it was merely seen as an appendix to the biblical text. In this respect, I argue that the layout of the text, its visual representation, as well as the accessory texts that accompany the *Metaphrasis* in manuscripts, all constitute a meaningful tool for understanding how this work was transmitted and interpreted.<sup>1</sup>

## 1. AN ANONYMOUS BIBLICAL POEM?

The history of the *Metaphrasis* still remains unclear in some respects. The *Metaphrasis* is also known as the ‘Homeric Psalter’ and faithfully reproduces the Septuagint verses as an *ad verbum* intra-lingual translation.<sup>2</sup> It ties in with late antique fashion that involves the production of metrical re-writings of biblical texts both in Greek and in Latin.<sup>3</sup> This so-called biblical epic is represented in Latin literature by the works of Giovenicus and Paolinus of Nola, whereas the most relevant examples of extant biblical poetry in

<sup>1</sup> I owe a great debt of gratitude to Reinhart Ceulemans and Barbara Crostini, whose valuable remarks have significantly improved the paper. I am also grateful to Andrew Faulkner for the insightful discussion on the *Metaphrasis* in the Spring of 2019, and to Anna Gioffreda, who kindly read an earlier version of this paper. Any remaining deficiencies are my own.

<sup>2</sup> For a stimulating insight into the meaning of the techniques used in the *Metaphrasis*, also in the light of Nonnos’s compositional features, see Faulkner 2014.

<sup>3</sup> Nazzaro convincingly placed these poems in their own, autonomous genre, speaking of a “Parafraasi biblica e agiografica” (2006, 438–439).

Greek late antique literature are the *Paraphrase of St John's Gospel* by Nonnos of Panopolis, the *Homeroecentones* composed by the empress Eudokia, and the *Metaphrasis* itself.<sup>4</sup> It seems that in middle and late Byzantine literature this trend declined and that biblical epic did not flourish as it did in Late Antiquity. However, two remarkable cases of poetic paraphrases of biblical texts in later Byzantine literature are the *Metaphrasis of the Odes* in dodecasyllables by John Geometres (second half of the tenth century)<sup>5</sup> and Manuel Philes's rewriting of the Psalms in political verses (13<sup>th</sup>–14<sup>th</sup> century).<sup>6</sup> The former definitely shares a common manuscript transmission with our *Metaphrasis*: thirteen out of the eighteen manuscripts listed by Marc De Groote in his edition of Geometres's poem are preceded by the *Metaphrasis*.<sup>7</sup> This sequence is a reflection of the normal structure of Byzantine Psalters, in which the Psalms are usually followed by (at least) nine biblical Odes.<sup>8</sup>

The *Metaphrasis* is preceded by a metrical prologue, called *Protheōria*, which fulfils a programmatic function.<sup>9</sup> The scope of the *Metaphrasis* is explicitly presented in the *Protheōria*, vv. 15–19 and 29–32 as an attempt to restore the poetic character of the Psalms of the original Hebrew text:

You know that the manners of glorious David were adorned with Hebrew metres  
and that formerly they were made of divine melodies,  
and were chanted on the sweet lyre and in verse.  
However, once they were translated into Greek,  
the grace of metre was lost.  
[...]  
But, as it is appropriate, we will put in verse the melodies  
that the men of former times left to us,  
and we reawaken again the sweet song of David the king  
in hexameters [...].

οἶσθ', ὅτι Δαυίδου μὲν ἀγακλέος ἦθεα μέτροις  
Ἑβραίοις ἐκέκαστο καὶ ἐκ μελέων ἐτέτυκτο

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<sup>4</sup> For a detailed account of this phenomenon, see Agosti 2001. A comparison between one of Pao-  
linus's paraphrases and the *Metaphrasis* can be found in Ugenti 2008–2009, 353–354.

<sup>5</sup> Geometres's metrical version of the Odes is edited by De Groote 2004. Interestingly, a para-  
phrase of this metaphrasis (written in dodecasyllables as well and published by De Groote 2002–  
2003) was composed at a later stage and is preserved in a sixteenth-century manuscript.

<sup>6</sup> The metaphrasis composed by Manuel Philes is still largely unpublished. Only a few Psalms have  
been critically edited (Stickler 1992). An ongoing research project carried out at the Austrian  
Academy of Sciences will fill this gap. Techniques of adaptation used in the late antique *Meta-  
phrasis* and in that of Philes's are compared by Ricceri 2020.

<sup>7</sup> See De Groote 2004, 378.

<sup>8</sup> See Parpulov 2014, 49.

<sup>9</sup> Annotated translations of the prologue are provided by Golega (1960, 25–44) and Ugenti (2005,  
208–215). See also Agosti 2009, 331. In a later contribution, Ugenti presented a number of inter-  
textual references that show the Homeric characteristics of the *Protheōria* (2007).

θεσπεσίων τὸ πρόσθεν, ὅθεν φόρμιγγι λιγείῃ  
 μέλπετο καὶ μελέεσσιν· ἀτὰρ μετ' Ἀχαιίδα γῆρυν 18  
 αὐθις ἀμειβομένων κατὰ μὲν χάρις ἔφθιτο μέτρων,  
 [...] ἡμεῖς δ' ὥς κ' ἐπέοικε, τὰ περ πρότεροι λίπον ἄνδρες  
 ἐκ μελέων, μέτροισιν ἐνήσομεν, εἰς δὲ μελιχρῆν 30  
 Δαυίδου βασιλῆος ἐγείρομεν αὐτίς ἀοιδὴν  
 ἐξατόνοις ἐπέεσσιν [...].<sup>10</sup>

Scholars can now benefit from a complete study of the *Metaphrasis*, carried out by Andrew Faulkner.<sup>11</sup> His edition is based on Ludwig's,<sup>12</sup> which for over a century was the only one available, with the exception of Ps 21 edited by Gonnelli.<sup>13</sup> The *Metaphrasis* is preserved in more than forty complete or fragmentary manuscripts.<sup>14</sup>

All manuscripts that mention an author of the *Metaphrasis* attribute it to Apollinarius of Laodikeia, the famous theologian and heterodox bishop from the fourth century. However, the authorship of the *Metaphrasis* has been a long-debated issue ever since Joseph Golega proposed to date the hexametric Psalter to the fifth century.<sup>15</sup> In that period, the issue of the role of Christian poetry and its relationship with the pagan heritage had become a sensitive one.<sup>16</sup> However, the date of the prologue, on which scholarly discussion concerning the dating of the *Metaphrasis* has generally focused, cannot in itself be considered as a definitive argument to assign the main part of the text to the fifth century.<sup>17</sup> One might argue that the *Protheōria* was added at a later stage, in a step of the transmission that cannot be precisely reconstructed. In fact, some

<sup>10</sup> Ed. Ludwig 1912, 2–3 (translations are mine, unless otherwise specified).

<sup>11</sup> Faulkner 2020. This volume appeared after the present study was completed. References were added in proof and are therefore restricted.

<sup>12</sup> Ludwig 1912.

<sup>13</sup> Gonnelli 1987.

<sup>14</sup> As listed in the Pinakes database (last accessed 12 October 2020). On the heuristics of manuscripts preserving the *Metaphrasis*, see Gonnelli 1987, 54–55 n. 12 and Ugenti 2005, 207 n. 14.

<sup>15</sup> Golega 1939. He confirmed his view in a seminal study published some twenty years later, which for sixty years was the only monograph devoted to the Homeric Psalter (Golega 1960). Dating the *Metaphrasis* to the fifth century, Golega relied on some theological references in the *Protheōria* and on the reference to a certain Marcian in v. 4 (see Golega 1960, 22–24 and Agosti 2001, 87).

<sup>16</sup> See Cameron 1982, 239 and Agosti 2009, 329.

<sup>17</sup> De Stefani raises the issue of the authorship of the *Protheōria*, which might have been written by a different author than the *Metaphrasis* itself (2008, 7). Agosti resolutely states that the Homeric Psalter must be dated to the fifth century (2001, 87: “l'opera è sicuramente da attribuire alla metà del V sec.”). However, he incidentally observes that ‘modern’ tendencies are to be found in the metrical structure of the prologue, whereas the *Metaphrasis* faithfully follows the Homeric hexameter.

ancient sources seem to confirm that the metrical Psalter is a genuine fourth-century work.<sup>18</sup>

The crucial argument that has been adduced in support of dating the *Metaphrasis* to the second half of the fifth century is the consideration of its stylistic and metrical features, which match the expectations of fifth-century Greek poetry. Although the metre of the *Metaphrasis* cannot be considered rigidly ‘Nonnian’, it seems not to have been written before Nonnos’s poems.<sup>19</sup> Similarities with Nonnos, as far as the paraphrastic technique is concerned, have also been underlined, whereas there is no consensus about the alleged Apollinarism of the author of the *Metaphrasis*.<sup>20</sup>

Setting aside the *vexata quaestio* of the date of the *Metaphrasis*, any consideration about its reception requires a preliminary clarification regarding its manuscript tradition. The extant manuscripts are generally late, from the fourteenth to the eighteenth

<sup>18</sup> This is in fact believed and argued by Faulkner (2020, 30–31). The sources traditionally used to validate the attribution of the *Metaphrasis* to Apollinaris of Laodikeia are the following three passages: (1) Socrates Scholasticus, *Church History* 3, 16 mentions two persons named Apollinaris, father and son, who translated biblical text into hexameters, in reaction to Julian’s edict of 362 (“[Apollinaris] translated Moses’s books into the so-called heroic metre”, ed. Hansen 1995, 210: τὰ τε Μωυσέως βιβλία διὰ τοῦ ἡρωικοῦ λεγομένου μέτρου μετέβαλεν); (2) Fournet (1992, 265) still found Sozomenos, *Church History* 5, 18, 3 to be valuable for confirming the authorship of the *Metaphrasis* (“with skilfulness and spontaneity, Apollinaris conveniently composed a heroic poem on the antiquities of the Hebrews, as a substitute for the poem of Homer”, ed. Hansen 2004, II:640: Ἀπολινάριος οὗτος εἰς καιρὸν τῇ πολυμαθείᾳ καὶ τῇ φύσει χρησάμενος, ἀντὶ μὲν τῆς Ὀμήρου ποιήσεως ἐν ἔπεσιν ἡρώοις τὴν Ἑβραϊκὴν ἀρχαιολογίαν συνεγράψατο); (3) Gregory of Nazianzos, *Letter* 101, 73 (“If then the long speeches and the new Psalters, which have a sound opposite to that of David, and the grace of the meters are considered as the third testament, we shall compose psalms as well and write many works in prose and in verse”, ed. Gallay 1974, 68: Εἰ δὲ οἱ μακροὶ λόγοι καὶ τὰ νέα ψαλτήρια καὶ ἀντίφθογγα τῷ Δαυὶδ καὶ ἡ τῶν μέτρων χάρις ἡ τρίτη Διαθήκη νομίζεται, καὶ ἡμεῖς ψαλμολογήσομεν καὶ πολλὰ γράψομεν καὶ μετρήσομεν). In this passage, Gregory rather sarcastically points to the “new Psalters” composed by his enemy Apollinaris of Laodikeia as the “third testament”. Golega, however, argues that Gregory does not refer to a re-writing of the Psalms but to brief texts written for didactic purposes (1960, 5–24). According to yet another hypothesis, the actual paraphrase by Apollinaris has not been preserved (Ugenti 2005, 207).

<sup>19</sup> See De Stefani 2008, 5–10.

<sup>20</sup> Faulkner (2014, 208; 2019, 216 and 2020, 49) has repeatedly highlighted the common ground in the paraphrastic method of the *Metaphrasis* and Nonnos. Nazzaro declares a total absence of stylistic parallels with Apollinaris (2006, 434): “La metafrasi, che segue pedissequamente il testo sacro, facendo corrispondere un esametro a ciascuno stico dei salmi, è esente da ogni traccia di apollinarismo”. On the opposite side, Alessio Persic presents 39 possible intertextual cross-references in order to suggest a direct relationship between the *Metaphrasis* and the extant texts of Apollinaris. Nevertheless, he does not gain enough confidence to affirm that his results provide sufficient evidence against a fifth-century dating of the poem (Persic 1998, 217).

century.<sup>21</sup> Thus, an analysis of the reception of the *Metaphrasis* and its accompanying texts is inevitably affected by this huge chronological gap.<sup>22</sup>

## 2. PARATEXTS AND VISUAL PRESENTATION

In order to understand how the late antique re-writing of the Psalms was appreciated by Byzantine readers, it is useful to look at the paratexts that accompany the *Metaphrasis* in manuscripts. The concept of paratext has been introduced by Genette as “what enables a text to become a book and to be offered as such to its readers and, more generally, to the public.”<sup>23</sup> All the evidence that complements the text can be considered as a precious track-record of the experience of reading or copying the book and is therefore worth taking into account, especially (but not only) from the point of view of reception studies.<sup>24</sup>

Thus, an insight into the afterlife of the *Metaphrasis* cannot disregard the transmission of the text in its entirety, including its visual presentation in manuscripts, as well as its accompanying paratexts. On a more general level of analysis, the relationship between the *Metaphrasis* and its model—the Psalms—can be elucidated by examining their mutual presentation as texts and as paratexts. From a theoretical standpoint, this ‘paratextual dynamics’ might be realized in three different ways: (1) the Psalms are the main text and the *Metaphrasis* functions as a paratext; (2) the *Metaphrasis* is presented as the main text and the Psalms as its paratext; (3) there is no hierarchy in the visual representation of the two sets of texts.

The first scenario, which one might have thought most likely, is not attested by the manuscripts: the *Metaphrasis* never functions as a paratext to the Psalms.<sup>25</sup> It seems that the *Metaphrasis* was never copied in a regular Psalter, in order to explain the text, but it does occur in manuscripts containing exegetical texts on the Psalms, as for instance in Par. gr. 2743 (16<sup>th</sup> cent., mentioned below), or in Oxon. Bodl. Auct. E. 1. 5 (16<sup>th</sup> cent.).

<sup>21</sup> See De Stefani 2008, 3 n. 4.

<sup>22</sup> Furthermore, the examples that will be presented in the following sections can only offer an initial sounding that cannot replace a future systematic study of the manuscript tradition of the *Metaphrasis*.

<sup>23</sup> Genette 1997, 1. I also embrace a recent definition of paratext, which has been formulated to point to biblical paratexts and sounds like a very meaningful reformulation of Genette’s words: “all contents in biblical manuscripts, except the biblical text itself, are *a priori* paratexts” (Andrist & Wallraff 2016, 63).

<sup>24</sup> Among others, two ongoing projects that focus on paratexts in Byzantine manuscripts are Para-TexBib ([www.paratexbib.eu](http://www.paratexbib.eu)) and the Database of Byzantine Book Epigrams ([www.dbbe.ugent.be](http://www.dbbe.ugent.be)).

<sup>25</sup> The survey relies on fifteen manuscripts, consulted either through digital reproduction or *de visu*.

This means that the *Metaphrasis* is invested with autonomous status and is never used as a gloss to comment on the biblical text. The hexameters are not intended to be interpretative, but as a substitute for the Psalm text itself.

Even if the *Metaphrasis* does not appear in Psalters, the text of the Psalms and their poetic adaptation can coexist in the same manuscript. The determination of the kind of function the texts assume in each manuscript is mediated by their visual presentation on the folios. The page layout, the type of ink and script used by the scribes become an invaluable key not only so as to follow the process of composition of the individual manuscript, but also for deducing the cultural role that each of the texts was destined to play within the book.<sup>26</sup>

The visual presentation of the texts and of the paratexts has a manifest aesthetic value, since “epigrams were meant to be viewed as much as read; they appealed to the eye no less than to the mind”.<sup>27</sup> However, it also bears a deeper meaning. The reader sees the folio before reading its content and is invariably struck first by those elements that the scribe deliberately highlighted over others. Regardless of the content of the manuscript, the palaeographical aspects of the manuscript page provide precious clues to understand the ideas and the priorities of whomever was involved in the production of the book.

It is revealing to look at a sixteenth-century paper manuscript, namely Par. gr. 2743, copied by Jacob Diassorinos, which preserves some introductory exegetical texts on the Psalms, the *Metaphrasis* and a version of John Geometres’s *Paraphrasis of the Odes*.<sup>28</sup> The hexameters of the *Metaphrasis* are preceded in this manuscript by metrical titles and accompanied by “useless interlinear glosses written in red by the same hand”.<sup>29</sup> In terms of information on the reception of the late antique poem, it is interesting to note that the original Psalm verses are written in the external margin of the folio, in a smaller script (see fig. 1). We can assume that, from the perspective of the visual presentation of the text, the *Metaphrasis* functions as the primary text and is meant to be highlighted, whereas the biblical text is reduced to the position of a paratext.

Conversely, a more balanced relationship between the Psalms and the *Metaphrasis* can be found in MS Oxon. Bodl. Barocc. 48, a miscellaneous manuscript dating back

<sup>26</sup> A fruitful analysis of the visual presentation of a very common metrical paratext was recently carried out by Meesters 2020.

<sup>27</sup> Drpić 2016, 54.

<sup>28</sup> A detailed description of this manuscript is available online (<http://archivesetmanuscripts.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cc88926g>, last accessed 12 October 2020). See also De Groote 2002–2003, 268.

<sup>29</sup> De Groote 2002–2003, 268. On the metrical titles, see pp. 271–273 below.



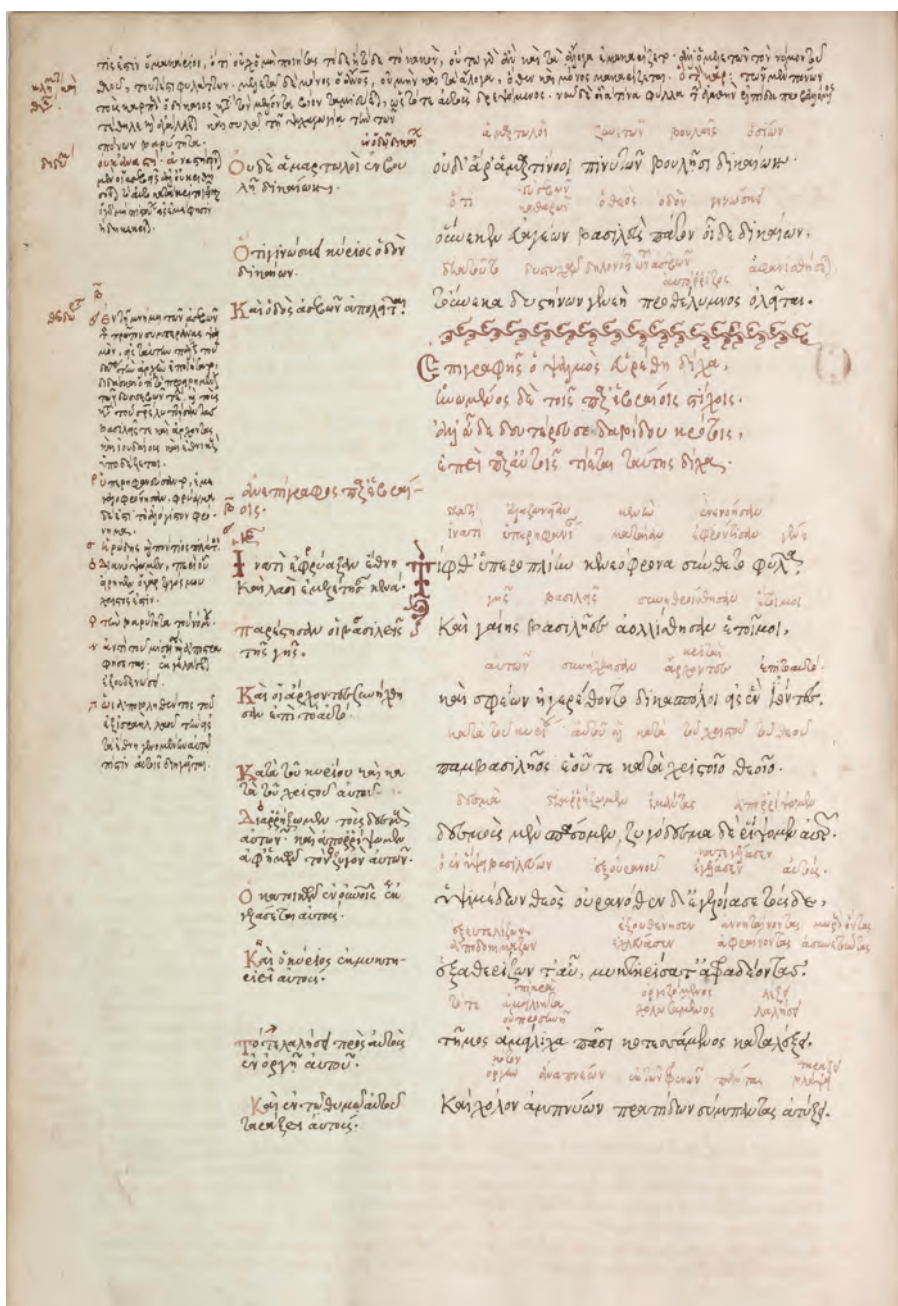


FIG. 1. MS Par. gr. 2743 (16<sup>th</sup> cent.), f. 8<sup>v</sup>. Image reproduced by permission of the Bibliothèque nationale de France.



to the fifteenth century, which on ff. 75<sup>r</sup>–83<sup>r</sup> preserves a selection of the hexametric Psalms.<sup>30</sup>

In this manuscript, the *Protheōria* is missing and the title to the *Metaphrasis* reads: ἐντεῦθεν ἄρχεται ἡ μετάφρασις τοῦ ψαλτηρίου· ψαλτήριον τερπνόν· εἰς Θεὸν μέλος (“Here the metaphrasis of the Psalter begins, the pleasant Psalter, melody to God”, f. 75<sup>r</sup>). This heading appears to indicate the main text as that of the *Metaphrasis*; in reality, however, the Psalms and their late antique re-writing share the manuscript page equally at the same level. The hexameters are written in brown ink and the initials are in red (the first one of each Psalm is enlarged and soberly decorated). Each line is followed by the corresponding verse of the Psalm, as if it were an interlinear commentary, penned in red ink, with a brown initial (see fig. 2). The kind of script and the size chosen are identical, but the ink colour is used to differentiate the two texts.<sup>31</sup>

### 3. BOOK EPIGRAMS AND METRICAL TITLES<sup>32</sup>

Some metrical paratexts are shared by the Psalms and their *Metaphrasis*, while others belong to the paraphrase only, as metrical titles to the hexametric Psalms.

Byzantine Psalters abound in book epigrams.<sup>33</sup> In his detailed analysis of Byzantine parchment Psalters, Georgi Parpulov listed 75 different (short) poems that appear in such books; most of them are preserved in several manuscripts, either in the same form or with some variants.<sup>34</sup> These epigrams are mostly anonymous and present a variety of standardized motives, ranging from the praise of David, over his comparison with Orpheus, to the divinely inspired quality of the Psalms and of their music.<sup>35</sup>

Some of these epigrams can be found in manuscripts that transmit the *Metaphrasis* as well.<sup>36</sup> An interesting case of a Psalter epigram that also accompanies the *Metaphrasis* is preserved in the Parisian manuscript that has been mentioned above (fig. 3):

<sup>30</sup> This manuscript transmits the metaphrasis of the first Psalm in the version that part of the manuscript tradition attributes to Ammianus (see Ludwich 1912, xxvi–xxvii).

<sup>31</sup> A similar layout, with a visually marked alternation of biblical text and *Metaphrasis*, is to some extent also used in MS Oxon. Bodl. Barocc. 25 from the early fourteenth century.

<sup>32</sup> I group these two categories in the same paragraph because, technically, metrical titles can be considered as a subgroup of the genre of book epigrams. Such verses are closely related to the production of the book and are written in books, offering extra information about the main text.

<sup>33</sup> For a general introduction to Byzantine metrical paratexts, such as book epigrams, see Lauxtermann 2003, 197–212; Bernard & Demoen 2019.

<sup>34</sup> See Parpulov 2014, 216–244. I am currently preparing an edition and in-depth study of all metrical paratexts referring to David and the Psalms that can be found in Byzantine manuscripts.

<sup>35</sup> See Demoen (forthcoming).

<sup>36</sup> See Ludwich 1912, xxiv and xxix.

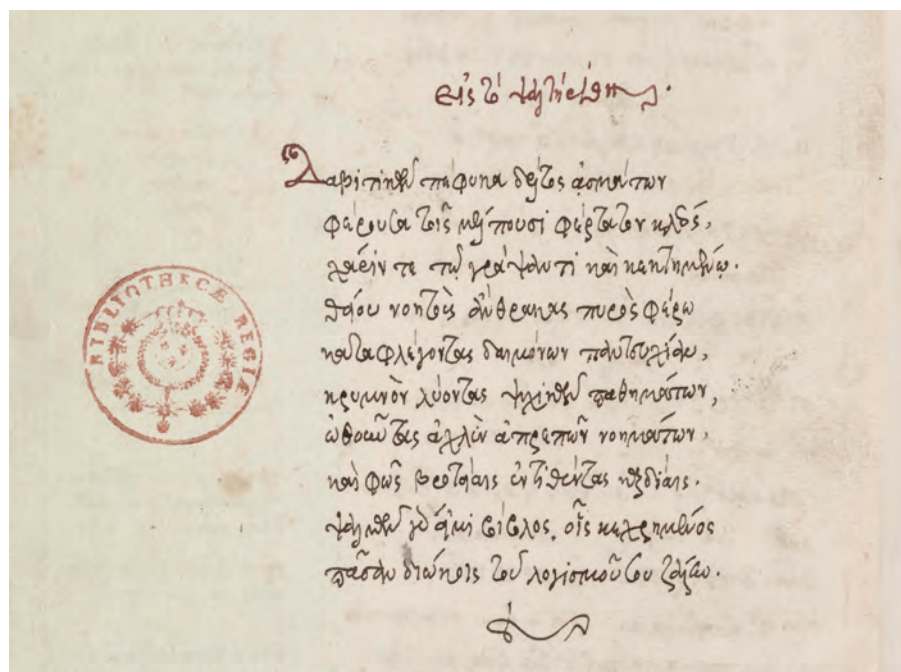


FIG. 3. MS Par. gr. 2743 (16<sup>th</sup> cent.), f. 207<sup>v</sup> (detail). Image reproduced by permission of the Bibliothèque nationale de France.

I am the book of David's songs.

I bring the highest glory to those who sing,

grace to the scribe and to the owner.

I bring the intelligible coals of the divine fire

that consume the complete armour of demons, 5

that melt the frost of spiritual sufferings,

that push away the mist of indecent thoughts

and instil light in mortal hearts.

For I am the book of Psalms: if you benefit from them,

you chase away the whole storm from your mind. 10

Δαβιτικῶν πέφυκα δέλτος ἁσμάτων

φέρουσα τοῖς μέλουσι φέρτατον κλέος,

χάριν τε τῷ γράψαντι καὶ κεκτημένῳ·

θείου νοητοῦς ἀνθρακας πυρὸς φέρω

καταφλέγοντας δαιμόνων παντευχίαν, 5

κρυμνὸν λύοντας ψυχικῶν παθημάτων,

ὠθοῦντας ἀχλὺν ἀπρεπῶν νοημάτων,

καὶ φῶς βροτείαις ἐντιθέοντας καρδίαις,

ψαλμῶν γὰρ εἰμι βίβλος, οἷς κεκλημένος

πάσαν διώκοις τοῦ λογισμοῦ σου ζάλην. 10



In this form, the text is attested only here. It is in fact a combination of two well-known book epigrams. The first three verses are the opening of a dodecasyllabic poem that occurs in at least twelve manuscripts and is transmitted both in a short version (3 lines) and in a longer one (6 lines).<sup>37</sup> Verses 4–10, conversely, occur as an independent epigram in at least two manuscripts.<sup>38</sup> The two poems have an independent tradition, as they are not preserved in the same manuscripts. The first three lines in the version from the manuscript printed here present some variants that are not found elsewhere.<sup>39</sup>

This epigram supports Marc Lauxtermann's suggestion regarding Psalter epigrams: if properly studied, these metrical compositions can shed light on the manuscript tradition of the biblical texts and throw light on relationships between Psalters.<sup>40</sup> The same holds true for the manuscripts of the *Metaphrasis* that transmit Psalter epigrams. Even as second-degree witnesses, these (late) codices are still useful for gaining insight into the reception of the Psalms as well.

One last comparison between the *Metaphrasis* and the Psalms can be made through an epigram that usually functions as an elegiac title to Ps 72 in the *Metaphrasis*:

The divinely inspired mind of David's melodies ceased,  
Jesse's son born in his weakness.  
But Asaf leapt and resounded with the divine Spirit,  
delivering the seventy-second hymn.

Δαυίδου μελέων μὲν ἐπαύσατο θεσπεσίη φρῆν  
παιδὸς Ἰεσαίου ἐξ ὀλιγοδρανίης.  
Ἄσαφος δ' ἀνόρουσε καὶ ἴαχε πνεύματι θείῳ  
ἐβδομάτης δεκάδος δεύτερον ὕμνον ἱεῖς.<sup>41</sup>

Interestingly, the same epigram appears as a metrical title to Ps 77 (!) in a fourteenth-century Psalter (fig. 4).

In this Athonite manuscript, only the two hexameters are transmitted,<sup>42</sup> written in *Auszeichnungsmajuskel* within a *pylē*.<sup>43</sup> It seems plausible that the four-line epigram

<sup>37</sup> DBBE Type 4568 (<https://www.dbbe.ugent.be/types/4568>, consulted 12 October 2020); Parpulov 2014, 219 n. 8. An occurrence of the longer version of the epigram has been edited and translated by Meesters et al. 2016, 850.

<sup>38</sup> DBBE Type 6389 (<https://www.dbbe.ugent.be/types/6389>, consulted 12 October 2020); Parpulov 2014, 224 n. 20.

<sup>39</sup> The first lines of the 'standard' version of the poem read as follows: Δαυιτικὴ πέφυκα δέλτος ἁσμάτων / φέρουσα τῷ γράψαντι φέρτατον κλέος, / θεόγραφον χάριν δὲ τῷ κεκτημένῳ.

<sup>40</sup> See Lauxtermann 2003, 202–203.

<sup>41</sup> See Ludwig 1912, 146.

<sup>42</sup> See Parpulov 2014, 243 n. 72; DBBE Type 4294 (<https://www.dbbe.ugent.be/types/4294>, consulted 12 October 2020).

<sup>43</sup> On this manuscript, see Pelekanidis 1975, 325–326.



FIG. 4. MS Athon. Ivron 1384 (1346 CE), f. 126<sup>r</sup>. Image reproduced by permission of the Iviron monastery.

was composed first and that the two pentameters were left out because the second one contains a reference to the Psalm number that does not fit the new context.<sup>44</sup> The shorter version of the epigram also appears in another miscellaneous manuscript, Par. gr. 1630 (14<sup>th</sup> cent.), f. 222<sup>r</sup>. This folio is part of a small anthology of Psalter epigrams, preserved on ff. 219<sup>r</sup>–222<sup>r</sup> of this manuscript, which itself is not a Psalter. It is remarkable that several epigrams written on this folio are actually metrical titles to the *Metaphrasis*.<sup>45</sup> Their presence argues that these paratexts were well-known and could be used along with proper Psalter epigrams.

<sup>44</sup> The longer version of the poem seems to be moreover the earliest extant attestation of the epigram, as it can be found in MS Oxon. Bodl. Barocc. 25, f. 69<sup>r</sup> from the beginning of the fourteenth century. On this manuscript, see De Groote 2007, 4.

<sup>45</sup> Among others, metrical titles to Psalms 67 (first line only), 66 (first line only), 41, 72, 89, 106 are recognizable. On MS Paris. gr. 1630 and the anthology of epigrams mentioned here, see the

This last example brings us to the metrical paratexts that specifically belong to the *Metaphrasis*, that is, the metrical titles that introduce each of the Psalms.<sup>46</sup> These verses constitute important evidence of how Byzantine readers used to play with metre in order to mark the division of the book. The manuscript tradition is not unanimous and for some of the Psalms two up to four different titles (published by Ludwig) can be found in manuscripts. This variety testifies to a lively transmission of the *Metaphrasis*, which was considered worthy of being adorned by such verses. Far from being a mere ‘interpolation’, the metrical titles are certainly anchored in the typically Byzantine taste for metrical paratexts.<sup>47</sup> They represent a particular way of marking the internal structure of the book and are a sign of care on the part of the writer.

Andreas Rhoby recently showed that poetic texts were in Byzantine manuscripts very often accompanied by titles that not only account for the work in question, but are also repositories of additional information, such as the metre, the patron who commissioned the text, or some biographical information on the poet.<sup>48</sup> As a rule, these titles were added by later readers and tend to differ from those used nowadays to refer to a work. Their value is generally underestimated.<sup>49</sup> Yet the practice of adding metrical headings is rather common (without being extremely widespread) in Byzantine manuscripts. To my knowledge, cycles of titles in verse are mostly composed to introduce the Homeric poems<sup>50</sup> and some biblical books: the Psalms, the Odes and Paul’s Epistles.<sup>51</sup> It is thus quite exceptional for a non-canonical work to be complemented by this kind of metrical paratexts. A similar case is represented by John Geometres’s metrical paraphrase of the Odes, whose reception is closely connected to that of the *Metaphrasis*.<sup>52</sup> Nonetheless, it is noteworthy that the metrical titles accompanying the *Metaphrasis* were composed at various stages on purpose for this very poem, whereas

comments by Guillaume Bady on pp. 215–217 of this volume.

<sup>46</sup> The metrical titles of the *Metaphrasis* are systematically recorded by Vassis (2005), who relies on Ludwig’s edition from 1912, as do I. They are not included by Faulkner 2020.

<sup>47</sup> The rather negative label of ‘interpolation’ is used by Ugenti 2008–2009, 344.

<sup>48</sup> Rhoby 2015, 262–263.

<sup>49</sup> See Rhoby 2015, 281.

<sup>50</sup> AP IX 385; Anth. Gr. append. III 167.

<sup>51</sup> This information is inferred from the data gathered in DBBE. The metrical titles to the Psalms have not been fully published yet. For bibliographical references, see Parpulov 2014, 65–66 n. 4. Interestingly, sets of metrical headings to the Psalms also appear as a long poem, independently of the text of the Psalms (see Ciccolella 1991, 49–54 and the contribution by Guillaume Bady on pp. 207–258 of this volume).

<sup>52</sup> See p. 260 above.

the metrical headings associated with Geometres's poems are basically the same verses that introduce the prose texts of the Odes in Byzantine Psalters.<sup>53</sup>

The headings of the Psalms in the *Metaphrasis* mostly follow the same metrical pattern as the main text. No less than 100 out of 168 preserved headings are hexametric titles. Furthermore, 35 short compositions are written in elegiac couplets, 19 in iambic trimeters and three in stichic pentameters. The remaining titles show an interesting variety, mostly based on the combination of an elegiac distich and a hexameter preceding or following the couplet.

It is remarkable that most of the iambic titles have the typical features of classical iambic trimeters, admitting resolutions and respecting the expected prosody. This observation is meaningful in terms of dating the metrical titles. Since at least from the first half of the seventh century, with George of Pisidia's poems, the Byzantine dodecasyllable became the leading metre for writing epigrams, one can assume that some of the metrical titles we are dealing with must date back to an earlier period.<sup>54</sup> As an example, the metrical heading that introduces Ps 5 reads as follows:

Fifth Psalm regarding the completion of her that inherits;  
loudly sung by David's holy shout.

Τῆς κληρονομούσης πέμπτον εἰς τέλος μέλος  
Δαυΐδος ἠλάλαξεν εὐφήμεν βοῇ.<sup>55</sup>

This heading has a clear iambic connotation, with a resolution in the first line and the oxytone ending in the second one. Moreover, the absence of *Binnenschlüssen* after either the fifth or the seventh syllable (B5 or B7) would make the first verse unacceptable to Byzantine poets. In contrast, other 'iambic' titles present a more pronounced Byzantine allure, as is the case with the first title to Ps 100: Ὑαλμός ὧδ' ἑκατοστός Δαυΐδου πέλει ("Thus is the hundredth Psalm by David"). In this verse, the paroxytone ending is observed, as well as a pause after the seventh syllable (B7). The prosodic deviations

<sup>53</sup> The only exception is Od 8, according to the list published in De Groote 2004, 401. For an overview of the metrical titles of the Odes, see Parpulov 2014, 245–247.

<sup>54</sup> Gonnelli noticed that some of the titles may have a late antique origin, because of their formal characteristics (1987, 127–128). The most comprehensive study on the Byzantine dodecasyllable is the seminal article by Maas (1903). On the origin and the chronology of this typically Byzantine metrical form, in comparison with the iambic trimeter, see Rhoby 2011, 126–137. Those pages present a substantial overview of late antique and early Byzantine verses that testify to an evolution of the metrical form and point to a gradual transition towards the dodecasyllable that can be observed even from the late Hellenistic era.

<sup>55</sup> These verses closely resemble the original Septuagint version of this heading: Εἰς τὸ τέλος, ὑπὲρ τῆς κληρονομούσης· Ὑαλμός τῷ Δαυΐδ ("Regarding completion. Over her that inherits. A Psalm. Pertaining to David", transl. NETS).



suggest furthermore that the length of vowels no longer mattered to the composer of the heading.

Although it is impossible to obtain a clear picture of the chronology and process of composition of the paratexts, both examples are certainly meaningful for envisaging a continuous reading of the *Metaphrasis* through the whole Byzantine millennium and beyond.

When looking at the content of the metrical titles, one is struck by their general repetitiveness. These headings look rather clumsy because of the continuous addition of the number of the relevant Psalm. The necessity of inserting a numeral has an impact on the stylistic and metrical features of the epigrams. Therefore, it is not surprising that there are clusters of titles with the same metre or with the same phrasing that introduce consecutive Psalms, as they have to refer to similar numbers and to fit a given metrical pattern.

#### 4. CONCLUSIONS

The preceding pages survey the relationship between the biblical Psalter text and a later re-writing of it from the perspective of the manuscript tradition. The resulting picture evidences a fluid and dynamic connection, which is neither straightforward nor univocal, as the Psalms and the *Metaphrasis* can easily switch their mutual function. Despite the chronological gap between the composition of the Homeric Psalter and its extant manuscripts, some peculiarities concerning the paratextual equipment of the *Metaphrasis* point to a continuity in the appreciation of this curious poem. Moreover, the analysis of the paratexts shows to modern readers unexpected ways of re-using well-known material and of visually presenting the text. In this respect, the study of the manuscript tradition is from all points of view both enlightening and essential for following the history of the text.

The metrical titles, which were especially composed for the *Metaphrasis*, are a noticeable sign of the interest aroused by this poem in the Byzantine period. Biblical paraphrases, as a genre, are a peculiarity of early Christian centuries and have specific socio-cultural motivations, which lie in the delicate relationship between the classical heritage and the newly established Christian learned people. Nevertheless, a poem like the *Metaphrasis* remained a work that was appreciated even many centuries after its composition, and thus deserved to be ranked among some of the most important texts copied in Byzantine books.

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# VISUAL EXEGESIS



# JOSEPH OF ARIMATHEA AS THE “BLESSED MAN”: PATRISTIC, APOCRYPHAL AND ICONOGRAPHIC WITNESSES TO AN ORIGINAL INTERPRETATION OF PSALM 1

ANNE-CATHERINE BAUDOIN



“**B**LESSED IS THE man Who walks not in the counsel of the ungodly, Nor stands in the path of sinners, Nor sits in the seat of the scornful; But his delight is in the law of the LORD”.<sup>1</sup> The opening line of the Psalter describes a blessed man (אַשְׁרֵי הָאִישׁ in the Hebrew text, μακάριος ἄνθρωπος according to the LXX version). He has been identified mostly, in Jewish tradition, with the psalmist himself. Christian tradition has seen him as Christ—this typological reading being reinforced by the comparison with a tree, an element traditionally associated with the cross (Ps 1:3: “He shall be like a tree”).<sup>2</sup>

Surprisingly, a different interpretation, conveyed through iconography, is offered in the Serbian Psalter (MS Munich, BSB, Cod. slav. 4). This lavishly illustrated manuscript was presumably crafted for a Serbian Prince towards the end of the fourteenth or the first half of the fifteenth century at the latest.<sup>3</sup> Next to the third stich of Ps 1:1, “Nor sits in the seat of the scornful”, it depicts a male, white haired, bearded figure, dressed in a dark blue cloak (fig. 1). He is enshrined in a red and blue frame, as are most miniatures relating to the Psalter in this manuscript. The frame covers about a third of the upper half of the page. The man’s gaze is lifted towards a hand blessing him from a blue sky in the top right corner. But the attention is drawn to a piece of white cloth with coloured fringes that he appears to be holding, rolled, with both hands. The figure is identified by a legend running on the top and to the left of the frame: “The blessed Joseph of Arimathea carries the shroud for the burial of Christ”.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> English translations of the Old (Hebrew) and New Testament are quoted from the New King James Version (NKJV). For the Septuagint, I cite NETS. Uncredited translations of other ancient texts are my own.

<sup>2</sup> These interpretations have been carefully studied by Gillingham 2013.

<sup>3</sup> Strzygowski 1906, iv–vii.

<sup>4</sup> My translation of “Blaženi muž Iosif Arimathei nosi plaščanicu na pogrebeniè X(ri)s(t)u” (transliteration and German translation by Ihor Ševčenko *apud* Belting 1978, 94).

So the miniature offers a typological interpretation of Ps 1: Joseph, holding the shroud of Christ, is identified as the “blessed man who walks not in the counsel of the ungodly”.

In the twentieth century scholars already addressed the origins and originality of this association of Joseph of Arimathea with the Blessed Man of Ps 1. In this paper, I gather the existing material and add new pieces of evidence, both textual and iconographic, retracing the history of this interpretation. I first take a look at the Gospels and the Greek text of Ps 1 in order to determine how the ground might have been prepared for such an association by the evangelists: Luke might have had Ps 1 in mind when writing his description of Joseph of Arimathea. Then, I present patristic testimonies linking Joseph of Arimathea with the Blessed Man: this relation originated with Tertullian, at the turn of the second century, and continued with Jerome, whose work contributed to spreading the interpretation in the Latin-speaking world. I also emphasize the importance of texts transmitted in the Christian East, under the names of Athanasios of Alexandria and Hesychios of Jerusalem (commentaries on the Psalms), and as the *Narrative of Joseph* (an apocryphal narrative). Finally, I return to the Serbian



FIG. 1. MS Munich, BSB, Cod. slav. 4 (14<sup>th</sup>–15<sup>th</sup> cent.), f. 8<sup>v</sup> (detail). Image reproduced from [https://daten.digital-sammlungen.de/bsb00106322/image\\_20](https://daten.digital-sammlungen.de/bsb00106322/image_20) with a CC BY-NC-SA 4.0 license.



Psalter and to other potential iconographical parallels in order to recover the line of transmission.

# 1. PS 1 AS THE BACKGROUND OF JOSEPH OF ARIMATHEA IN THE CANONICAL GOSPELS?

The pericope of Joseph of Arimathea coming to Pilate after the crucifixion to request the body of Jesus in order to put him in his own tomb is shared by the four canonical Gospels. It occurs also in the *Gospel of Peter*, a second-century Passion and Resurrection narrative put in the mouth of Peter (2:3 and 6:23–24; henceforth Gos. Pet.). In all mentions, Joseph is said to be rolling the body of Jesus in what is called in Matt 27:59, Mark 15:46, Luke 23:53 and Gos. Pet. 6:24 a σινδών, and ἰθόβια in John 19:40 (in which version Joseph shows up together with Nicodemus). Hence, this piece of cloth is clearly associated with Joseph; so is the tomb, described in various words but generally presented as having never been used (except in Gos. Pet.) and as having been hewn out of the rock (in the synoptics). In Gos. Pet. and in John, there is no mention of the rock, and the tomb is said to be in a garden.<sup>5</sup> None of these motifs is shared by Ps 1, except if one wants to see in the mention of the garden an allusion to the tree of Ps 1:3.<sup>6</sup>

In Mark 15:43, John 19:38 and Gos. Pet. 2:3, Joseph is directly introduced by name. In Matt 27:57, the announcement of the name is postponed in the formula “there came a rich man (ἄνθρωπος) from Arimathea, named Joseph”; Joseph is described as a rich disciple of Jesus. In John 19:38, he is a disciple too, but “secretly, for fear of the Jews”. In Mark 15:43, Joseph is “a prominent council member (εὐσχήμων βουλευτής), who was himself waiting for the kingdom of God”. In Luke 23:50–51, the description is more developed and deserves more attention:<sup>7</sup>

Καὶ ἰδοὺ, ἀνὴρ ὀνόματι Ἰωσήφ, βουλευτῆς ὑπάρχων, ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς καὶ δίκαιος – οὗτος οὐκ ἦν συγκατατεθειμένος τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῇ πράξει αὐτῶν – ἀπὸ Ἀριμαθαίας πόλεως τῶν Ἰουδαίων, ὃς καὶ προσεδέχετο καὶ αὐτὸς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ.

<sup>5</sup> John 19:41. In Gos. Pet., the formula is unclear but suggests that the tomb is located in a garden that bears Joseph’s name. See 6:24b: “and brought (him) into his own tomb called ‘Joseph’s garden’ ” (καὶ εἰσῆγαγεν εἰς ἴδιον τάφον καλούμενον κήπον Ἰωσήφ): see Foster 2010, 201 (translation) and 347 (commentary).

<sup>6</sup> In patristic tradition, however, the garden of the tomb is mostly associated with the Garden of Eden. See for example Ps.-Athanasios, *Questions to Antiochos*, Qu. 137, 9 (PG 28: 693CD) or Ps.-Anastasios of Sinai, *On the Hexaëmeron* 7.252–272 and 8.85.

<sup>7</sup> I quote the Byzantine text from Robinson et al. 1991, because as the majority text it is more likely to have left an impact on the Byzantine tradition. The main variant in the reconstruction in NA28 (2012) is in Luke 23:51b (ὃς προσεδέχετο τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ, “who was waiting for the kingdom of God”).

Now behold, there was a man named Joseph, a council member, a good and just man. He had not consented to their decision and deed. He was from Arimathea, a city of the Jews, who himself was also waiting for the kingdom of God.

According to modern commentators, Luke rearranges Markan material and presents Joseph in his own way.<sup>8</sup> This makes the specific vocabulary in this passage noteworthy. But leaving aside the Lukan elements, we can focus on some specific points of contact with Ps 1:1 (μακάριος ἀνὴρ ὃς οὐκ ἐπορεύθη ἐν βουλῇ ἀσεβῶν). Joseph is introduced as ἀνὴρ (and not as ἄνθρωπος as in Matt 27:57). The word ἀνὴρ is repeated as a support for the qualifications ἀγαθός and δίκαιος. This insistence on Joseph being an ἀνὴρ and on his virtues of goodness and justice echoes the vocabulary used in Ps 1:1 LXX, where the word ἀνὴρ specifically translates Hebrew שֹׁפֵן. This is not an obvious choice: in Gen 2:24 and numerous other passages, the same term is translated with ἄνθρωπος.<sup>9</sup> As to μακάριος, Plato interprets this term as indicating the state of a man who is good, wise and just (ἀγαθός ... σώφρων ... δίκαιος), a definition later quoted by Eusebios commenting on Ps 1:1:<sup>10</sup> it shows that those adjective are considered part of the same semantic group. Therefore it could be possible to read ἀγαθός and δίκαιος as an echo of the psalmic μακάριος in Luke.

As in Mark 15:43, so also in the Lukan passage Joseph is a member of the council. This term, βουλευτής, is alluded to in the parenthesis opened by Luke to explain that, although Joseph was a member of the council, he did not agree with its decision (its ‘counsel’): Luke plays on two meanings of βουλή. This word can also be found in Ps 1:1—there, too, in a negative context: the Blessed Man does not joins the counsel, or council, of the impious men.

The New Testament hapax συγκατατίθημι<sup>11</sup> is attested in three passages of the Septuagint.<sup>12</sup> It echoes two prohibitions made by God to Israel, in negative clauses as in Luke—Exod 23:1 “do not agree (οὐ συγκαταθήσῃ) with the unrighteous to become an unrighteous witness” and Exod 23:32, “do not agree (οὐ συγκαταθήσῃ) on an alliance with them and with their gods”—and in an order of the elders to Susanna, framed as a threat, Sus 20 Th, “agree with us (συγκατάθου ἡμῖν) and be with us”. These three uses of the verb reveal that, in the Old Testament, it is desirable not to “agree”; hence the one who follows this advice is to be blessed.

<sup>8</sup> Brown 1994, II:1227–1229; cf. Bovon 2009, 394–395.

<sup>9</sup> Both translations (and many others) appear s.v. שֹׁפֵן in Muraoka 2010, 146; there is currently no way to draw statistics from Hatch & Redpath 1897–1906.

<sup>10</sup> Plato, *Laws* 660e (ed. Burnet 1907, 59: ὁ μὲν ἀγαθὸς ἀνὴρ σώφρων ὢν καὶ δίκαιος εὐδαίμων ἐστὶ καὶ μακάριος) and *Praeparatio Evangelica* 12, 21, 6.

<sup>11</sup> The verb appears as ἦν συγκατατεθειμένος (perfect participle) or as ἦν συγκατατιθέμενος (present participle) in the manuscripts.

<sup>12</sup> See Hatch & Redpath 1897–1906, s.v.

To these lexical echoes could be added the syntax of the whole sentence in Luke 23:50–51, including the parenthesis beginning with οὗτος. Indeed, with the introduction of Joseph as a member of the council, the rhythm of the description may reflect the rhythm of Ps 1:1, with a chiasm from μακάριος ἀνὴρ to ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς καὶ δίκαιος, a phonetic echo from ὃς οὐκ to οὗτος οὐκ followed by the verbs and the presence of βουλῇ in the dative form, reinforced by πράξει in Luke but followed in both texts by a genitive plural.

Last but not least, the theme is similar: the Blessed Man of the Psalm did not follow the path of the wicked ones, and neither did Joseph—even though he was a member of the council, he did not agree with its decision. Both the Blessed Man and Joseph are rewarded with positive adjectives for not taking part in a bad deed or decision. Therefore, Ps 1:1 could be a possible hypotext for Luke 23:50–51, either as a conscious rewriting by the author or as an echo for a Greek-speaking Jewish (Christian) reader. This hypothesis rests not only on modern analysis but has, indeed, been offered from at least the second century onwards.

## 2. LATIN PATRISTIC READINGS OF JOSEPH AS THE BLESSED MAN

The most ancient testimonies to have linked Ps 1 and the pericope of Joseph of Arimathea are found in Latin works and all seem to depend on one source.

### 2.1 *Tertullian*

The first witness is the oldest Christian Latin writer known to us, Tertullian. He composed *On the Spectacles* between 197 and 203 to urge Christians not to attend any kind of public entertainment, notably because all of them are rooted in the devotion to pagan gods. Hence the *cavea*, where the audience is seated, becomes an assembly of impious people. Tertullian uses this description in order to trace his injunction to abstain from performances back to the Bible, where spectacles are in fact not mentioned:<sup>13</sup>

<sup>13</sup> Tertullian, *On the Spectacles* 3, 2–5, transl. Thelwall 1885, 80–81. Ed. Dekkers 1954, 230: “Plane nusquam invenimus, quemadmodum aperte positum est: *non occides, non idolum coles, non adulterium, non fraudem admittes*, ita exerte definitum: non ibis in circum, non in theatrum, agonem, munus non spectabis. Sed invenimus ad hanc quoque speciem pertinere illam primam vocem David: *Felix vir*, inquit, *qui non abiit in concilium impiorum et in via peccatorum non stetit et in cathedra pestium non sedit*. Nam etsi iustum illum videtur praedicasse, quod in concilio et in concessu Iudaeorum de necando Domino consultantium non communicavit, late tamen semper scriptura divina dividitur, ubicumque secundum praesentis rei sensum etiam disciplina in munitur, ut hic quoque non sit aliena vox a spectaculorum interdictione. Si enim pauculos tunc Iudaeos impiorum concilium vocavit, quanto magis tantum conventum ethnici populi? Minus impii ethnici, minus peccatores, minus hostes Christi quam tunc Iudaei?”. Of interest is the read-

Well, we never find it expressed with the same precision, “Thou shalt not enter circus or theatre, thou shalt not look on combat or show”; as it is plainly laid down, “Thou shalt not kill; thou shalt not worship an idol; thou shalt not commit adultery or fraud” (Exod 20:14). But we find that that first word of David bears on this very sort of thing: “Blessed,” he says, “is the man who has not gone into the assembly of the impious, nor stood in the way of sinners, nor sat in the seat of scorners” (Ps 1:1). Though he seems to have predicted beforehand of that just man, that he took no part in the meetings and deliberations of the Jews, taking counsel about the slaying of our Lord, yet divine Scripture has ever far-reaching applications: after the immediate sense has been exhausted, in all directions it fortifies the practice of the religious life, so that here also you have an utterance which is not far from a plain interdicting of the shows. If he called those few Jews an assembly of the wicked, how much more will he so designate so vast a gathering of heathens! Are the heathens less impious, less sinners, less enemies of Christ, than the Jews were then?

Tertullian goes on to explain other similarities between the Psalm and the amphitheatre, such as the presence of “ways” and of a “chair”, and concludes that “every show is an assembly of the wicked”. He expands his reasoning from Ps 1:1 to the council of the Jews for the death of the Lord, and then from this council to the gathering of wicked people at shows. In other words, he goes from a typological reading to a tropological one, and considers that the prophecy was fulfilled in the Passion of Christ but remains a moral requirement for his own contemporaries. What calls for attention is the fact that Tertullian applies Ps 1 to “that just man” (“iustum illum”, without other details relating to the one who did not take part in the council and the gathering of the Jews). The demonstrative “illum” indicates that Tertullian is referring to someone specific. The pronoun echoes Luke 23:50. The word “concilio” is the usual translation, in the Old Latin versions as well as the Vulgate, for βουλῇ, and the word “consessu” (literally meaning “sitting together”) may echo “consenserat”, the usual translation for the Lukan ἦν συγκατατεθειμένος (from “consentio” or “agree”).<sup>14</sup> In sum, it is clear that Tertullian alludes in this passage to Joseph of Arimathea, the one man who did not take part in the council of the Jews that decreed the death of the Lord.

This interpretation also appears in his treatise *Against Marcion*. Arguing against Marcion’s docetic opinions, Tertullian explains that after Jesus gave up the spirit (Luke 23:46), his body remained on the cross, which would not have happened if he had been a phantom. Moving on to the topic of the body of Christ, he recalls the attention given to it by Joseph of Arimathea. He thereupon contrasts Marcion’s reading of

ing “felix vir qui” (against the more usual “beatus vir qui”). See the corresponding note in Turcan 1986, 104.

<sup>14</sup> For the Latin biblical text, I use the Vetus Latina Database (restricted online access, brepolis.net/vld).

the death of Christ as his complete departure from earth, with the attitude of Joseph, who took care of the body. Tertullian indignantly asks:<sup>15</sup>

But what if Joseph knew that it was a body which he treated with so much piety? That same Joseph “who had not consented” with the Jews in their crime (Luke 23:51)? The “happy man who walked not in the counsel of the ungodly, nor stood in the way of sinners, nor sat in the seat of the scornful.”

Again, Tertullian uses “ille” when referring to Joseph of Arimathea. He foregrounds Joseph’s piety towards the body and Christ and rewrites Luke 23:51 using the same verb (“consenserat”), the words “counsel and deed” being replaced by the more specific “crime”. The chain of associations from Luke to the Psalm is established by the idea of not agreeing with a bad deed decided by a gathering of people.

This second passage seems to reflect traditional exegesis.<sup>16</sup> The reading is not discussed or unpacked; the juxtaposition of the allusion to Joseph and the quotation of Ps 1:1 seem to be sufficient. Tertullian may have inherited a tradition also attested by Clement of Alexandria who, in the second half of the second century, used Ps 1:1 to disqualify spectacles, and also referred to the wicked assembly (βουλὴ [...] πονηρά) that took a decision against the Righteous one (ἐπὶ τῷ δικαίῳ)—this time meaning not Joseph but Jesus.<sup>17</sup> The context is similar, but there is no reference to the Blessed Man or to Joseph’s attitude towards the assembly.

## 2.2 *Tertullian as a Source of Jerome*

In the fourth century, Jerome inherited this line of interpretation from Tertullian. He established the association between Ps 1 and Joseph of Arimathea where it might be expected, namely, in his exegesis of the Psalms and in his commentary on Matthew.

In his *Commentarioli* on the Psalms, Jerome refers to Tertullian as the originator of this particular exegesis:<sup>18</sup>

<sup>15</sup> Tertullian, *Against Marcion* 4, 42, 8, transl. Holmes 1885, 421. Ed. Kroymann 1954, 661: “sed scilicet Ioseph corpus fuisse noverat quod tota pietate tractavit, ille Ioseph, qui non consenserat in scelere Iudaeis, beatus vir, qui non abiit in consilio impiorum et in via peccatorum non stetit et in cathedra pestium non sedit”. Note the reading “pestium” (against the more usual “pestilentiae”). Cf. Braun 2001, 518–519 n. 3.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Turcan 1986, 105 (note on “etsi iustum”).

<sup>17</sup> Clement of Alexandria, *Paedagogus* 3, 11, 76, 3. Turcan (1986, 105, note on “etsi iustum”) also refers to Justin, *Apology* 1, 40.5–8. Justin cites Ps 1–2 and associates the figures of Ps 2 with the Passion, but considers Ps 1 as a general advice on how to live according to the Spirit. The same for Lactantius, *Divine Institutes* 4, 16.5–6: Ps 1 is read as a prophecy of the council of the Jews towards Christ, but no one is specifically referred to as the Blessed Man.

<sup>18</sup> Jerome, *Commentarioli on Ps 1:1*, ed. Morin 1959, 179: “Aliter: Tertullianus in libro de Spectaculis adserit hunc psalmum et de Ioseph posse intellegi, qui corpus Domini sepelivit, et de his qui ad spectacula gentium non convenient”.

Otherwise: Tertullian in the treatise about the spectacles states that this psalm can also be understood about Joseph, who buried the body of the Lord, and about those who do not gather at the shows of the Nations.

The reference is less explicit in the homily on the Psalms, probably because the target audience of the homilies differed from the readers of the *Commentarioli*. Here, too, Jerome gathers multiple interpretations and concludes:<sup>19</sup>

Do you see then that the Psalm cannot refer to the person of the Lord, but rather refers in general to the just man? I grant that there are many who, for some reason, I think, apply the words of the Psalm to Joseph; I mean Joseph of Arimathea, who did not follow the counsel of the Jews, who did not stand in the way of sinners, and who did not sit in the company of the Pharisees. Nevertheless, what others choose to interpret in a particular way as referring to Joseph, we shall take to apply in a general way to the just man.

Jerome proposes that the Blessed Man stands for any kind of just man, but then recalls an interpretation that focuses on a specific just man, Joseph of Arimathea. He rewrites Ps 1:1, adapting it to Joseph. In the first clause (“qui non abierit in consilio Iudaeorum”), the form of the verb differs from the usual Latin translation, and “impiorum” has been replaced by “Iudaeorum”; and in the third clause, “Farisaeorum” replaces “pestilentialis”, hence making explicit the line of interpretation. However, Jerome undermines the parallel in his conclusive sentence, asserting that Ps 1:1 could pertain to any just man, which leads back to the previous wording of the Psalm.

Jerome also associates Joseph with the Blessed Man in his commentary on Matthew. First, he comments on the Matthean elements of the pericope, such as Joseph’s wealth. Jerome sees this as the reason why Joseph could gain access to Pilate and obtain the body of Jesus. He then reports another specific detail about Joseph: “in another evangelist, Joseph is called a βουλευτής, that is, a counselor. Some think that the first Psalm was composed about him: ‘Blessed is the man who does not go in the counsel of the impious, etc.’”<sup>20</sup> Here Jerome alludes to “another evangelist” (singular), while both

<sup>19</sup> Jerome, *Homilies on Ps 1:3*, transl. Ewald 1964, 4. Ed. Morin 1958, 3–4: “Videtur igitur quia super Domini persona non potest interpretari psalmus, sed generaliter de iusto viro dicitur. Licet multi putant de Ioseph dictum esse illo qui ab Arimathia, qui non abierit in consilio Iudaeorum, et in via peccatorum non stetit, et in cathedra Farisaeorum non sedit: tamen nos quod alii specialiter in illo interpretantur, generaliter in viro iusto interpretamur”.

<sup>20</sup> Jerome, *Commentary on Matthew 4* (on Matt 27:57), transl. Scheck 2008, 323. Ed. Hurst & Adriaen 1969, 278: “In alio evangelista Ioseph iste βουλευτής appellatur, id est consiliarius, et de ipso quidam putant primum psalmum esse compositum: *Beatus vir qui non abiit in consilio impiorum, et reliqua*”.

Mark and Luke refer to Joseph as a βουλευτής. His translation of the word as “consiliarius” demonstrates the link with Ps 1:1 (“consilio”).<sup>21</sup>

### 2.3 *Jerome as a Source of Medieval Commentaries*

Since the reading of Joseph as the Blessed Man appears in the works of Jerome, we find it regularly in early medieval commentaries on the Scriptures, especially on the Psalms and Matthew. Jerome’s use of Tertullian is sometimes repeated by eighth- and ninth-century commentators, as well as in the major compilations of the thirteenth century.

In an eighth-century commentary on Matthew (*Liber questionum in evangeliiis*), formerly attributed to Ps.-Alcuin, the author alludes to Ps 1 only in relation to Joseph.<sup>22</sup> In the second half of the ninth century, Christian of Stavelot proceeds in the same way.<sup>23</sup> Both commentaries may rely on Jerome, or the second one may have taken from the first one; in both cases, the allusions are brief.

Still in the ninth century, the anonymous author of a commentary on Matthew briefly paraphrases Jerome but removes the actual quotation of the Psalm.<sup>24</sup> In the thirteenth century, Bonaventure refers to Jerome’s interpretation, adding that Jerome him-

<sup>21</sup> There is no reason to think that Jerome would have inherited this line of interpretation from Origen (whom he claims in the introduction to his *Commentarioli* to have also used as a source), since he acknowledges himself that he is indebted to Tertullian. From what can be gathered from Eusebios’s testimony, Origen did not link Joseph to Ps 1 in his commentary on the Psalter (see Morlet 2013, 214–217). Yet Eusebios and his source Origen might have known and dismissed this interpretation when writing that the Psalm does not refer to ‘a’ man, that is, any righteous man, but to ‘the’ man, that is, Christ himself (see Morlet 2013, 215 n. 49).

<sup>22</sup> Ps.-Alcuin, *Commentary on Matt 27:57*, ed. Rittmueller 2003, 449: “Hic de hoc Ioseph multi putant primum psalmum cantatum” (“Here, many think that the first psalm is sung about this Joseph”).

<sup>23</sup> Christian of Stavelot, *Commentary on Matt 27:58*, ed. Huygens 2008, 518: “De isto Ioseph primus accipitur psalmus cantatus: *beatus vir qui non abiit in consilio impiorum* et reliqua” (“About this Joseph is heard the first sung Psalm: ‘Blessed is the man who walks not in the counsel of the impious’ etc.”).

<sup>24</sup> *Commentary on Matt 27:57*, ed. Löfstedt 2003, 217: “Et in alio evangelista legimus, quod Ioseph iste Bulerges (*sic*) vocabatur, id est consiliarius, et de ipso putant primum Psalmum scriptum” (“And in another evangelist we read that Joseph is named a *Bulerges*, that is, a counsellor, and they think that the first Psalm is written about him”).



self relies on someone else's.<sup>25</sup> And in the *Catena Aurea* on Matthew, Thomas Aquinas quotes Jerome's section on Joseph.<sup>26</sup>

The legacy of Tertullian is extraordinary, not least in view of the fact that he suggested seeing Joseph as the Blessed Man of the first Psalm not in the context of a biblical commentary, but merely in a treatise that focused more on the idea of assembly than on Joseph's attitude. Tertullian's association became traditional thanks to Jerome, who quoted him in his commentaries on the Psalms as well as in that on Matthew. It is mostly with reference to Matthew that the interpretation survived in the Middle Ages: the legacy of Jerome's commentary on the Gospel established the association of Joseph with the Blessed Man for thirteenth-century commentators.<sup>27</sup> One encounters it also in later literature. For example, in the medieval French novel *L'Estoire del Saint Graal*, the main character Joseph of Arimathea is described as a wise man: "And the first psalm of the psalter is about him: 'Happy are those who do not agree with the wicked nor with their counsel!'"<sup>28</sup>

### 3. GREEK READINGS OF JOSEPH AS THE BLESSED MAN

#### 3.1 *Patristic Exegesis*

Among Greek patristic writers, Clement of Alexandria is mentioned above as a possible source for Tertullian's interpretation. Clement links the "wicked assembly" of the

<sup>25</sup> Bonaventure, *Commentary on Luke 23:51*, § 61 (ed. 1895, 583): "Describit a voluntate, cum subdit: *Hic non consenserat consilio et actibus eorum*; unde sibi competit bene illud Psalmi: *Beatus vir, qui non abiit in consilio impiorum* etc.; et Hieronymus dicit, quod aliqui dixerunt, quod ille Psalmus per appropriationem quandam de isto Ioseph debet intelligi" ("He describes him by his will, when he adds: 'He had not consented to their decision and deeds', which matches well with the verse of the Psalm: 'Blessed is the man who walks not in the counsel of the impious, etc.'; and Jerome says what some said, that this Psalm is to be understood of this Joseph by some specific application").

<sup>26</sup> Thomas Aquinas, *Catena aurea* on Matt 27, lectio 11 (ed. Guarienti 1953, 416): "In alio autem Evangelio Ioseph iste Bulites appellatur, idest consiliarius; et de ipso quidem putant primum Psalmum fuisse compositum: *Beatus vir qui non abiit in consilio impiorum*" ("In another Gospel, this Joseph is called a *bouleutēs*, that is, a counselor. And some think, then, that the first Psalm was composed about him: 'Blessed is the man who does not walk in the counsel of the impious'").

<sup>27</sup> It can also be found in various homilies and glosses on Ps 1. For a Carolingian witness, see MS Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek, M. p. th. f. 109 (10<sup>th</sup> century), f. 1<sup>r</sup> (Thurn 1970, 32); for an Irish witness, see McNamara 2000, 310.

<sup>28</sup> Sommer 1909, 13: "Et de lui parole la première psalme du sautier: Boin eure sont cil qui ne sacordent mie as felons ne a lor consaus". I owe the reference to Turcan 1986, 105 (note on "etsi iustum").



psalm to the council of the Jews, but does not explicitly see Joseph as the Blessed Man. Later authors do, however.

The key figure is Hesychios, a monk and a priest in Jerusalem who died around 440 and to whom three works on the Psalms are attributed. One was edited in 1746 by Antonelli as *On the Titles of the Psalms* (*De titulis Psalmorum*) under the name of Athanasios of Alexandria, and was reattributed to Hesychios of Jerusalem by Mercati in the early twentieth century (CPG 6552).<sup>29</sup> A second one was transmitted in Greek, with an attribution sometimes to other authors or none at all; besides it exists in an abundant Slavonic tradition (*Commentarius brevis*, CPG 6553).<sup>30</sup> A third one is known as *Commentarius magnus*: this more extensive commentary attributed to Hesychios does not mention Joseph in the course of the explanation on Ps 1.<sup>31</sup> Although the attribution of the sections of the *De titulis Psalmorum* and the *Commentarius brevis* on Ps 1:1 to Hesychios cannot be discussed here in detail, the similarity between both commentaries on that verse is highlighted in the following analysis.<sup>32</sup>

The orientation of the *De titulis Psalmorum* is described by Rondeau as “ascético-mystique”. It is composed as a glossed Psalter, with paraphrased clauses expanding the verse.<sup>33</sup> Therefore, one can read after Ps 1:1c (“Nor sits in the seat of the scornful”): “This is also Joseph of Arimathea who did not sit together with the Jews.”<sup>34</sup> The verb συγκαθέζετο echoes the mention of the καθέδρα (Ps 1:1c), and perhaps also the notion of συνέδριον, the council of the Jews.

The *Commentarius brevis* juxtaposes explanations that are slightly more developed. The comment on Ps 1:1 can be translated as follows:<sup>35</sup>

“Blessed”. The prophecy is fulfilled in Joseph the Arimathean, because he was not present with the Jews at the time when they resolved on wicked actions against Christ. The peculiarity of

<sup>29</sup> Rondeau 1982, 140–141, and Voicu 2016, 327 n. 83.

<sup>30</sup> Rondeau 1982, 142.

<sup>31</sup> On the commentary, see Devreesse 1970, 250–301.

<sup>32</sup> Devreesse 1970, 243–301. The history of the three commentaries on the Psalms has been carefully studied by Rondeau (1982, 140–143), taking and adding from Devreesse. More recently, see Dorival 2018, 346–354. Voicu 2016, 314 discussed the question whether all three commentaries belong to one and the same Hesychios and concluded that the propositions of links between various points of those texts were few and appeared “unconvincing and irrelevant”.

<sup>33</sup> Rondeau 1982, 142.

<sup>34</sup> PG 27: 652A: ὁ καὶ Ἰωσήφ ἀπὸ Ἀριμαθαίας οὐ συγκαθέζετο τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις.

<sup>35</sup> *Commentary on Ps 1:1*, ed. Jagić 1917, 1 (with bracketed variants as in the edition): Μακάριος. Ἡ μὲν προφητεία πληροῦται εἰς τὸν Ἰωσήφ τὸν Ἀριμαθεῖον, ὅτι (ὅτε) οὐ συμπαραγένετο (συμπαράγινεται) τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις, ἡνίκα κατὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ πονηρὰ ἐβουλεύοντο (-σαντο). Τὸ δὲ ἴδιον τοῦ λόγου μακαρίζει πάντα ἄνθρωπον, τὸν μὴ συνεδριάζοντα ἢ συνευδοκούντα (συμπαραίνοντα) τοῖς κακὰ βουλευομένοις ἢ ἀτάκτως περιπατοῦσιν.

this word is to bless every man who does not take part in the council<sup>36</sup> nor agrees with those resolving on bad actions or progressing in a disorderly manner.

This interpretation matches the one provided by Jerome and earlier by Tertullian: the first verse may be understood typologically as referring to Joseph of Arimathea, or tropologically as referring to anyone who acts righteously. Again, the presence of the negative form is stressed; but this time there is no allusion to the righteousness of Joseph mentioned by Luke.

The same interpretation can be found, with slightly different wording and without an extension to “all men”, in scholia edited by Montfaucon as a commentary attributed to Athanasios of Alexandria (CPG 2140).<sup>37</sup> The authorship of the scholion on Ps 1:1 that is of interest to us has not been confirmed yet.<sup>38</sup> The scholion puts forward the same interpretation as Hesychios even though it differs from it by presenting Joseph merely as an example of any just man, rather than as the type for the Blessed Man:<sup>39</sup>

“Blessed is the man who does not walk in the counsel of the ungodly”. The “counsel of the ungodly” can denote the gathering and the union of the wicked. And since it is harmful to come near the meetings of the ungodly, he blesses the one who did not even come to the same place as them. Such a man was Joseph of Arimathea, the one who buried the body of the Lord and God. For it was said about him that he had not agreed to the counsel of the betrayers of Jesus.

The psalmic expression “counsel of the ungodly” (βουλὴν ἀσεβῶν) is explained with two words, both formed with the prefix συν-: “gathering” (σύννοδος) and “union” (συνέλευσις). Each gloss could be taken to echo Tertullian’s comment that Joseph did not take part “in the meetings and deliberations of the Jews (“in concilio et in consessu Iudaeorum”)”.<sup>40</sup> But such correspondence is probably just a coincidence.<sup>41</sup> On the other hand, it would be wise to link it to the glosses attributed to Hesychios, since he is so far our only attestation of an interpretative link established between Ps 1:1 and Joseph of Arimathea in the Greek-speaking world.

<sup>36</sup> Here the word refers specifically to the council of the Jews (συνεδριάζοντα).

<sup>37</sup> See the discussion in the 1998 supplement of CPG 2140. Also Devreesse 1970, 239, and Dorival 1989, 238–380 for the “chaines mixtes”.

<sup>38</sup> It is not retained as Athanasian (or better, with Dorival 2018, 318: as Pseudo-Athanasian) by Vian 1978, 19 nor has it been assigned to another author (Vian 1978, 61).

<sup>39</sup> Ps.-Athanasios of Alexandria, *Scholia on Ps 1:1* (PG 27: 60CD): Μακάριος ἀνὴρ ὃς οὐκ ἐπορεύθη ἐν βουλῇ ἀσεβῶν. Δυνατὸν δὲ βουλὴν ἀσεβῶν εἰπεῖν τὴν σύννοδον καὶ τὴν συνέλευσιν τῶν πονηρῶν. Καὶ ἐπεὶ βλαβερὸν τὸ τοῖς ἀθροίσμασι τῶν ἀσεβῶν παραβάλλειν, μακαρίζει τὸν μὴδὲ κατὰ ποσὸν εἰς τὸ αὐτὸν αὐτοῖς ἐρχόμενον. Τοιοῦτος ὑπῆρχεν ὁ Ἰωσήφ ὁ ἀπὸ Ἀριμαθίας, ὁ τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ Θεοῦ θάψας. Εἴρηται γὰρ περὶ αὐτοῦ, ὡς οὐκ ἦν συγκατατιθέμενος τῇ βουλῇ τῶν Ἰησοῦ προδοτῶν.

<sup>40</sup> Tertullian, *On the Spectacles* 3, 4 (see n. 13 above).

<sup>41</sup> Hoppe sees Tertullian’s clause merely as a tautology with an alliteration (1903, 150; I owe this reference to Turcan 1986, 106, note on “in concilio et in consessu”).

3.2 *Christian Narratives*

To these patristic readings should be added the narrative interpretations found in two Greek texts; one of them, as yet unedited, has been described as a rewriting of the other. I provide this text in the appendix to this article.

The edited text is entitled the *Narrative of Joseph of Arimathea* (*Narratio Iosephi*: CANT 76). It tells of the impenitent thief stealing the Law, a crime that Jesus gets accused of; Jesus and the thieves are crucified, and, following a narrative present also in the first part of the *Gospel of Nicodemus*, a popular fourth-century (?) Christian narrative on the Passion and Resurrection of Christ (CANT 62: *Acts of Pilate*), Joseph of Arimathea is imprisoned and liberated by the resurrected Jesus.<sup>42</sup> In the *Narrative of Joseph*, Jesus is accompanied by the good thief in this saving act. The story of the arrest of Jesus shows Judas betraying him and the Jews interrogating Jesus. It is followed by a comment made by Joseph, who is the narrator of the first part of the text: “But Nicodemus and I, Joseph, seeing the ‘seat of the pestilent’, stood apart from them, not wanting to perish ‘in the council of the impious.’”<sup>43</sup> Here two quotations from Ps 1:1 are directly integrated in Joseph’s speech. It is as if Joseph was deliberately presenting himself and Nicodemus as the “blessed men” by using the language of this Psalm verse.

This staging of Ps 1 is reinforced in a second version, the *Rewritten Narrative of Joseph of Arimathea* (*Narratio Iosephi Rescripta*), which seems to be based on three texts: the *Narrative* itself for the structure, the *Acts of Pilate* as a source with which to expand the section on the trial of Jesus, and an Easter homily for the section on Joseph.<sup>44</sup> At some point in the narrative, after a dialogue between the crucified Jesus and the good thief, the story goes back to the beginning and to the plot of the Jews—showing the composite nature of the work. From that point Joseph of Arimathea becomes the main figure. The text stresses that he attracts the Jews’ suspicion from the very beginning, since he does not take part in their council. In this section, the appearance of Joseph of Arimathea is linked to a longer interpretation of Ps 1:1 (which has led scholars to consider that it was taken from a homily). It is included at the same point in the narrative as in the first form of the *Narrative*, when the Jews meet with Judas to take a decision about Jesus:<sup>45</sup>

<sup>42</sup> On Joseph in the *Acts of Pilate*, see Baudoin 2017.

<sup>43</sup> *Narrative of Joseph* 2, 4, transl. Ehrman & Pleše 2014, 309. Ed. Tischendorf 1876, 464: Ὁ δὲ Νικόδημος καὶ γὰρ Ἰωσήφ ἰδόντες τὴν κάθεδραν τῶν λοιμῶν ἀνέστημεν ἀπ’ αὐτῶν, μὴ θελήσαντες τῇ βουλῇ τῶν ἀσεβῶν συναπολέσθαι.

<sup>44</sup> Gounelle 1994, 168.

<sup>45</sup> This text has been traced by Gounelle in four manuscripts: Istanbul, Patriarchikê Bibl., Hagia Trias 100, ff. 202<sup>r</sup>–222<sup>v</sup>; Jerusalem, Patriarchikê bibliothêkê, Hagiou Saba 422, ff. 1<sup>r</sup>–38<sup>r</sup>; Paris, BnF, gr. 947, ff. 115<sup>v</sup>–133<sup>r</sup> (P1); Paris, BnF, gr. 1021, ff. 347<sup>r</sup>–367<sup>r</sup> (P2). Below I offer the edition of the relevant passage from both Paris manuscripts.

Annas, Caiaphas and Iosippos woke up and went to Arimathea.<sup>46</sup> Knowing their counsel, the righteous and blessed Joseph stood up, took another road (cf. Matt 2:12) and went to the city of Jerusalem. Having left, he sat in the Temple, so that would be accomplished what the prophet David had said: *Blessed is the man who walks not in the counsel of the ungodly nor is in the path of sinners* (Ps 1:1). Who is the man? Joseph, the righteous one. What is the counsel of the ungodly? The counsel of Caiaphas, of the priests, of the scribes and Pharisees. *And he is not in the path of sinners nor sits in the seat of the scornful* (Ps 1:1). What is in the path of sinners? Judas is, the sinner, and he sat in the seat of the scornful.<sup>47</sup> The scornful are the Jews. They gathered (cf. Ps 2:2) in the house of Caiaphas, and they sat in the middle of the court. And they struck a deal with Judas.

The chiefs of the Jews are trying to get Joseph to agree with them. Joseph, however, stands aside and is shown seated in the Temple, in the attitude of Jesus (cf. Mark 12:41, Luke 2:46). The fulfilment of the prophecy of David is carefully explained and each part of the verse offers a typological reading.<sup>48</sup>

The presence of this hermeneutical reflection in the course of the narrative suggests that seeing Joseph as the Blessed Man of Ps 1 may have been more common than the paucity of direct witnesses might imply.<sup>49</sup> Indeed, the anonymous scholion attributed to Athanasios as well as Hesychios's commentaries may have expressed a widespread interpretation of Ps 1; and the *Narrative of Joseph*, in one form or another, may have served as a liturgical narrative for Good Friday, making this interpretation known more widely to all the faithful.<sup>50</sup>

#### 4. ICONOGRAPHIC TESTIMONIES TO JOSEPH OF ARIMATHEA AS THE BLESSED MAN

The existence of texts in Latin, Greek and Slavonic presenting Joseph of Arimathea as a type or example of the Blessed Man of Ps 1:1 calls for a survey of iconographical

<sup>46</sup> The exact location of the place is probably not of interest here; what matters is that it is distinct from Jerusalem. In the *Gospel of Nicodemus* 15, 1, Joseph is found in his home city Arimathea after the resurrection of Jesus and his own escape from jail (Tischendorf 1876, 265).

<sup>47</sup> Adopting the usual wording of the Psalm, the scribe of MS Paris, BnF, gr. 947 (P1) kept the negation here. The reading of MS Paris, BnF, gr. 1021 (P2) is *difficilior* because less common, and should be preferred.

<sup>48</sup> However, the copyist of MS Paris, BnF, gr. 947 (P1) omitted some of the explanations because of parablepsis (see the appendix below).

<sup>49</sup> I do not think, however, that the *Homily on the grave of the divine body* of Ps.-Epiphanius (CPG 3768) alludes to this reading when blessing (μακαρίζω) various parts of the body of Joseph who have been touching the body of Jesus (PG 43: 449C). Neither does, in my opinion, Theoleptos of Philadelphia in his *Monastic Discourses* from the fourteenth century (18, 3, ed. Sinkewicz 1992, 310).

<sup>50</sup> Gounelle 1994, 174.

material likely to reflect this reading. Here again, the material is far from abundant.<sup>51</sup> However, the council of the Jews condemning Jesus is occasionally juxtaposed either with Ps 1 or, more usually, with Ps 2.<sup>52</sup>

There are exceptions to this pattern. The most famous one is well known to Byzantinists and has been mentioned in the introduction: alongside Ps 1:1 the Serbian Psalter shows Joseph of Arimathea holding the shroud (Munich, BSB, Cod. slav. 4, from the fourteenth or fifteenth century, fig. 1). How original is the presence of Joseph of Arimathea next to the first verse of Ps 1? According to Strzygowski, the same image appeared in the 1630 copy of the Serbian Psalter, where Joseph had a hand missing and stood upright (f. 15<sup>v</sup>).<sup>53</sup> The *titulus* of the Serbian Psalter appears, without the accompanying image, as a kind of gloss in an exemplar of the printed Cetinje Psalter.<sup>54</sup> Dufrenne suggested that the image could be seen in the 1591 Godunov Psalter.<sup>55</sup> Yet as far as I can see from the online reproduction, Christ is talking to a holy king under a tree in the left-hand margin next to Ps 1.<sup>56</sup> The tree easily relates to Ps 1:3, but there is nothing obvious connecting that king to Joseph, except for the fact, perhaps, that Joseph was “rich” (Matt 27:57).

There is little doubt that the Serbian Psalter took its inspiration from the Slavonic version of the *Commentarius brevis* attributed to Hesychios of Jerusalem.<sup>57</sup> I am not aware of any Eastern depictions of this theme other than these ones. There might also

<sup>51</sup> None of the 59 plates offering a reproduction of the opening Psalm in Büttner 2004 depicts Joseph of Arimathea: the most common representation is a (generic) blessed man, or David, or sometimes Christ.

<sup>52</sup> Peterson 2004, 353.

<sup>53</sup> The copy, known as the Belgrade Psalter, was destroyed when the National Library of Serbia was bombed in 1941 (see Rakić 2012, 234). Strzygowski alludes to other possible Eastern iconographic parallels, but they can be ignored (1906, 18): (1) the iconographical elements used to paint scenes of the Gospel and described by Schäfer, who mentions Joseph asking for the body of the Lord (1855, § 301, 205: ὁ Ἰωσήφ αἰτῶν τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Κυρίου); in fact this is about the iconography of the Gospels and not of the Psalms; (2) a depiction of the scene in the Xenophontos Monastery on Mount Athos; again it seems to refer to the burial of Christ rather than to Ps 1.

<sup>54</sup> The 1495 Harvard Exemplar, p. A 8<sup>v</sup>: “bl(a)žen muž Arimathei Iosif drži plaščanicu Xr(i)stov<u>” (Ševčenko as quoted by Belting 1978, 94), which translates as “The blessed Joseph of Arimathea carries the shroud of Christ”.

<sup>55</sup> Dufrenne and Stichel as quoted by Belting 1978, 193 (relying on Tikkanen 1933).

<sup>56</sup> Godunov Psalter, f. 59<sup>v</sup> (p. 120): see [http://www.svyatayarus.ru/data/manuscripts/162\\_psaltyr\\_godunovskaya/index.php?lang=en](http://www.svyatayarus.ru/data/manuscripts/162_psaltyr_godunovskaya/index.php?lang=en) (accessed 8 August 2016). The same scene, minus the tree, appears on f. 61<sup>r</sup> (p. 123), alongside Ps 2.

<sup>57</sup> Specialists of iconography agree on that dependence: Strzygowski 1906, 18, quoting Tikkanen 1895, 75; Ševčenko as quoted by Belting 1978, 94; Dufrenne and Stichel as quoted by Belting 1978, 193.





FIG. 2. MS Stuttgart, Landesbibliothek, Bibl. fol. 23 (ca. 820), f. 2r. Image reproduced by permission of the Württembergische Landesbibliothek.

be one Western depiction, likely to be inspired, if not by Tertullian, then at least by Jerome or his epigones.

The Stuttgart Psalter, which was made around 820 at the Royal Monastery of Saint-Germain-des-Prés, shows the first lines and the initial B of Ps 1:1 (fig. 2). The lower loop of the B is a tendril and the upper loop seems to be outlined by the lifted arms and the torso of a soldier, who could be the *miles Christi* as *Beatus Vir*.<sup>58</sup> Under it is a scene with Jesus on the cross on the left and two men on the right. The man on the left, wearing a green cloak on his short, white tunic, is walking and extending the right hand in a gesture of request toward the person on the right, who is seated, wearing a red cloak over his long, elegant tunic, and raising his right hand in a commanding gesture. This scene has been mistaken for the council of the Jews,<sup>59</sup> whereas it in fact depicts Joseph standing in front of Pilate to ask for the body of Jesus.<sup>60</sup> The rubric at the top of the page, which is not easy to read due to corrosion of the ink, confirms this interpretation: "Psalm 1, which prophesied everything about Christ or about Joseph who buried the body of the Lord".<sup>61</sup> This statement is a perfect synthesis of the two main typological readings of the Psalm (or of all three of them in fact, if we include the depiction understood as the *miles Christi*). Here the image works as a typological interpretation of the text: the reader is expected to read Ps 1, to see the depiction of Joseph of Arimathea asking for the body of Jesus, and to understand that Joseph is to be seen as the *Beatus Vir* of Ps 1. Next to Jerome, the Stuttgart Psalter is the only explicit witness of this interpretation alongside the Psalms (as opposed to textual commentaries of the same period where the reference to Ps 1 occurs in the context of the burial of Jesus, as discussed above).

On the other hand, the B initial in the thirteenth-century Psalter MS Cambridge, Fitzwilliam 288, does not necessarily allude to Joseph as the *Beatus Vir*. It depicts a glorious, seated Christ flanked by the Virgin Mary and John the Baptist in the upper loop, and in the lower loop the entombment with Joseph, Nicodemus and a third figure (f. 14<sup>v</sup>).<sup>62</sup> Here Joseph seems to be merely a side character in a scene primarily focused on Christ.

<sup>58</sup> This is the suggestion of Mitchell 2016, 7.

<sup>59</sup> DeWald 1930, 6–7; Württembergische Landesbibliothek 1965–1968, II:59.

<sup>60</sup> Nordenfalk 1969, 161.

<sup>61</sup> "Psalmus Primus qui (?) de Christo concta prophetavit vel de Ioseph qui corpus Domini sepelivit".

<sup>62</sup> The manuscript is from the Meuse region, Liège, ca. 1280–1290. The image is available online (<https://www.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/colour/explore/9>, accessed 9 December 2019).

## 5. CONCLUDING REMARKS

From the extant evidence, Joseph of Arimathea appears as a relatively rare, but nevertheless very significant typological interpretation for the Blessed Man of Ps 1. This reading was known to both the Latin and the Greek world. Its roots may lie in Luke's canonical description of the just man who did not agree with the council and who chose to bury the body of Christ.

The association between Joseph and the Blessed Man was first made explicit by Tertullian, whose gloss was adopted by Jerome, who was in turn read and copied throughout the Middle Ages. The interpretation was transmitted mostly as a commentary on the role of Joseph but also, from time to time, in the margin of the first Psalm. The Carolingian Stuttgart Psalter is a witness of this phenomenon, as it displays the image of Joseph of Arimathea next to the text of Ps 1.

In the Greek-speaking world, the same interpretation emerged, either depending on Tertullian (but we have no proof of this derivation) or based on a pointed reading of Luke. Here the association between Joseph of Arimathea and the Blessed Man is not found in commentaries on the Gospel, but as glosses on Ps 1, attributed to Hesychios of Jerusalem in most cases. It was probably thanks to the translation of Hesychios's *Commentarius brevis* into Slavonic that this interpretation found its way into the visual vocabulary of Slavonic manuscripts such as the Serbian Psalter.



## APPENDIX

A narrative exegesis of Ps 1:1 in the *Rewritten Narrative of Joseph of Arimathea*: provisional edition from two manuscripts:<sup>63</sup>

P1 Paris, BnF, gr. 947 (1574 CE), f. 125<sup>r-v</sup>

P2 Paris, BnF, gr. 1021 (15<sup>th</sup>/16<sup>th</sup> cent.), f. 357<sup>r-v</sup>

Ἐγερθέντες οὖν Ἄννας καὶ Καϊάφας καὶ Ἰώσηπος ἦλθον εἰς Ἀριμαθαίας. Γινούς δὲ ὁ δίκαιος καὶ μακάριος Ἰωσήφ τὴν βουλὴν αὐτῶν, ἀναστὰς ἐπορεύθη δι' ἄλλης ὁδοῦ καὶ ἦλθεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν Ἱερουσαλὴμ. Καὶ ἀπελθὼν ἐκάθισεν ἐν τῷ ναῷ ἵνα πληρωθῇ τὸ ῥηθὲν διὰ τοῦ προφήτου Δαυὶδ· Μακάριος ἀνὴρ ὃς οὐκ ἐπορεύθη ἐν βουλῇ ἀσεβῶν καὶ ἐν ὁδῷ ἀμαρτωλῶν οὐκ ἐστίν. 5 Τίς ἐστίν ὁ ἀνὴρ; Ὁ Ἰωσήφ ὁ δίκαιος. Τίς ἡ βουλὴ τῶν ἀσεβῶν; Ἡ βουλὴ τοῦ Καϊάφα καὶ τῶν ἱερέων καὶ τῶν γραμματέων καὶ φαρισαίων. Καὶ ἐν ὁδῷ ἀμαρτωλῶν οὐκ ἐστίν καὶ ἐπὶ καθέδρᾳ<sup>[P1 f. 125<sup>v</sup> λοιμῶν οὐκ ἐκάθισεν. Τί ἐστίν ἐν ὁδῷ ἀμαρτωλῶν; Ὁ Ἰούδας<sup>[P2 f. 357<sup>v</sup> ἐστίν, ὁ ἀμαρτωλός, καὶ εἰς καθέδραν λοιμῶν ἐκάθισεν. Οἱ λοιμοὶ εἰσιν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι. Συνήχθησαν εἰς τὸν οἶκον τοῦ Καϊάφα, καὶ ἐκάθισαν μέσον τῆς αὐλῆς. Καὶ συνεφώνησαν μετὰ τοῦ Ἰούδα.</sup></sup>

1 Ἰώσηπος] ἰωσίππος (sic) P2 | Ἀριμαθαίας] ἀριμαθείας (sic) P1 | 3 ἐκάθισεν] ἐκάθητο P2 | πληρωθῇ] πληρθῇ (sic) P1 | 4–5 καὶ ἐν ὁδῷ ... βουλὴ τῶν ἀσεβῶν] om. P1 | 5 ἐστίν<sup>1</sup>] forte leg. ἔστη ut Ps 1:1 | 6 ἐστίν] forte leg. ἔστη ut Ps 1:1 | 8 post λοιμῶν add. οὐκ P1 | ἐκάθισεν] ἐκάθισεν P2 | λοιμοὶ] λοιποὶ P1 | Ἰουδαῖοι] οἰδαῖοι (sic) P1 | post Συνήχθησαν add. οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι P2 | 9 μετὰ τοῦ Ἰούδα] μέσα τὸν ἰούδα P1

<sup>63</sup> I retain the Byzantine forms ἐκάθισεν/ἐκάθησαν used by the manuscripts; however, on l. 9, and only there, P1 reads the more classical ἐκάθισαν. My translation of this fragment can be found on p. 292 above.

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# DATING MIDDLE BYZANTINE GOSPEL BOOKS: THE GOSPELS OF DIONYSIOS AND PARIS. GR. 63

KATHLEEN MAXWELL



*How little work has been done on the majuscules  
remains a wonder of modern scholarship.<sup>1</sup>*

OUR UNDERSTANDING OF the Greek Gospel book in the ninth and tenth centuries has been largely dictated by Kurt Weitzmann's groundbreaking *Byzantinische Buchmalerei* of 1935 and its posthumous appendix of 1996. More recent scholarship, however, frequently diverges from Weitzmann's conclusions or refers to manuscripts not addressed by Weitzmann.<sup>2</sup> These contributions have moved the field forward and provide an ideal climate in which to reassess the development of the Byzantine Gospel book in the post-iconoclastic era. I will focus here on just two manuscripts in an attempt to shed light on this period.

One of the more important Byzantine illuminated manuscripts to gain attention in recent decades is the Gospels of Dionysios, Messina, Biblioteca Regionale Universitaria, F.V. 18, a now incomplete Gospel book (missing Luke and John) attributed to the early tenth century. The manuscript's name derives from epigrams written in gold on pale purple-dyed parchment referring to the otherwise anonymous Dionysios—presumably the patron of this small deluxe manuscript.<sup>3</sup> Long known to New Testament text critics, the Gospels of Dionysios was largely ignored, misdated, or misattributed by art historians. The manuscript was published in the 1990s by Perria and Iacobini who characterized it as one of the first pure expressions of the post-iconoclastic Byzantine

<sup>1</sup> Parker 2013, 41.

<sup>2</sup> These studies include: Džurova 2011; Perria & Iacobini 1994; Iacobini & Perria 1998. See also Fonkitch 2009; Dobrynina 2009a & 2013; Parpulov 2015. Scholarship focusing on other texts produced in the ninth and tenth centuries has also benefitted Gospel manuscript scholars: see n. 43 below (Hutter) as well as Brubaker 1999. For disagreement with Weitzmann, see notes 43 and 44 below.

<sup>3</sup> Much work has been done recently on epigrams: see Drpić 2016 and Rhoby 2018. Those in the Gospels of Dionysios are included in the DBBE (<https://www.dbbe.ugent.be/manuscripts/12880>, accessed 28 February 2020).



FIG. 1. Gospels of Dionysios (Messina, Bibl. Reg. Univ., F.V. 18), f. 11<sup>r</sup>: the Evangelist Matthew. Image reproduced by permission of the Regione Siciliana Assessorato Regionale dei Beni culturali e dell'I.S., Biblioteca Regionale Universitaria 'G. Longo' di Messina.



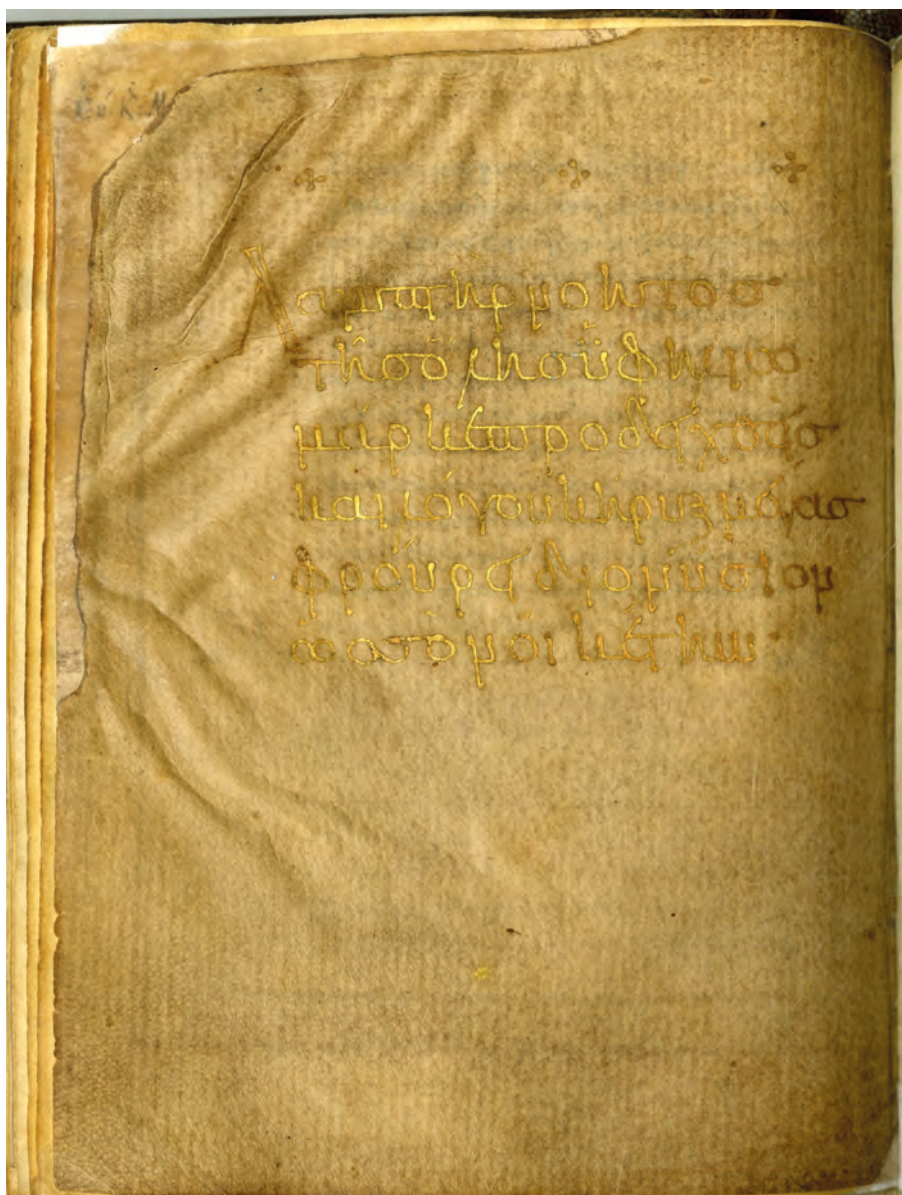


FIG. 2. Gospels of Dionysios (Messina, Bibl. Reg. Univ., F.V. 18), f. 81<sup>v</sup>: Epigram before Mark's text. Image reproduced by permission of the Regione Siciliana Assessorato Regionale dei Beni culturali e dell'I.S., Biblioteca Regionale Universitaria 'G. Longo' di Messina.

illuminated Gospel book.<sup>4</sup> My purpose is to articulate the relationship of the Gospels of Dionysios to a majuscule Gospel book—Paris. gr. 63, often dated to the ninth century. Drawing upon art-historical and palaeographical evidence, as well as the findings of New Testament textual critics, I will argue that Paris. gr. 63 is in fact likely to be significantly later in date than the ninth century and specifically later than the Gospels of Dionysios.<sup>5</sup>

# 1. THE GOSPELS OF DIONYSIOS<sup>6</sup>

The Gospels of Dionysios is a small, pocket-book sized manuscript that features a sophisticated sequence of illuminations reflecting the divisions of its text. These include a frontispiece on f. 1<sup>v</sup> of a jewelled cross with an architectural framework that may reference the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem. Six beautifully decorated pages containing the Letter of Eusebius to Carpianus appear next (ff. 2<sup>r</sup>–3<sup>v</sup> and 6<sup>r</sup>–<sup>v</sup> in the current binding).<sup>7</sup> Canon tables occupy ff. 4<sup>r</sup>–5<sup>v</sup> and 7<sup>r</sup>–10<sup>r</sup>. Moreover, the Gospels of Dionysios once included four full-page evangelist portraits (now only Matthew survives) and gold prologues (e.g., f. 81<sup>v</sup>), opposite each evangelist portrait (figs. 1–2).<sup>8</sup> Unusual gold headpieces and initials mark the beginnings of the remaining Gospels (figs. 3–4).

Perria and Iacobini immediately recognized similarities between the one surviving portrait of the Evangelist Matthew and that of Athos, Stauronikēta 43, one of the best known Gospel books of the so-called Macedonian Renaissance (fig. 5). Iacobini and Perria also found compelling analogies for the ornament of some of the canon tables in architectural decoration of the pre- and post-iconoclastic period, especially that of the Monastery of Constantine Lips which is generally dated to ca. 900.<sup>9</sup> Today, with the publication and/or digitization of more manuscripts, it is easier to locate comparisons

<sup>4</sup> See Perria & Iacobini 1994; Iacobini & Perria 1998.

<sup>5</sup> Constantinides & Browning dated Paris. gr. 63 to the ninth century (1993, 7 and 140). They assign it to Cyprus even though they can only associate one other majuscule manuscript with the island: the lectionary Carpentras, Bibl. Munic. 10 (Omont 34; olim L 11).

<sup>6</sup> I thank Prof. Antonio Iacobini, Dr Maria Teresa Rodriguez, and Stefania De Gaetano for their assistance in procuring photographs of the Gospels of Dionysios.

<sup>7</sup> See Iacobini & Perria 1998 for colour plates I–XXVI of most illustrations of the Gospels of Dionysios. (Plate XXII should have reproduced the beginning of Matthew, but unfortunately depicts the beginning of Mark which is repeated on plate XXIII.) See pp. 47–61 for an analysis of the frontispiece as representative of the Holy Sepulchre.

<sup>8</sup> These gold prologues are the epigrams mentioned above (see n. 3).

<sup>9</sup> Iacobini & Perria 1998, 67–68 and figs. 24–27, 29, 42.



for the Gospels of Dionysios in other manuscripts.<sup>10</sup> For example, the spindle and floral motif of the columns of the canon table on f. 7<sup>r</sup> from the Gospels of Dionysios can be compared to the motif found in the cornice of the upper arch motif of the headpiece of Matthew in St Petersburg, Nat. Libr., gr. 53, f. 12<sup>r</sup>.<sup>11</sup> The headpiece for the Gospel of John from Tirana, National Archives, 2 (p. 657), also provides a parallel.<sup>12</sup> These two codices on purple-dyed parchment have been independently assigned to the same imperial workshop by Džurova and Kavirus-Hoffmann. Tirana 2 has recently been dated by the same scholars to ca. 900, that is, a decade or so before the date proposed for the Gospels of Dionysios.<sup>13</sup> A similar motif is found in a headpiece for the Leo Bible (Vat., Reg. gr. 1), which Hutter attributes to the second decade of the tenth century, that is, contemporary with the Gospels of Dionysios.<sup>14</sup> The striped decoration of the columns in four canon tables of the Gospels of Dionysios (fig. 8) finds some parallel in the very differently coloured ornament of a majuscule Gospel book, Vat. gr. 354, dated to 949 and written by the monk Michael.<sup>15</sup>

Early tenth-century manuscripts provide comparisons for the two surviving headpieces of Matthew and Mark of the Gospels of Dionysios (figs. 3–4). The quatrefoil design of both Matthew's and Mark's headpieces in the Gospels of Dionysios finds parallel in Luke's headpiece of Tirana 2 (p. 415) and St Petersburg, gr. 53's headpiece for John (f. 330<sup>r</sup>).<sup>16</sup> The leafy framing motifs of Matthew's headpiece are not unlike

<sup>10</sup> Džurova 2011, I:37, 38, 73, 75, 77, 81, 85, 87, 91, 100, 103, 106 noted many comparisons between the ninth- and tenth-century Greek manuscripts from Tirana and the Gospels of Dionysios. Some of these are repeated here.

<sup>11</sup> Džurova 2011, I:45, pl. 25.

<sup>12</sup> Džurova 2011, I:39, pl. 23. Kavirus-Hoffmann makes the same comparison (2016, 136 and fig. 5.12).

<sup>13</sup> Kavirus-Hoffmann 2016, 129 where she dates both Tirana 2 and St Petersburg, gr. 53 “to the last quarter of the ninth century”, and believes that Tirana 2 may be a decade or two earlier than St Petersburg, gr. 53. Džurova dates them to the end of the ninth century, assigns them to the same Constantinopolitan atelier, but declares that they may be from the same copyist (2011, I:38: “peut-être par le même copiste”).

<sup>14</sup> Hutter 2011, 247, fig. 48 (f. 369<sup>r</sup>).

<sup>15</sup> Compare fig. 8 with the canon table on f. 6<sup>v</sup> of Vat. gr. 354 ([http://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS\\_Vat.gr.354](http://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.gr.354), accessed 21 February 2017). See also D'Aiuto, Morello & Piazzoni 2000, 204–207. According to Martani, Vat. gr. 354 is one of four dated majuscule codices of the tenth century (March 949), but its origins are unknown (2004, 29). There are examples of striped canon table columns in early-medieval manuscripts as well including in some of the canon tables of the ninth-century Royal Bible (London, BL, Royal I E VI, ff. 4<sup>v</sup>–6<sup>r</sup>: see [http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=royal\\_ms\\_1\\_e\\_vi\\_f5001ar](http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=royal_ms_1_e_vi_f5001ar), accessed 12 October 2020). Striped colours also serve as ornament on ff. 114<sup>v</sup> and 117<sup>r</sup> of the frames of the Godescalc Gospels (see <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b6000718s?rk=21459;2>, accessed 24 April 2018).

<sup>16</sup> Džurova 2011, I:35, pl. 19 and 55, pl. 31.

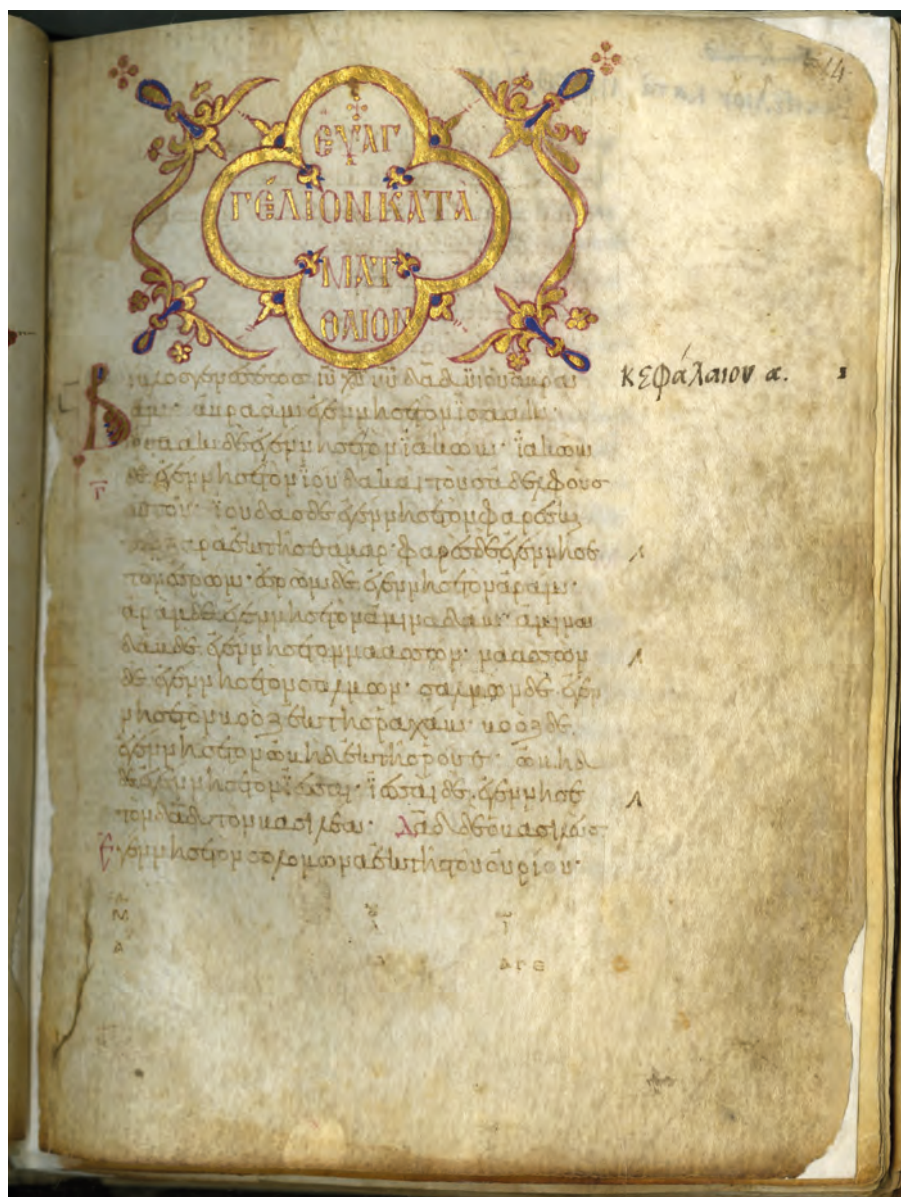


FIG. 3. Gospels of Dionysios (Messina, Bibl. Reg. Univ., F.V. 18), f. 14<sup>r</sup>: Beginning of Matthew. Image reproduced by permission of the Regione Siciliana Assessorato Regionale dei Beni culturali e dell'I.S., Biblioteca Regionale Universitaria 'G. Longo' di Messina.

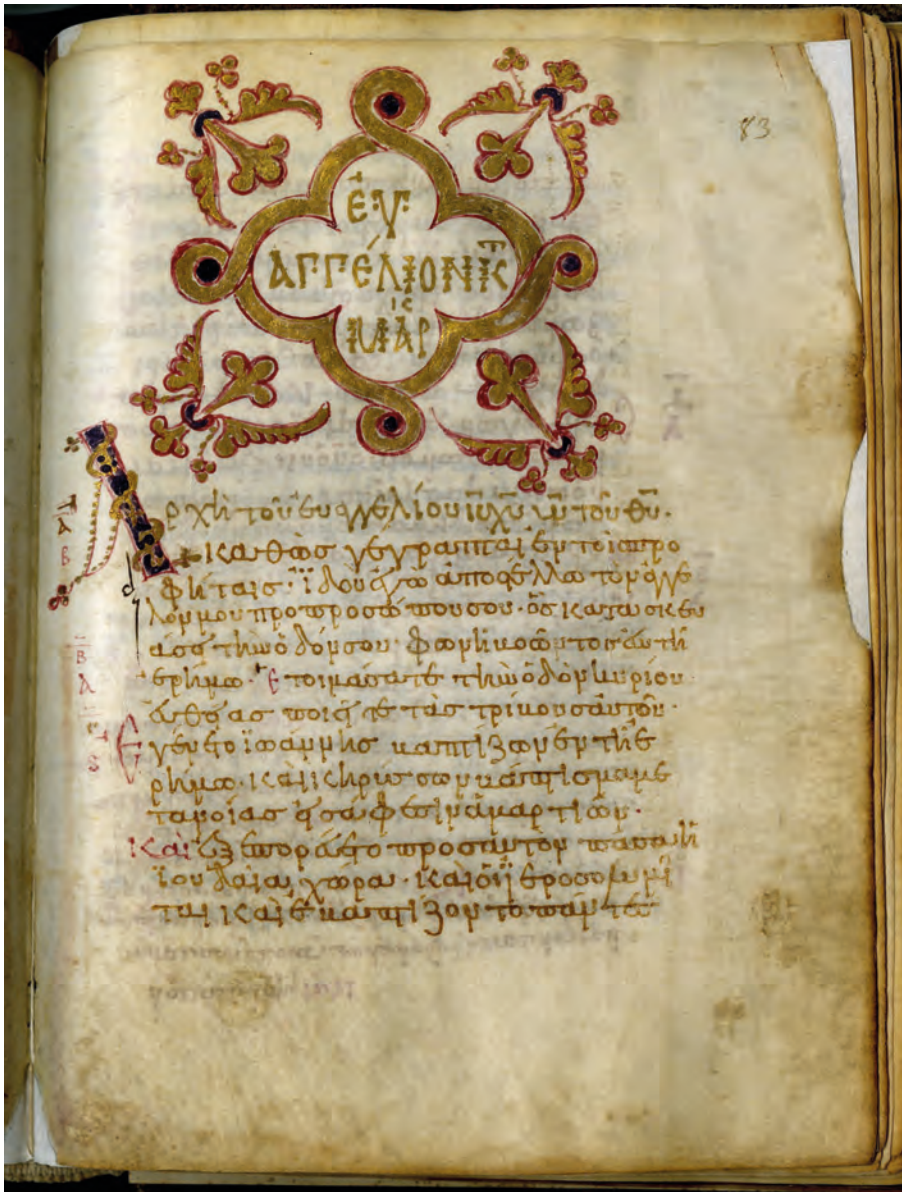


FIG. 4. Gospels of Dionysios (Messina, Bibl. Reg. Univ., F.V. 18), f. 83r: Beginning of Mark. Image reproduced by permission of the Regione Siciliana Assessorato Regionale dei Beni culturali e dell'I.S., Biblioteca Regionale Universitaria 'G. Longo' di Messina.

those in the fragmentary *kephalaia* headpiece for John of Tirana, National Archives, 93.<sup>17</sup> Tirana 93 is attributed to the second decade of the tenth century by Džurova and recently it has been linked textually to the Gospels of Dionysios by New Testament textual critics.<sup>18</sup> London, BL, Harley 5540, another close textual relation to the Gospels of Dionysios, provides a comparison for the Bēta initial of Matthew's text.<sup>19</sup> But even more compelling is the Bēta initial at the beginning of Matthew from Tirana, National Archives, 92, a tenth-century Gospel book (f. 10<sup>r</sup>).<sup>20</sup>

Mark's headpiece of the Gospels of Dionysios is quite similar in its quatrefoil shape to that of Matthew. Here, however, its four lobes are further emphasized by the addition of looping circles. I have found no precise parallels for this type of quatrefoil, but the circles in the framework of the John headpiece from St Petersburg, gr. 53 are notable.<sup>21</sup> The linking device by itself is quite common in tenth-century illuminated ornament as can be seen in Tirana 2 (Mark headpiece), Tirana 92 (John headpiece), Tirana 93 (Luke headpiece), and Venice, Marc. gr. I. 18 (Matthew headpiece).<sup>22</sup> Finally, in Vat. gr. 351 one can compare both the linking motifs seen in the headpiece, as well as the projecting palmettes at the top two outside corners of the headpiece to those framing the Mark headpiece in the Gospels of Dionysios.<sup>23</sup> Vat. gr. 351 also provides a viable comparison for the Alpha initial at the beginning of Mark of the Gospels of Dionysios.<sup>24</sup>

These comparisons fully support Perria's and Iacobini's dating of the Gospels of Dionysios in the early tenth century.

<sup>17</sup> For Tirana 93, f. 224<sup>r</sup> see Džurova 2011, I:117, pl. 70.

<sup>18</sup> Džurova 2011, I:87. Tirana 93 (GA 2902) has recently been determined to be a core member of Family II. See Tommy Wasserman, Evangelical Criticism blog for February 27, 2013—note by Paul Anderson in commentary (<http://evangelicaltextualcriticism.blogspot.com/2013/02/facsimile-edition-of-korca-codex-93-ga.html?showComment=1362057978913#c7161922980451085157>, accessed 5 March 2017).

<sup>19</sup> See f. 4<sup>r</sup>, the beginning of Matthew, in Harley 5540 ([http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=harley\\_ms\\_5540\\_fo04r](http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=harley_ms_5540_fo04r), accessed 16 March 2017). Harley 5540 (GA 114) is textually related to both Paris. gr. 63 (GA 017) and the Gospels of Dionysios (GA 420). It appears on INTF's Clusters tool as number 5 for the Gospels of Dionysios and as number 5 for Paris. gr. 63 (accessed 27 February 2020). See n. 30 below. It is another member of Family II according to Tommy Wasserman's blog entry of February 27, 2013 (see the entry at the end by Paul Anderson and my preceding footnote).

<sup>20</sup> See Džurova 2011, I:133 (pl. 78) and p. 121 for a mid-tenth century date for Tirana 92.

<sup>21</sup> See n. 16 above.

<sup>22</sup> Džurova 2011, I:31, pl. 15 (Tirana 2, p. 255; Mark headpiece); 141, pl. 85 (Tirana 92, f. 340<sup>r</sup>; John headpiece); 115, pl. 69 (Tirana 93, f. 142<sup>r</sup>; Luke headpiece). For Venice, Marc. gr. I. 18, f. 12<sup>r</sup>, see Furlan 1978, pl. 3 (opposite p. 36).

<sup>23</sup> Folio 67<sup>r</sup> (see [http://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS\\_Vat.gr.351](http://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.gr.351), accessed 21 February 2017).

<sup>24</sup> Folio 70<sup>r</sup> as above.





FIG. 5. MS Athos, Stauronikēta 43, f. 10v: the Evangelist Matthew. Image reproduced by permission of the Patriarchal Institute for Patristic Studies.

## 2. MS PARIS, GR. 63

Paris. gr. 63 arrived in Paris in 1673 from a collection in Cyprus.<sup>25</sup> A colophon states that it was written by the monk Basil and bound by the monk Theodoulos, who commend themselves to the Virgin and St Eutychios, but the work's origins are not revealed.<sup>26</sup> The manuscript is not unknown to art historians. Weitzmann originally dated the codex to the ninth century and accepted Cyprus as its place of origin. Later he noted that he had probably dated it too early, but still supported a Cypriot origin while admitting that he could not prove it.<sup>27</sup>

Paris. gr. 63, to my knowledge, has not been discussed in relation to the Gospels of Dionysios. Its majuscule text and its exuberant, one might add sometimes carelessly executed, ornament (fig. 7) present a marked contrast with the minuscule script and carefully executed ornament of the Gospels of Dionysios. Parallels between the decoration of the two manuscripts' canon tables, however, suggest some kind of connection between these two works which otherwise appear to have little in common. Compare, for example, the canon table on f. 12<sup>v</sup> of Paris. gr. 63 (fig. 6) with that of f. 8<sup>v</sup> from the Gospels of Dionysios (fig. 8).

While the columns of the Gospels of Dionysios's canon table do not share the peculiar asymmetry of those of Paris. gr. 63, the striped decoration in the left column of Paris. gr. 63 is reminiscent of the outer columns of the Gospels of Dionysios. Both examples also include the braided rope motif in their larger arches. Another example includes comparable jewel ornamentation in the canon tables from the two manu-

<sup>25</sup> See Lake 1937, 11 ('Codex Cyprius'). It was known to be in a Cypriot collection around 1608. In the sixteenth century, the manuscript was part of the collection of Philotheos Kanakes of Cyprus (see Weitzmann 1996, II:59), before entering Jean-Baptiste Colbert's possession in 1673 (see Darrouzès 1950, 167).

<sup>26</sup> Lake, 1937, p. 11. The manuscript is fully digitized on Gallica (see n. 29 below).

<sup>27</sup> Weitzmann 1935, 64–65 and figs. 419–420; Weitzmann 1996, II:59 stood by his Cypriot origins for Paris. gr. 63, saying that might explain the variety of influences (Coptic, Cappadocian and Constantinopolitan) on the ornament of the manuscript. He compared Paris. gr. 63 to Patmos 71 (1935, 64, figs. 417–418) and to Athos, Dionysiou 2 (1935, 64–65, figs. 414–416). Džurova also accepts Cyprus as its place of origin and dates it to the ninth/tenth century (2002, 66–67 and 69, figs. 54–55). The ParaTextBib team has now dated it to the late tenth century (see <https://pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr/notices/cote/49624/>, accessed 25 February 2020). For more on the date of Paris. gr. 63, see pp. 318–322 below.







FIG. 7. MS Paris, gr. 63, f. 206r: Beginning of John. Image reproduced by permission of the Bibliothèque nationale de France.



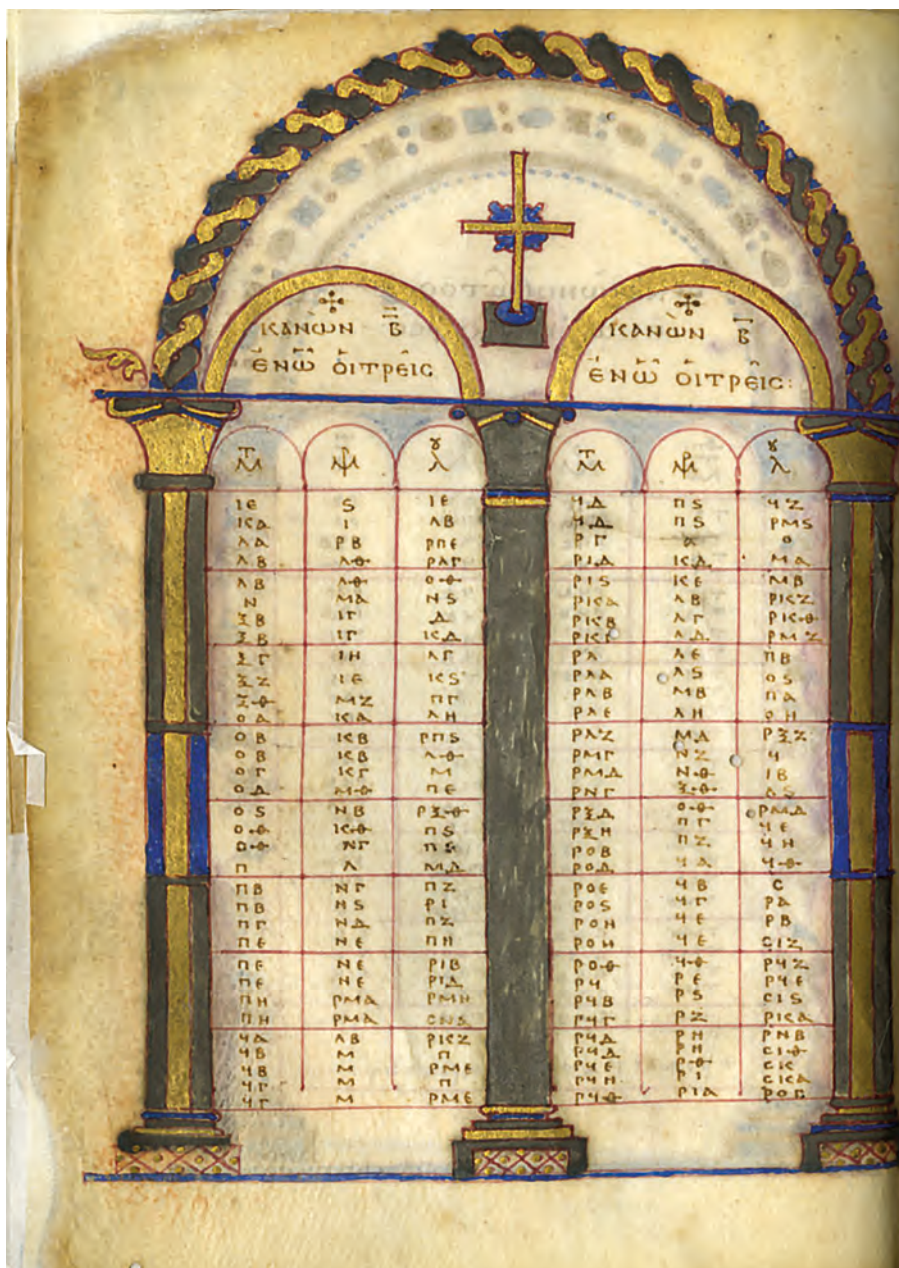


FIG. 8. Gospels of Dionysios (Messina, Bibl. Reg. Univ., F.V. 18), f. 8r: Canon table. Image reproduced by permission of the Regione Siciliana Assessorato Regionale dei Beni culturali e dell'I.S., Biblioteca Regionale Universitaria 'G. Longo' di Messina.

scripts (cf. figs. 9–10).<sup>28</sup> Moreover, representatives from both manuscripts include an analogous tripartite division of the columns.<sup>29</sup>

While the comparisons between the canon table ornament of the Gospels of Dionysios and Paris. gr. 63 are not entirely compelling, neither can they be dismissed, especially as the manuscripts' texts have been intimately linked by New Testament text critics. Scholars at the University of Münster's Institute for New Testament Research (INTF) have determined that Paris. gr. 63's closest textual relative *is* the Gospels of Dionysios.<sup>30</sup> Thus, one may ask, does the close textual relationship between the two manuscripts, together with Paris. gr. 63's majuscule text and presumed ninth- or ninth-century date, suggest that Paris. gr. 63 might have served as a textual and decorative source for the Gospels of Dionysios? This, as we shall see, is most unlikely.

### 3. PALAEOGRAPHY

The Gospels of Dionysios is a minuscule manuscript with some majuscule text. According to Pasquale Orsini, its letter of Eusebius, canon tables and the indices of the *kephalaia* are written in *maiuscola alessandrina*, while the headers of its canon tables are written in *maiuscola biblica*.<sup>31</sup> Paris. gr. 63's text, on the other hand, is written in another style of majuscule text called *maiuscola ogivale diritta*.

Greek majuscule scripts represent a significant red flag for palaeographers. Cavallo observed that in the ninth and tenth centuries majuscule was used only for writing biblical, patristic, hagiographical, homiletic, and liturgical texts. He argues that this script was indelibly associated with the *word of God* in the mind of the believer. As *the* sacred and timeless script, it was seen as the only appropriate means of making God's word perceptible. Cavallo thought majuscule was reserved only for lectionary texts by

<sup>28</sup> Brubaker (1991, 30) stated that jewel decoration is common in all media, even manuscripts in the West, since Codex Valeriani (Munich, BSB, Clm 622, 6<sup>th</sup>–7<sup>th</sup> century). Frantz noted the very limited use of the jewelled border in manuscripts compared with its wide use in other media, “especially in book-covers and mosaic” (1934, 65–66). She did not know of its use in manuscripts later than the ninth century and associated it with a group of early decorative patterns found in Constantinopolitan manuscripts such as Paris. gr. 510 (Frantz 1934, pl. XIX, 1–2 and XX, 1–4).

<sup>29</sup> For colour reproductions, compare Iacobini and Perria 1998, pl. XVI (Gospels of Dionysios, f. 5<sup>r</sup>) and <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b85710773/f37.item.r=grec%2063> (Paris. gr. 63, f. 11<sup>r</sup>; accessed 5 March 2017).

<sup>30</sup> See pp. 321–322 below. The T&T Mss. Clusters tool available on INTF's website displays the closest extant textual relatives of Greek Gospel books. For more information, see Parker 2016, 24 n. 13 and Maxwell 2016, 34 n. 6. The Gregory-Aland numbers for the Gospels of Dionysios and Paris. gr. 63 are GA 420 and GA 017, respectively: [http://intf.uni-muenster.de/TT\\_PP/Cluster4.php](http://intf.uni-muenster.de/TT_PP/Cluster4.php) (accessed 25 June 2018).

<sup>31</sup> Orsini 2005, 273 n. 21.

the end of the tenth century. He concluded that manuscripts in liturgical majuscule (*maiuscola liturgica*), in particular, are “undated and undatable” due to the script’s strong symbolic meaning.<sup>32</sup> On the same grounds, David Parker observed that “some majuscules dated to the tenth century should be redated to the eleventh or even twelfth century”.<sup>33</sup>

In 1985 Edoardo Crisci outlined the history of the particular variety of majuscule script found in Paris. gr. 63, the *maiuscola ogivale diritta* (MOD). It is seen on papyri as early as the second and third centuries CE, but was rarely used for entire texts in the fourth through sixth centuries. Rather, it was reserved for marginal or subordinate roles within manuscripts. It is not until the first half of the ninth century that we encounter manuscripts written entirely in MOD.<sup>34</sup> At the beginning of the ninth century, it is used for profane texts, but, by the second half of the ninth and early tenth centuries, it is reserved exclusively for liturgical texts. Crisci concludes that the majority of MOD manuscripts belong to the tenth century and that it is not seen after the first quarter of the eleventh century.<sup>35</sup> He believes that Constantinople was no stranger to this script, but that its major circulation was probably in provincial areas: Asia Minor and neighbouring areas—perhaps South Italy, too.<sup>36</sup> MOD, Crisci asserts, is a “unique island of survival in a sea of minuscule”.<sup>37</sup>

Crisci compared the script of Paris. gr. 63 to that of London, BL, Add. 39602. The latter is dated to 980, and securely located to Cappadocia.<sup>38</sup> Crisci assigns Paris. gr. 63 to the end of the tenth century, due to the contrived and rigid aspects of its script.<sup>39</sup> He adds that the manuscript represents the outer extreme of the artificiality of this particular type of MOD and further commented on the bizarre and extreme monumental-

<sup>32</sup> Cavallo 1977, 108 (“la maiuscola liturgica [...] è la scrittura sacra per eccellenza, non datata e non databile”). Cavallo’s argument is summarized by Martani 2004, 27–28. For more on the *maiuscola liturgica*, see Orsini 2010.

<sup>33</sup> Parker 2013, 42.

<sup>34</sup> Crisci 1985, 117–118.

<sup>35</sup> Crisci 1985, 118, 120 and 145.

<sup>36</sup> Crisci 1985, 144–145.

<sup>37</sup> Crisci 1985, 144 (“[...] essa si restringe, nella seconda metà del IX e per tutto il X secolo, all’ambito esclusivamente liturgico, unica isola di sopravvivenza della maiuscola greca nel gran mare della minuscola”).

<sup>38</sup> Written in 980 by a scribe variously identified as Nicholas or Nikon or Niketas by scholars. For an image of the colophon (f. 220v), see [http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Add\\_MS\\_39602](http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Add_MS_39602) (accessed 28 February 2020). See further Crisci 1985, 117 and 135 n. 99; Nelson 2016, 110–111. BL Add. 39602 is one of only four dated majuscule codices of the tenth century; see Martani 2004, 29.

<sup>39</sup> Crisci (1985, 135) cites the work of Hatch 1937 and Lake 1937 in support of his date. Both authors are discussed below. Crisci compared the two manuscripts’ *bētas*, *kappas*, and *ypsilons* (1985, 117 and 135 n. 99).



FIG. 9. MS Paris. gr. 63, f. 12r: Canon table. Image reproduced by permission of the Bibliothèque nationale de France.





ty of the forms of this symbolic, immutable, and transcendent script.<sup>40</sup> By comparing Paris. gr. 63 to London, BL, Add. 39602, a manuscript firmly associated with Cappadocia, Crisci undermines Weitzmann's argument for Cyprus as a site of origin for the former. Furthermore, in his extensive research on MOD manuscripts Crisci did not associate any other manuscript with Cyprus.

Yet, surprisingly, Crisci himself maintains a Cypriot origin for Paris. gr. 63.<sup>41</sup> Writing in 1985, he was unduly influenced by Weitzmann's placement of the manuscript in Cyprus.<sup>42</sup> Art historians had not at that time questioned Weitzmann's chronology and localization of manuscripts of the ninth and tenth centuries so vociferously.<sup>43</sup>

Crisci does break with Weitzmann over the question of dating Paris. gr. 63. Weitzmann compared Paris. gr. 63 to Patmos 71 and originally placed it in the ninth century.<sup>44</sup> Crisci assigns Paris. gr. 63 to the end of the tenth century and compares it to specific folios in London, BL, Add. 39583 and Athos, Docheiariou 13.<sup>45</sup> He thought all three manuscripts represent the outer extreme of the artificiality of the MOD and its last examples:<sup>46</sup>

With these examples we are now at the final phase of the *maiuscola ogivale diritta*. The extreme artifice and monumentality of the forms is resolved in sometimes bizarre and refined motifs. The scribe's wish to convey meaning goes beyond the sign, rendering it an instrument of the transmission of thought, a symbolic representation of a dimension immutable and transcendent.

In fact, much earlier another palaeographer had already proposed a much later date for Paris. gr. 63 than that proposed by Weitzmann: William Hatch argued for a date of

<sup>40</sup> Crisci 1985, 136.

<sup>41</sup> Crisci 1985, 135.

<sup>42</sup> Crisci (1985) cites Weitzmann 1935 throughout his article.

<sup>43</sup> For Weitzmann, a lesser quality manuscript in terms of script or ornament implied a provincial origin. The following, among others, have criticized Weitzmann's methods and conclusions: Hutter 1996, 9 (notes 51 and 54); Hutter 2011, 196–197; Brubaker 2000, 530–532. See Brubaker 2000, 514: "Many (indeed most) of Weitzmann's geographical attributions are now questioned, yet the dichotomies he constructed between Constantinople and various provinces still colour our perceptions of the material".

<sup>44</sup> See n. 27 above. Crisci takes issue with Weitzmann's comparison of Paris. gr. 63 to Patm. 71. He says the scripts of the two manuscripts differ in taste and execution and cannot be attributed to the same environment (1985, 136).

<sup>45</sup> Crisci 1985, 136. For BL Add. 39583, see ff. 10<sup>r</sup>–14<sup>v</sup> at [bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=add\\_ms\\_39583\\_fo21r](http://bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=add_ms_39583_fo21r) (accessed 25 February 2020).

<sup>46</sup> My translation of Crisci 1985, 136: "Con questi esempi siamo ormai agli ultimi esiti della maiuscola ogivale diritta; l'estrema artificiosità e monumentalità delle forme si risolve in motivi talora bizzarri e ricercati, in cui è evidente la volontà dello scriba di esprimere un significato che travalichi il segno e lo renda, piuttosto che strumento di trasmissione del pensiero, rappresentazione simbolica di una dimensione immutabile e trascendente".

circa 1000 CE due to palaeographical similarities with three lectionaries attributed to the tenth and eleventh centuries:<sup>47</sup>

[...] no such likeness exists between Codex Cyprius [Paris. gr. 63] and any of the leading uncial manuscripts of the New Testament which were written in the ninth century. Moreover, the letters ΒΑΚΛΑΜΘΠΥΦΧΨΩ have forms which are characteristic of the late tenth or the early eleventh century; and hence it seems reasonable to ascribe the codex to this period [...] Therefore it is altogether probable that Codex Cyprius was copied about 1000 A.D.

#### 4. NEW TESTAMENT TEXTUAL CRITICISM

New Testament text scholars have also wrestled with Paris. gr. 63's date. In 1937 Silva Lake corrected other text-critical scholars, who had dated Paris. gr. 63 to the ninth century:<sup>48</sup>

Gregory quotes the ninth century as the date of this manuscript but [...] its position in the group K<sup>a</sup> manuscripts seems to prove it can hardly have been written earlier than the year 1000, and is perhaps as late as the middle of the eleventh century.

Lake's date for Paris. gr. 63 was based on its textual relationship to other Gospel texts associated with an important group of New Testament manuscripts dubbed Family Π, some of whose dates, she posited, could be more accurately gauged. In particular, Lake argued that Paris. gr. 63 must come after Sinai, St. Catherine's Monastery, gr. 182, which, she says, cannot be earlier than 980 or much later than 990.<sup>49</sup> She also disparaged Paris. gr. 63's scribe:<sup>50</sup>

The text of K [Paris. gr. 63] [has ...] a large number of peculiar readings, most of which are misspellings or careless and ignorant mistakes. An educated scribe could have hardly produced the [textual] variants [...].

<sup>47</sup> Hatch 1937, 338. The three lectionaries are Cambridge MA, Harvard College Library (Houghton), gr. 6; Chicago, UL (Regenstein), 128; and Oxford, Lincoln College, gr. 15. Hatch also cites New Testament textual critic Silva Lake 1937 (see below) and concludes, "Thus the two lines of investigation, the textual and the palaeographical, converge towards the same point, and the conclusion indicated seems irresistible" (1937, 338). Crisci cites Hatch's article and discusses all three lectionaries, but does not compare them directly to Paris. gr. 63 (1985, 126 and 136 n. 101).

<sup>48</sup> Lake 1937, 10–11. She prefers the name Family Π over Soden's K<sup>a</sup> since Codex Π (= St Petersburg, gr. 34) may well be the archetype for this family of manuscripts. See Lake 1937, 3–6 and 36 and Geerlings 1962, 7.

<sup>49</sup> Today Sinai. gr. 182 is consistently assigned to the eleventh century: see Aland et al. (1994, 117), Pinakes (<http://pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr/notices/cote/58557/>, accessed 4 March 2017) and INTF (<http://ntvmr.uni-muenster.de/liste>, accessed 4 March 2017).

<sup>50</sup> Lake 1937, 37. See also Geerlings 1962, 7. St Petersburg, gr. 34 (GA 041) is number 1 on INTF's Clusters tool list for the Gospels of Dionysios and number 3 on INTF's Clusters tool list for Paris. gr. 63 (cf. n. 30 above).

Aware that her proposed dating for Paris. gr. 63 represented a “radical [...] departure”, Lake shared her concerns with both Henri Omont and Sir Frederic Kenyon. Both scholars noted the conservative nature of the majuscule script, the lack of dated manuscripts with which to compare it, and the great difficulty in assigning a date to these majuscule manuscripts. Both concluded that if Lake’s textual evidence supported an eleventh-century date, then the palaeographical evidence was not compelling enough to argue for an earlier date.<sup>51</sup>

Lake herself did not seem to be fully aware that the date of Paris. gr. 63 had been widely debated among New Testament text critics since the seventeenth century. Thomas Hartwell Horne, writing in 1825, describes considerable differences of opinion concerning its date. For example, Richard Simon’s *Critical History of the Text of the New Testament* (originally published in 1689) assigned it to the tenth century, at the earliest.<sup>52</sup> John Mill, according to Horne, believed Paris. gr. 63 to be later than the tenth century, while others placed it in the eighth century.<sup>53</sup>

<sup>51</sup> Lake 1937, 10–11 for the following reply by Omont: “Après avoir revu plusieurs de nos vieux mss. onciaux, vous me voyez au regret de ne pouvoir vous apporter une conclusion précise, entre les IXe. et XIe. siècles, au sujet du ms. grec 63 (Codex Cyprius). Une note manuscrite de l’un de mes prédécesseurs, La Porte du Theil, en tête du ms., l’attribuait au VIIIe. siècle, après Montfaucon ; les auteurs du *Nouveau Traité de Diplomatique* le rapportaient au IXe. siècle, date qui figure dans mon *Inventaire des manuscrits grecs*, au I<sup>er</sup> volume, publié en 1886, et que Gregory, *Textkritik*, a adoptée en 1909, alors que en 1892, dans mes *Facsimilés des mss. grecs en onciales*, j’avais rapproché le ms. grec 63 au Xe. siècle (planche XVII, 2), à côté de plusieurs autres volumes ou fragments en onciale ecclésiastique. Le petit nombre relatif de ces manuscrits, le plus souvent sans mention de dates, aussi bien que la tradition conservatrice des copistes, s’appliquant le plus souvent à imiter des modèles antérieurs, met obstacle à toute précision de date, et cela pour les manuscrits grecs et latins”. [My translation: “After having viewed many of our old uncial manuscripts, I regret that I cannot give a more precise date than between the ninth and eleventh centuries for Paris grec 63 (Codex Cyprius). A handwritten note at the beginning of the manuscript by one of my predecessors, La Porte du Theil, attributed it to the eighth century, following Montfaucon. The authors of the *Nouveau Traité de Diplomatique* assigned it to the eleventh century, a date which appears in my *Inventaire des manuscrits grecs*, volume I, published in 1886, and which Gregory, *Textkritik*, adopted in 1909. Whereas in 1892, in my *Facsimilés des mss. grecs en onciales*, I attributed it to the tenth century along with other volumes or fragments in ecclesiastical uncial. The relatively small number of these manuscripts, most of which are undated, as well as the conservative tradition of the copyists in their imitation of earlier models, makes it impossible to assign a more precise date. This is true of Greek and Latin manuscripts.”] Lake also queried Sir Frederic Kenyon and he replied: “As to K [Paris. gr. 63], I know it only from the facsimile of a few lines in Scrivener; and that formal liturgical hand went on so long that if there is good proof that the manuscript must be not earlier than the 11<sup>th</sup> Cent., I do not think palaeographical considerations can be urged strongly against it” (Lake 1937, 11).

<sup>52</sup> Simon, transl. Hunwick 2013, 87–88.

<sup>53</sup> Horne 1825, 99–100. The importance of John Mill (ca. 1645–1707) in the history of New Testament text criticism was recognized by Bart D. Ehrman in his March 14, 1997 Presidential Lec-



Communication between art historians and New Testament text critics is hindered by the two fields' respective manuscript citation methods. Art historians refer to individual manuscripts by their library shelf number whereas New Testament text critics use Gregory-Aland numbers.<sup>54</sup> Text scholars and palaeographers have referred to Paris. gr. 63 as K or Codex Cyprius without any reference to its shelf mark at the Bibliothèque nationale de France. These exclusive reference systems do not facilitate communication between disciplines. NA28 dates it to the ninth century, as do INTF's website<sup>55</sup> and the recent electronic critical edition of the Gospel of John.<sup>56</sup> Thus, despite the publications of Silva Lake and W.H.P. Hatch eighty years ago, and that of Crisci over thirty years ago, a ninth-century date for Paris. gr. 63 is encountered all too often.<sup>57</sup>

Finally, we should note that the Gospels of Dionysios is an important member of Lake's Family Π. INTF's T&T Clusters Tool analysis for Codex Π (that is, St Petersburg, gr. 34 or GA 041) shows the Gospels of Dionysios (GA 420) as its *closest* textual relative at number 1 on the list with a 98.8 percent match.<sup>58</sup> Paris. gr. 63 (GA 017) is also a relative, appearing at number 11 on the list with 95.7 percent match with the text of Codex Π.<sup>59</sup> Lake did not know of the Gospels of Dionysios when she published her research on Family Π, but her stemma for the family indicates that she believed that Paris. gr. 63 and a minuscule manuscript (Paris. gr. 66) both descended directly from a tenth-century unknown minuscule manuscript.<sup>60</sup> Might that unknown minuscule

ture to the Society for Biblical Literature *The Neglect of the Firstborn in New Testament Studies*: "Indeed, biblical scholars were not forcefully confronted with the uncertainty of their texts until the early eighteenth century. The floodgates opened in 1707, when an Oxford scholar named John Mill published an edition of the Greek New Testament that contained a critical apparatus systematically and graphically detailing the differences among the surviving witnesses of the NT [...] To the shock and dismay of many of his contemporaries, Mill's apparatus indicated some 30,000 places of variation, 30,000 places where the available witnesses to the NT text differed from one another" (<http://rosetta.reltech.org/TC/extras/ehrmann-pres.html>, accessed 13 March 2017).

<sup>54</sup> See Parker 2016, 24 n. 11 for more information on Gregory-Aland numbers.

<sup>55</sup> See <http://ntvmr.uni-muenster.de/liste> (accessed 16 March 2017).

<sup>56</sup> With a general disclaimer for the dating of all manuscripts cited there: "these dates are generally those given in the Münster Liste, and indicate the consensus of opinion". For more information on the electronic critical editions of the Gospel of John, see <http://www.iohannes.com/index.html> (accessed 13 March 2017). For the majuscules, see Schmid et al. 2007.

<sup>57</sup> For the dating recently proposed by ParaTextBib, see n. 27 above.

<sup>58</sup> INTF's T&T Clusters Tool analysis for the Gospels of Dionysios (GA 420) shows Codex Π in the number 1 position with the same percentage match.

<sup>59</sup> To duplicate these results, go to INTF's website and enter 041: [http://intf.uni-muenster.de/TT\\_PP/TT\\_Clusters.html](http://intf.uni-muenster.de/TT_PP/TT_Clusters.html) (accessed 25 June 2018).

<sup>60</sup> See Lake 1937, 29 for her stemma of Family Π where 'c' is a tenth-century minuscule from which both Paris. gr. 63 and Paris. gr. 66 are copied. Paris. gr. 66 (GA 265), a twelfth-century minuscule

have been the Gospels of Dionysios? A T&T Clusters analysis of Paris. gr. 63 shows the Gospels of Dionysios as number 1 on the list with a 97.7 percent match. Noteworthy is the fact that a T&T Clusters analysis of Paris. gr. 66 (GA 265) shows Codex II as number 1 on the list with a 96.7 percent match and the Gospels of Dionysios as number 2 with a 96.4 percent match. Other manuscripts whose ornament we have compared to the Gospels of Dionysios have also been associated with Family II by New Testament textual critics. These include London, BL, Harley 5540 (GA 114) and Tirana 93 (GA 2902).<sup>61</sup>

### 5. ART-HISTORICAL ANALYSIS

An analysis of the ornament of Paris. gr. 63 underscores the unlikelihood of a ninth-century date for the manuscript. The research of Elina Dobrynina on the *Laubsägestil* and of Leslie Brubaker and Irmgard Hutter on the evolution of illuminated initials suggest that neither the headpieces nor the initials of Paris. gr. 63 could possibly have been created before the second quarter of the tenth century.<sup>62</sup> Thus, Paris. gr. 63 does not antedate the early tenth-century Gospels of Dionysios. Moreover, the textual evidence indicates that the Gospels of Dionysios may well have served as the exemplar for Paris. gr. 63's text. This dependence might explain the connections between some of the ornament of the canon tables of the two manuscripts.

The time is ripe for a reassessment of the middle Byzantine Gospel book. A multidisciplinary approach incorporating the research of art historians, codicologists, palaeographers, and New Testament textual critics will likely produce a richer contextualization of these manuscripts.

manuscript with pen and ink headpieces, appears on the T&T Clusters list for Codex II as number 6 with 96.7 percent match.

<sup>61</sup> See above notes 17–19 for these manuscripts.

<sup>62</sup> Brubaker (2000) and Hutter (1996, 10) agree on an explosion of ornament in the tenth century. Hutter specifically names the Sassanian palmette, the fretsaw (*Laubsäge*) and *Blütenblatt*. See also Dobrynina 2009a.

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# LE TÉTRAÉVANGILE BYZANTIN : MODES D'ILLUSTRATION ET SOURCES D'INSPIRATION

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PARMI LES MANUSCRITS bibliques byzantins, le tétraévangile, bien qu'il ne soit pas un livre liturgique au même titre que l'évangélaire, a été abondamment copié et souvent illustré dès le VI<sup>e</sup> siècle, date à laquelle sont attestés les premiers spécimens<sup>1</sup>. Contrairement à l'évangélaire qui est ordonné selon le système des lectures adapté au rite, le tétraévangile est fortement marqué par la narrativité de son texte continu et complet<sup>2</sup>. L'homogénéité structurale remarquable de ce type de manuscrits, due à une division quadripartite qui demeure inchangeable<sup>3</sup>, permet la mise en œuvre d'une illustration constante et invariable autour de laquelle vient se greffer une série de thèmes et de motifs qui, eux, changent selon les exigences d'une demande bien précise<sup>4</sup>. Le té-

<sup>1</sup> Nous comptons à peu près d'une cinquantaine de tétraévangiles dotés d'un riche cycle christologique. Dans cet article je ne ferai pas mention de ceux qui présentent un décor formé uniquement des quatre portraits des évangélistes et des en-têtes ornementaux. Sur les tétraévangiles illustrés voir aussi Maxwell 2017 et 2016.

<sup>2</sup> Yota 2017, avec bibliographie antérieure (à laquelle il faut ajouter Betancourt 2016).

<sup>3</sup> Les quatre évangiles, présentés dans l'ordre canonique tel qu'il s'est constitué durant les quatre premiers siècles, forment le corps principal du manuscrit dans lequel viennent s'ajouter une série de textes annexes indispensables à une meilleure compréhension du texte évangélique. En premier lieu, il s'agit des Canons d'Eusèbe, précédés de la Lettre à Carpien, qui constituent la première préface et la plus courante dans les tétraévangiles. Parfois, un synaxaire ou un ménologe figurent au début de ces livres. Aussitôt après, sont quelquefois insérés des définitions de l'évangile et du tétramorphe (voir Soden 1902, 301-304 et Nelson 1980, 15-53). Viennent ensuite de brèves prologues (*hypotheses*) aux évangiles, de facture identique, et des notices sur chacun des quatre évangélistes empruntées à Cosmas Indicopleustès (voir Soden 1902, 305-327). Enfin, quatre listes de titres des chapitres se trouvent placées avant chacun des évangiles (voir Soden 1902, 402-411). Grâce au projet ParaTexBib, dirigé par M. Wallraff et P. Andrist (LMU München), ces paratextes seront très prochainement consultables dans une édition critique.

<sup>4</sup> Dans la grande majorité des tétraévangiles byzantins, les endroits susceptibles d'être illustrés sont bien précis et restent relativement inchangés. Les Tables des Canons, la Lettre d'Eusèbe à Carpien et le début de chaque évangile reçoivent un décor purement conventionnel qui sert à orner le texte et à faciliter sa segmentation mais sans pour autant qu'un lien de dépendance ou de complémentarité soit créé entre le texte et l'image (voir Nordenfalk 1938, 1951 et 1963 ainsi que, pour l'iconographie des tableaux ornementaux, Frantz 1934, Hutter 1996 et Nelson 1988). Tout aussi conventionnel apparaît l'illustration des portraits des évangélistes qui précèdent le

traévangile acquiert ainsi une illustration personnalisée mettant en exergue la volonté de son commanditaire<sup>5</sup>.

Dans cette étude j'approfondirai quelques réflexions que j'ai déjà émises dans des précédents articles sur les modes d'illustration des tétraévangiles à l'époque médio-byzantine<sup>6</sup> et en présenterai d'autres sur les particularités du décor de certains d'entre eux. Cela me donnera l'occasion de présenter quelques observations sur les sources d'inspiration de ce décor et sur l'usage du tétraévangile.

## 1. LES PREMIERS SPÉCIMENS ILLUSTRÉS DE LA PÉRIODE PALÉOCHRÉTIENNE

Les recherches attestent l'existence et l'usage des tétraévangiles dès l'époque paléochrétienne<sup>7</sup>. Le nombre des tétraévangiles illustrés qui nous sont conservés de cette période demeure particulièrement restreint. Les Évangiles de Rossano (Rossano, Musée diocésain 1)<sup>8</sup> et de Sinope (Paris, BnF Suppl. gr. 1286)<sup>9</sup> sont les seuls attestés et datés du VI<sup>e</sup> siècle présentant une riche illustration dans les marges horizontales, supérieure et inférieure.

Dans les Évangiles de Rossano, le texte, écrit en onciales d'argent sur de fines feuilles de parchemin teint en pourpre, contient à nos jours uniquement l'évangile de

début de chaque évangile. Cependant, dans ce cas, le rapport texte-image devient plus concret car chaque portrait devient en quelque sorte une image-signe qui sert à identifier et à assurer l'authenticité du texte qui suit (Friend 1927–1929 et Hunger & Wessel 1971). Voir aussi Maxwell 2017.

<sup>5</sup> Yota 2012.

<sup>6</sup> Yota 2008.

<sup>7</sup> Dans les sources textuelles (testaments, inventaires, actes, *typika* etc.), les références aux tétraévangiles sont peu nombreuses et peu explicites, insistant davantage sur le décor de la reliure que sur le contenu du livre. Le tétraévangile qui figure dans le testament d'Eustathios Boïlas (1059) est mentionné comme étant « petit, écrit sur papier et pauvre » (τετραβάγγελον μικρόν λαϊφανᾶτον πτωχόν) avec une reliure endommagée et certainement sans miniatures : voir Parani, Pitarakis & Spieser 2003, 147–148 et 162–163 et Spieser 2016, 122–130. Voir également <https://typika.cfeb.org/index/artedact/350> (consulté le 12 décembre 2019). Notons également l'inventaire de la bibliothèque du monastère de la Vierge de Skoteinë en Asie Mineure où sont mentionnés « quatre livres chacun avec les quatre évangiles ». Voir Krueger & Nelson 2016a, 3 (n. 7) avec bibliographie.

<sup>8</sup> Muñoz 1907 ; Loerke 1961 ; Cavallo, Gribomont & Loerke 1987 ; Cavallo 1992 ; Filareto & Renzo 2001 ; Sapia 2007.

<sup>9</sup> Grabar 1948 ; Weitzmann 1979, 491–492 (n° 442) ; Durand 1992, 143 (n° 197) ; D'Aiuto, Morello & Piazzoni 2000, 125–129 (n° 4) ; Förstel 2001, 2–3 (n° 4) ; Cormack & Vassilaki 2008, 390 (n° 49) ; Evans & Ratliff 2012, 41 (n° 21B). Voir aussi <https://archivesetmanuscripts.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cc24356w> (consulté le 10 août 2018).

Matthieu et une partie de Marc<sup>10</sup>. Les illustrations, regroupées au début du livre, se situent à la partie supérieure du folio alors qu'en dessous s'alignent les bustes des quatre grands prophètes de l'Ancien Testament tenant des rouleaux dont les inscriptions commentent l'épisode évangélique illustré<sup>11</sup>. Seules les scènes du Christ devant Pilate et du Repentir de Judas, et du Christ et Barabbas devant Pilate, occupent l'ensemble du folio. Chacune des images est identifiable grâce à quelques lignes de texte évangélique écrites sur le haut de chaque page. Les sujets de celles-ci, choisis en fonction et selon la séquence des lectures évangéliques de la semaine de Pâques, suivent la liturgie.

Quant aux Évangiles de Sinope, ce manuscrit est conservé dans un état très fragmentaire. Seuls quarante-trois feuillets subsistent sur lesquels on trouve une partie de Matthieu écrit en onciales d'or sur un parchemin teint en pourpre. Cinq de ces feuillets sont illustrés avec des scènes évangéliques placées dans les marges inférieures des folios. Comme dans l'Évangile de Rossano, les compositions sont encadrées par des prophètes tenant des rouleaux avec des textes prophétiques<sup>12</sup>.

Bien que le texte soit en syriaque, il importe de citer aussi les Évangiles de Rabbula (Florence, Bibl. Laur. Plut. 1. 56), dont l'illustration présente des similitudes avec celle de Rossano et de Sinope<sup>13</sup>. Une suite complète de dix-neuf Tables des Canons se situe au début du codex. Dans les marges des Canons sont placées des représentations des prophètes et autres personnages de l'Ancien Testament, des évangélistes et des scènes christologiques, de plantes et d'animaux<sup>14</sup>. Enfin, cinq miniatures en pleine page com-

<sup>10</sup> Le texte arrive jusqu'à Mc 16,14. Il s'agit probablement du premier volume qui subsiste d'un grand livre d'évangiles en deux parties.

<sup>11</sup> Les scènes dans les feuillets conservés représentent la Résurrection de Lazare, l'Entrée du Christ à Jérusalem, l'Expulsion des marchands du Temple, la Parabole des vierges sages et folles, la Cène et le Lavement des Pieds, la Communion des apôtres, la Prière à Gethsémani, le Christ guérissant les aveugles, le Bon Samaritain, le Christ devant Pilate, le Repentir de Judas et enfin le Christ et Barabbas devant Pilate. On peut ajouter à cela la représentation des Tables des Canons.

<sup>12</sup> Voir <https://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cc24356w> (consulté le 14 août 2018) et aussi <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btvb105388196/fi.planchecontact> (consulté le 14 août 2018). Les villes d'Antioche, de Jérusalem ou même d'Alexandrie sont le plus souvent suggérées comme origine possible des Évangiles de Rossano et de ses proches, mais les preuves sont peu nombreuses. Une origine possible à Constantinople ne doit pas être négligée. Voir Spier 2007, 271.

<sup>13</sup> À la fin du manuscrit un long colophon nous donne quelques informations sur la réalisation du manuscrit (f. 292<sup>r-v</sup>) : il a été achevé le 6 février 586 au monastère de Saint-Jean-de-Zagba en Mésopotamie ; l'œuvre est attribuée à Rabbula, prêtre au dit monastère, mais elle a été achevée par Christophe, Martyrios et Damim. La date de 586 est liée à la rédaction du texte des évangiles ; quant aux folios contenant les illustrations même si elles semblent être postérieures du texte elles peuvent être datées du VI<sup>e</sup> siècle. Voir Leroy 1964, I:139-197 ; Wright 1973 ; Bernabò & Arduini 2008 ; Bernabò 2014.

<sup>14</sup> <http://sor.cua.edu/Bible/RabbulaMs.html> (consulté le 16 août 2018).



plètent l'illustration de ce manuscrit : l'Élection de Mathias, la Vierge à l'Enfant, Eusèbe et Ammonios d'Alexandrie, Crucifixion et Saintes Femmes au Tombeau, l'Ascension, le Christ trônant parmi quatre moines, la Pentecôte<sup>15</sup>.

## 2. L'ILLUSTRATION DES TÉTRAÉVANGILES DES X<sup>E</sup> ET XI<sup>E</sup> SIÈCLES

### 2.1 *L'illustration dans les marges*

Les illustrations situées dans les marges, bien qu'elles ne favorisent pas une corrélation étroite entre le texte et l'image, continuent à être utilisées après la fin de l'époque iconoclaste, période durant laquelle le renouveau de dévotion et de la production artistique génère la réalisation d'un nombre très important de livres religieux avec quelques spécimens abondamment illustrés<sup>16</sup>. L'image disposée dans les marges accompagne le texte sans s'y intégrer véritablement. Parmi les tétraévangiles médio-byzantins illustrés, le meilleur exemple de ce type d'illustration est le Paris, BnF gr. 115, daté du X<sup>e</sup> siècle<sup>17</sup>. Le manuscrit compte 84 miniatures, dont cinquante-huit illustrent Matthieu et vingt-six Jean, alors que Marc et Luc sont dépourvus de toute illustration. Les illustrations de par leur emplacement ont été réalisées après l'accomplissement du texte mais semblent être de la même époque que celui-ci. Par le choix des sujets représentés, on remarque une prédilection manifeste pour les miracles qui sont abondants dans les deux évangiles et une omission complète des paraboles. Les épisodes de l'enseignement du Christ sont traités avec réserve, et mettant l'accent sur la première rencontre du Christ avec les apôtres. Enfin, le cycle de la Passion du Christ, dont l'illustration est particulièrement détaillée dans Matthieu, débute avec l'épisode de l'Entrée du Christ à Jérusalem au f. 93<sup>v</sup> (pl. 1) et s'achève avec celui des Saintes Femmes au Tombeau, au f. 140<sup>v</sup><sup>18</sup>.

L'illustration marginale des tétraévangiles New York, Morgan Library & Museum MS M.748<sup>19</sup> et Vienne, Bibl. Nat. théol. gr. 154<sup>20</sup>, datés du XI<sup>e</sup> siècle, présente un aspect

<sup>15</sup> L'emplacement de l'Élection de Mathias (Ac 1,15–26) pose problème car, si on veut suivre l'ordre chronologique des événements, cet épisode devrait être représenté après l'Ascension (Ac 1,9–11).

<sup>16</sup> Il est déjà connu que seul 2% à 5% de la production livresque présente des illustrations figuratives et des somptueuses reliures. Voir Lowden 1990, 275 ; Dolezal 1996, 24.

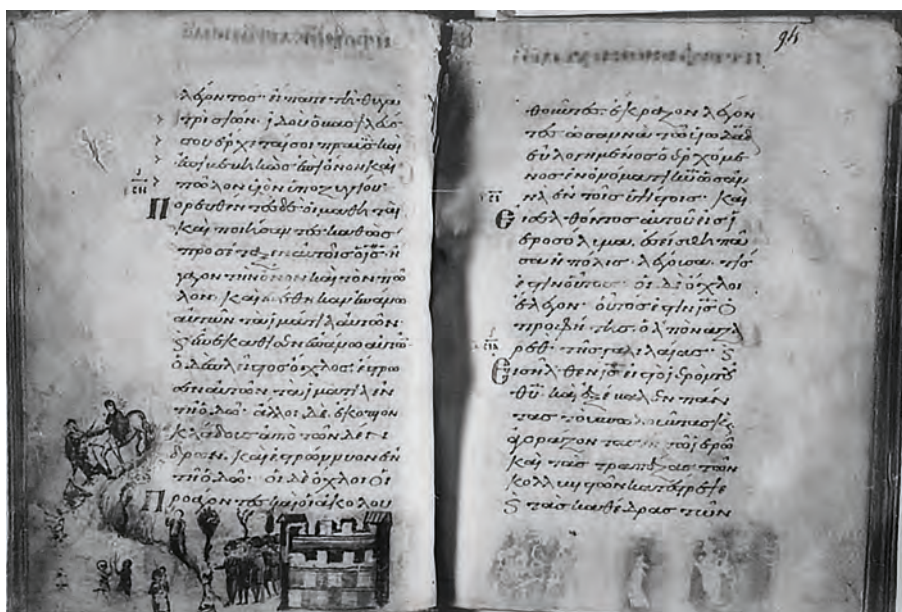
<sup>17</sup> Pour ce tétraévangile voir <https://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cc212029> et <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b107221277/f10.planchecontact> (consultés le 23 août 2018) et Paschou 1972, 61–86.

<sup>18</sup> Une seule lacune est à signaler et concerne la scène du Lavement des Pieds. La scène des Saintes Femmes au Tombeau comme celles qui la précèdent depuis le f. 137<sup>r</sup> de l'évangile de Matthieu sont très abîmées. Nombreuses miniatures dans l'évangile de Jean le sont également.

<sup>19</sup> Vikan 1973, 92–95 (n° 17).

<sup>20</sup> Hunger & Kresten 1984, 213–220.





PL. 1. Paris, BnF gr. 115 (X<sup>e</sup> siècle), ff. 93<sup>v</sup>–94<sup>r</sup> : l'Entrée du Christ à Jérusalem. © Bibliothèque nationale de France.

différent en raison de la répartition du texte évangélique en deux colonnes, pour le premier et entre le texte évangélique et les commentaires pour le second, disposition relativement peu fréquente dans les tétraévangiles alors que récurrente dans les évangélistes ou les psautiers. Tous deux sont dotés d'une série d'images de format minuscule placées soit dans les marges inférieures pour les seules trois miniatures du Morgan M.748, soit dispersées entre la marge médiane qui sépare la colonne du texte de celle du commentaire et les deux latérales pour les trente-neuf miniatures du Vienne théol. gr. 154.

Dans ce dernier, on constate une forte concentration des illustrations dans l'évangile de Jean. Ceux de Matthieu et de Marc sont les moins sollicités et leur texte se voit illustré d'une manière très peu cohérente. Dans Matthieu, après avoir donné une image aux épisodes du Songe de Joseph, de la Nativité et du Massacre des Innocents, le cycle iconographique reprend avec le Reniement de Pierre, seule représentation du début du cycle de la Passion, et se poursuit avec les dernières scènes du récit, à savoir les Saintes Femmes au Tombeau, l'Anastasis et l'Apparition du Christ aux apôtres. Pour Marc, la scène de l'Exécution de Jean-Baptiste est la seule scène retenue parmi les épisodes des premiers chapitres de son récit. L'unique autre miniature de cet évangile illustre les derniers versets du texte qui font allusion à l'épisode de l'Ascension. Pour ce qui

est de Luc, on insiste surtout sur les événements des trois premiers chapitres et par la suite le cycle reste quasi incomplet avec juste une image pour la Parabole du Pharisien et du Publicain et une autre représentant le Christ au Mont des Oliviers. Enfin, dans l'évangile de Jean qui comporte vingt-et-une miniatures, on constate une prédilection pour le personnage de Jean-Baptiste qui figure dans les trois premières images, et pour quelques miracles narrés uniquement par Jean. Le cycle s'achève avec un nombre limité d'épisodes de la Passion qui se résument à l'Entrée du Christ à Jérusalem, au Lavement des Pieds, à la Crucifixion et à l'Incrédulité de Thomas. Il est évident que ce qui différencie le Vienne théol. gr. 154 du Paris gr. 115, c'est une intention d'alléger le cycle iconographique de nombreux miracles et de mettre plus en évidence les épisodes principaux du récit évangélique. Cependant, cette tentative n'est guère méthodique et présente des omissions comme le Baptême, la Transfiguration, la Descente de la Croix et la Pentecôte.

## 2.2 *L'illustration en frise*

L'illustration en frise garde encore une liberté similaire à celle de l'illustration marginale car aucun cadre ne délimite l'espace qui lui est réservé. À l'époque médio-byzantine, ce type de décoration est d'une utilisation bien restreinte. Parmi les tétraévangiles illustrés du XI<sup>e</sup> siècle, seuls les Paris, BnF gr. 74<sup>21</sup> et Florence, Bibl. Laur. Plut. 6. 23<sup>22</sup> sont illustrés de cette manière. Pour ces manuscrits, dont le cycle iconographique est très abondant (372 miniatures pour le Paris gr. 74 et 294 pour le Laur. Plut. 6. 23), le procédé de l'illustration permet la juxtaposition de plusieurs scènes consécutives sur un seul champ pictural. Les frises en forme de bandes longues et étroites interrompent le texte plusieurs fois, un peu avant ou après le passage destiné à être illustré.

Les tétraévangiles Paris gr. 74 et Laur. Plut. 6. 23 demeurent les seuls spécimens conservés dotés d'un tel type d'illustration. Certains chercheurs expliquent ce fait par l'importance de l'évangélaire durant le XI<sup>e</sup> siècle et par l'attention particulière que l'on accorde à son illustration<sup>23</sup>. Mais si l'on renonce à ce procédé d'illustration ce n'est certainement pas à cause de la prédominance de l'évangélaire. Une telle entreprise ne doit être conçue que comme un cas exceptionnel difficilement réalisable à grande échelle<sup>24</sup>. D'ailleurs, déjà au X<sup>e</sup> siècle (dans le Paris gr. 115) et au XI<sup>e</sup> siècle

<sup>21</sup> <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b105494556/f1.planchecontact> (consulté le 20 août 2018). Voir Omont 1908 ; Dufrenne 1967 ; Tsuji 1968.

<sup>22</sup> Velmans 1971 ; Violette 1983 ; Rao & Kadas 2010 (avec bibliographie antérieure).

<sup>23</sup> Weitzmann 1950, 154–155 [réimpr. 1971, 250] ; Deshman 1973, 40.

<sup>24</sup> Le tétraévangile Paris gr. 74 a longtemps était considéré comme un manuscrit offert par les moines du monastère de Saint-Jean-Stoudios à Constantinople au nouvel higoumène le jour de son investiture ; voir Yota 2012, 272 (n. 49). Sur les manuscrits issus du scriptorium de Saint-Jean-Stoudios voir l'article de Kavrus-Hoffmann 2016, 119–128, en particulier 127 (n. 29) :

(dans le Vienne théol. gr. 154), on aperçoit une certaine restriction du nombre de scènes illustrées dans le but d'éviter les nombreuses répétitions que l'on rencontre dans une illustration narrative complète. Par conséquent, la répartition des images devient aussi moins régulière, avec une concentration au début du livre et une attitude sélective pour le reste. Souvent, comme on l'a vu avec les manuscrits déjà mentionnés, l'illustration redevient plus présente dans l'évangile de Jean pour consacrer les paroles que Dieu en personne a insufflé à son disciple.

### 3. DES NOUVEAUX MODES D'ILLUSTRATION DANS LES TÉTRAÉVANGILES DES XII<sup>E</sup> ET XIII<sup>E</sup> SIÈCLES

Avec l'adoption du système d'illustration en frise ou en tableau encadré, l'image brise l'unité du texte. Le rapport texte/image devient dorénavant un rapport de complémentarité et les liens se concrétisent considérablement. La permanence de ce type de mise en page s'explique aisément par les avantages qu'il offre. Il assure la possibilité d'illustrer le texte chaque fois qu'il est nécessaire par une juxtaposition immédiate de l'écrit et de l'image explicative. La modification de la mise en page, par l'insertion de tableaux encadrés à l'intérieur du texte, n'a pas empêché le développement de l'illustration narrative qui acquiert un nouvel essor dès la fin du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle et jusqu'à la première moitié du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle.

#### 3.1 *Tétraévangiles à illustration narrative*

Parmi ces tétraévangiles, le Saint-Petersbourg, Bibl. Nat. gr. 105<sup>25</sup> et le Lesbos (Mytilène), A' Lukeio (jadis Bibl. du Premier Gymnase des Garçons) 9<sup>26</sup> sont les plus abondamment illustrés avec cinquante-sept et cent cinq miniatures respectivement. L'Athènes, Mus. Byz. BXM 1611 (XAE 820) du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle, qui est conservé dans un état fragmentaire, devait originellement en contenir autant<sup>27</sup>.

Dans le Saint-Petersbourg 105 (XII<sup>e</sup> siècle), le cycle de la Passion du Christ reçoit un développement plus narratif avec l'adjonction d'épisodes qui préfigurent l'événement principal<sup>28</sup>. Il importe de souligner également le remplacement de la scène de la Crucifixion par l'image du Christ de Pitié (pl. 2) dans Matthieu et Luc. Son insertion

l'auteur pense qu'il n'y a pas suffisamment de preuves pour allier le Paris gr. 74 au scriptorium du monastère de Stoudios.

<sup>25</sup> Colwell & Willoughby 1936 ; Bank 1967, 92-95 ; Carr 1987, 12-28 et 239-241 (microfiches 11A1-11F8).

<sup>26</sup> Carr 1987, 105-125 et 243-244 (microfiches 12E1-8) ; Vocotopoulos 1988.

<sup>27</sup> Xyngopoulos 1924 ; Carr 1987, 13, 15 et 16 (microfiches 4B2-4B12).

<sup>28</sup> Le Christ demande à deux disciples d'aller chercher un âne, les Préparatifs du repas pascal, le Christ devant Pilate.



PL. 2. Saint-Petersbourg, Bibl. Nat. gr. 105 (XII<sup>e</sup> siècle), f. 131<sup>v</sup> : le Christ de la Pitié. D'après Colwell & Willoughby 1936, pl. 34.





PL. 3. Chicago, Joseph Regenstein Univ. Libr. 965 (XII<sup>e</sup> siècle), ff. 9<sup>v</sup>–10<sup>r</sup> : le Massacre des Innocents et l'enseignement de Jean-Baptiste. D'après Carr 2012, pl. 3.

à proximité des péricopes lues le Vendredi Saint confirme l'adoption de la fonction de cette image dans la liturgie et, en même temps, l'impact que cette dernière peut avoir sur le choix des scènes illustrant un tétraévangile<sup>29</sup>. Enfin, dans l'évangile de Luc, reste à soulever la substitution de la scène de la Présentation du Christ au Temple par l'image « abrégée » du Syméon Glykophilon au f. 114<sup>r</sup><sup>30</sup>. Une telle iconographie souligne non seulement l'influence d'un modèle contemporain, mais surtout la volonté d'insister explicitement sur le message sacrificiel de l'image. Cette dernière met l'accent sur l'émotion éprouvée par le grand prêtre Syméon à la rencontre du Christ et fait allusion à ses prophéties quant au sacrifice de Jésus.

Le Saint-Petersbourg 105 présente un cycle iconographique très proche de celui du Chicago, Joseph Regenstein (jadis Rockefeller McCormick) Univ. Libr. 965, un

<sup>29</sup> L'image du Christ de Pitié, dont l'iconographie se développe à la fin du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle, est étroitement liée à la liturgie par sa représentation sur des icônes utilisées lors de la liturgie du Vendredi Saint (Belting 1980–1981, 7). Elle reçoit aussi une valeur spécifiquement liturgique, représentée dans l'abside de la prothèse (Dufrenne 1968).

<sup>30</sup> Colwell & Willoughby 1936, 138 ; Maguire 1980–1981, 264. La forme « abrégée » de ce type iconographique choisie pour le Saint-Petersbourg 105 ne trouve son pendant que dans l'église de Lagoudéra : voir Maguire 1980–1981, 263 (n. 21).

Nouveau Testament (XII<sup>e</sup> siècle) accompagné d'un Psautier, appartenant également au groupe du « decorative style »<sup>31</sup>. Dans ces deux manuscrits, on constate une forte présence des scènes de miracles, par le cycle complet des grandes fêtes liturgiques, dont plusieurs sont souvent répétées dans tous les évangiles, et par l'omission des paraboles et des scènes sur l'enseignement du Christ<sup>32</sup>. Le cycle du Chicago 965 se différencie de celui du Saint-Petersbourg 105 par l'importance que l'on accorde aux épisodes de la vie de Jean-Baptiste (pl. 3). Il y en a quatre dans Matthieu et Luc, un dans Marc et deux dans Jean<sup>33</sup>. Il faut mentionner également la représentation de Moïse recevant les Lois, qui apparaît une première fois en frontispice avant l'évangile de Matthieu au f. 6<sup>v</sup>, et une seconde fois, au f. 86<sup>r</sup>, comme illustration de Jn 1,17, qui fait justement allusion à cet événement<sup>34</sup>. Dans un manuscrit comme le Chicago 965, une telle image a comme but de traduire le plus clairement possible le message de la transmission de la Parole divine, accomplie dans l'Ancien Testament grâce à Moïse, et dans le Nouveau Testament, grâce au texte des quatre évangiles<sup>35</sup>.

Le Lesbos 9, un tétraévangile du XII<sup>e</sup>-XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle appartenant aussi au « decorative style », a été conçu pour recevoir une très abondante illustration, dont une partie est restée inachevée<sup>36</sup>. Le cycle iconographique de ce tétraévangile présente une forte prééminence des scènes ayant trait à l'Enfance et au ministère du Christ, à la vie de Jean-Baptiste et aux événements qui suivent après la Résurrection (pl. 4)<sup>37</sup>. Le cycle de la Passion est moins étendu que d'habitude et présente des lacunes importantes alors que d'autres épisodes se trouvent répétés plusieurs fois<sup>38</sup>. Soulignons enfin la présence

<sup>31</sup> Carr 1982a ; Carr 1987, 12-28 et 218-220 (microfiches 3A1-4A10) ; Carr 2012.

<sup>32</sup> Dix-huit scènes sont parallèles dans le Saint-Petersbourg 105 et le Chicago 965. Le cycle iconographique originel du tétraévangile Athènes, Mus. Byz. BXM 1611 (XAE 820) devait aussi être très proche des deux autres manuscrits, vu que six des onze thèmes représentés dans son actuel cycle y trouvent leur pendant.

<sup>33</sup> (1) Mt : la Fuite d'Élisabeth, la Prédication de Jean-Baptiste, le Témoignage de Jean-Baptiste, l'Exécution de Jean-Baptiste. (2) Mc : la Prédication de Jean-Baptiste. (3) Lc : l'Annonce à Zacharie, la Visitation, la Naissance de Jean-Baptiste, l'Emprisonnement de Jean-Baptiste. (4) Jn : le Témoignage de Jean-Baptiste (deux fois).

<sup>34</sup> Ce même passage figure également sur la marge supérieure de la première miniature : Carr 1987, microfiches 3A6 et 3F8. Cinq autres manuscrits du « decorative style » présentent la même particularité iconographique : Athos, Dionysiou 4 ; Sinai, Sainte-Catherine gr. 149 ; Paris, BnF Suppl. gr. 1335 ; Florence, Bibl. Laur. Plut. 6. 23 ; et Berlin, Staatsbibl. gr. 4° 66.

<sup>35</sup> Carr 1982b, 12.

<sup>36</sup> On en compte treize miniatures inachevées dont quatre dans Marc et neuf dans Jean.

<sup>37</sup> Vocotopoulos 1988 ; Carr 1987, 105-125 et 243-244 (microfiches 12E1-8).

<sup>38</sup> Le Baptême et l'Entrée du Christ à Jérusalem (représentées dans Matthieu et Marc), les Saintes Femmes au Tombeau (Matthieu, Marc et Luc) ou encore l'Ascension (Marc et Luc). Les lacunes sont : la Résurrection de Lazare, le Lavement des Pieds, la Descente de la Croix, le Thrène et l'Anastasis.



PL. 4. Lesbos (Mytilène), A' Lukeio (jadis Bibl. du Premier Gymnase des Garçons) 9 (XII<sup>e</sup>-XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle), f. 241<sup>v</sup> : l'Ascension du Christ. D'après Vocotopoulos 1988, pl. 16.

de l'épisode de l'Expulsion des marchands du Temple au f. 247<sup>v</sup> comme illustration du passage Jn 2,14–22, guère habituelle dans les tétraévangiles<sup>39</sup>.

Par l'étendue et la thématique de son cycle iconographique, le Lesbos 9 s'approche considérablement du Paris, BnF Suppl. gr. 914, réalisé à la même époque (début XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle)<sup>40</sup>. On en compte 90 miniatures dont une dizaine s'est détériorée au fil des siècles, surtout dans les évangiles de Matthieu et de Marc, et trente-trois sont restées inachevées<sup>41</sup>. Parmi les miniatures achevées, neuf illustrent des épisodes ayant trait à l'Annonciation et l'Enfance du Christ, treize miniatures se référant au ministère du Christ alors qu'onze évoquent les épisodes de la vie de Jean-Baptiste (pl. 5). Outre cela, la sélection des passages évangéliques favorise considérablement l'illustration des miracles (18) et des paraboles (4)<sup>42</sup>.

Un autre tétraévangile du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle est aussi resté partiellement inachevé. Il s'agit du Paris, BnF gr. 54 (deuxième moitié du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle) qui comporte cinquante-et-une miniatures, dont vingt-cinq inachevées et cinq uniquement esquissées<sup>43</sup>. La sélection des passages évangéliques met encore une fois en avant l'illustration des épisodes se référant aux miracles et au cycle de la Passion. Néanmoins, ce qui le distingue des autres manuscrits à cycle narratif est, d'une part, l'intérêt accordé aux paraboles, dont la majorité n'a pas pu être réalisée, et, d'autre part, la prédominance du cycle des grandes fêtes liturgiques<sup>44</sup>.

<sup>39</sup> Le seul autre exemple que l'on connaisse est le Paris, BnF gr. 115, mentionné plus haut.

<sup>40</sup> Primitivement, le Paris Suppl. gr. 914 a dû être conçu pour recevoir uniquement les portraits des évangélistes et les en-têtes ornementaux. Par la suite, le manuscrit fut complété par une série de 84 miniatures marginales : voir Yota 2005.

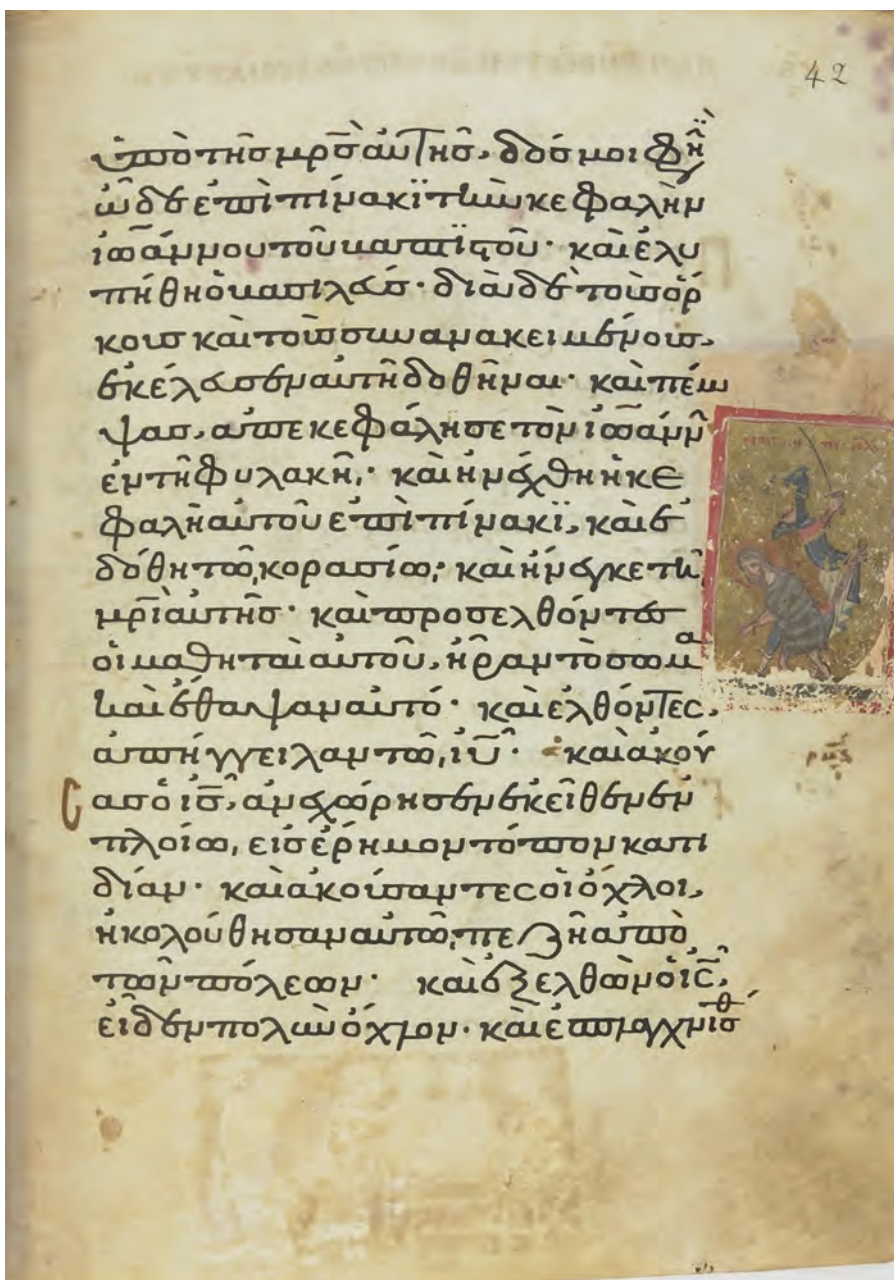
<sup>41</sup> Aucune miniature de Jean n'a été réalisée ; seule la ligne du cadre a été tracée. De Luc les seules miniatures achevées sont : l'Annonce à Zacharie, la Tempête apaisée, la Parabole du figuier stérile et la Guérison de la femme courbée. Parmi les images détériorées figure la Communion des Apôtres, dont l'empreinte est restée sur la marge inférieure du folio suivant, substituée à l'image de la Cène dans le cycle de la Passion de Marc. Sa représentation dans le Paris Suppl. gr. 914 reflète certainement l'influence de l'iconographie des psautiers, mais surtout l'importance qu'acquiert cette image dans le décor du sanctuaire à partir du X<sup>e</sup> siècle.

<sup>42</sup> La Parabole du festin nuptial, la Parabole des dix Vierges, la Parabole des vignerons homicides et celle du figuier stérile, toutes quatre choisies certainement pour leur message faisant allusion au Jugement Dernier. On compte seulement trois tétraévangiles contenant des paraboles : le Vienne théol. gr. 154 (mentionné plus haut) en compte une seule, celle du Pharisien et du Publicain, alors que dans l'Athos, Iviron 5, daté du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, trois paraboles ont été retenues, à savoir la Parabole du festin nuptial (Matthieu) et le Mauvais riche et le pauvre Lazare et l'Obole de la veuve (Marc). Enfin, le Paris, BnF gr. 54, daté également du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, présente dix paraboles dont trois seulement ont été achevées. Voir Yota 2005, 166–169 et 177–179.

<sup>43</sup> Pour une présentation complète du manuscrit et pour des renseignements à propos de sa datation et la raison de sa réalisation, voir Maxwell 2014.

<sup>44</sup> On compte quatorze grandes fêtes liturgiques. (1) Mt : la Nativité, la Cène, la Descente de la Croix. (2) Mc : la Crucifixion. (3) Lc : l'Annonciation, la Présentation du Christ au Temple, le



PL. 5. Paris, BnF Suppl. gr. 914 (début XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle), f. 42<sup>r</sup> : l'Exécution de Jean-Baptiste.



PL. 6. Berlin, Staatsbibl. gr. 4°.66 (début XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle), f. 334<sup>r</sup> : Pierre et Jean devant le tombeau vide du Christ. © Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin (Preussischer Kulturbesitz).

L'illustration du Paris gr. 54 présente de très fortes similitudes avec l'Athos, Iviron 5 qui, cependant, illustre un cycle iconographique plus sobre comportant vingt-neuf miniatures (XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle)<sup>45</sup>. Leur concordance est étonnante, car les vingt-sept sujets représentés dans l'Iviron 5 ont été prévus<sup>46</sup> pour être reproduits dans le Paris gr. 54, reprenant, en plus, le même emplacement dans le texte évangélique<sup>47</sup>.

L'examen du Berlin, Staatsbibl. gr. 4°.66 (début XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle) a révélé une série des particularités intéressantes dues au choix des scènes illustrées. Ce tétraévangile du « decorative style » contient trente-trois miniatures, dont le plus grand nombre jalonnent les folios des évangiles de Matthieu (10), de Luc (11) et de Jean (10)<sup>48</sup>. Contrairement aux autres tétraévangiles, le nombre de scènes ayant trait aux miracles et au ministère du Christ est sensiblement réduit pour accorder une plus grande importance au cycle de la Passion et aux grandes fêtes liturgiques<sup>49</sup>.

Un autre point intéressant dans ce cycle est l'image insolite des Saintes Femmes pleurant devant le corps mort du Christ au f. 96<sup>r</sup> qui a pris la place de la représentation des Saintes Femmes au Tombeau. Cette image va de pair avec la pénultième illustration de l'évangile de Jean qui montre Pierre et Jean devant le tombeau vide du Christ au

Baptême, la Transfiguration, l'Ascension. (4) Jn : l'Anastasis, la Résurrection de Lazare, l'Entrée du Christ à Jérusalem, le Lavement des Pieds, l'Incrédulité de Thomas. Voir Maxwell 2014, 229–234.

<sup>45</sup> Pelekanidis 1975, 296–303 (pl. 11–40) ; Maxwell 2014, 109–123.

<sup>46</sup> Pour dix de ces vingt-neuf sujets il n'y a que le cadre vide dans le Paris gr. 54. (1) Mc : la Crucifixion. (2) Lc : la Parabole du mauvais riche et le pauvre Lazare, l'Obole de la veuve. (3) Jn : l'Anastasis, les Noces de Cana, la Guérison d'un infirme dans la piscine de Bethesda, la Guérison d'un aveugle-né, la Résurrection de Lazare, l'Entrée à Jérusalem, le Lavement des Pieds.

<sup>47</sup> Fait exception la scène du Baptême qui, dans le Paris gr. 54, illustre Luc et non pas Marc. L'Apparition du Christ aux Saintes Femmes est la seule scène qui n'a pas été reprise dans le cycle du Paris gr. 54. Elle devait être remplacée par l'Apparition du Christ à Marie Madeleine dans Jean, unique source textuelle de cet épisode. Le cycle des grandes fêtes liturgiques de l'Iviron 5 présente deux lacunes importantes, l'Ascension et l'Incrédulité de Thomas, qui, dans le Paris gr. 54, devaient illustrer Luc et Jean. Quant aux paraboles qui devaient être nombreuses dans le Paris gr. 54, leur sélection ne s'inspire pas entièrement de celle de l'Iviron 5. Dans ce dernier, seules la Parabole du festin nuptial et celle du Mauvais riche et du pauvre Lazare, faisant allusion au Jugement Dernier, ont été choisies.

<sup>48</sup> Hamann-MacLean 1967 ; Carr 1987, 81–105 et 212–214 (microfiches 8C1–8F12) ; Yota (à paraître).

<sup>49</sup> Avec quelques omissions importantes : l'Anastasis et la Pentecôte, et au cycle de la Passion du Christ. Dans ce dernier, la Cène est omise et semble être remplacée, dans l'évangile de Jean, par l'illustration de l'Onction de Béthanie, qui prélude les événements de la Passion.

f. 334<sup>r</sup> (pl. 6)<sup>50</sup>. Insolite également est la scène de Zacharie accompagné de l'enfant Jean au f. 168<sup>v</sup> qui s'inspire de l'iconographie des psautiers du « decorative style »<sup>51</sup>.

Dans le tétraévangile Athènes, Bibl. Nat. 93 (XII<sup>e</sup> siècle)<sup>52</sup>, le cycle iconographique est relativement sommaire et se concentre en grande partie sur l'illustration des lectures liturgiques récitées de la première semaine du Carême à la cinquième semaine après la Pâques, avec tout de même une plus forte insistance sur la représentation des épisodes de la Passion commémorés le Jeudi et le Vendredi Saint<sup>53</sup>. Ainsi, le cycle iconographique se focalise-t-il sur la dureté et la souffrance des derniers moments de la Vie du Christ, dans le but de souligner l'importance du sacrifice du Christ pour le Salut universel. Parmi les scènes de la Passion, celle des Saintes Femmes en pleurs au f. 50<sup>v</sup> présente une iconographie et un emplacement dans le texte fort insolites (pl. 7). En effet, cette image, au lieu d'être liée à l'épisode du Tombeau vide du Christ, illustre l'événement qui le précède, le moment où les Saintes Femmes assises à côté de la Croix pleurent la mort du Christ (Mt 27,55–56).

Un message similaire se lit également dans l'illustration du Kiev, Bibl. Nat., Φ. 301, 25 (XII<sup>e</sup> siècle)<sup>54</sup>. Les quatorze miniatures qui composent son cycle iconographique représentent essentiellement des événements qui se déroulent du Samedi de Lazare au Jeudi de l'Ascension. Les deux premiers évangiles synoptiques ne contiennent qu'une seule miniature, l'Apparition aux Saintes Femmes au f. 92<sup>v</sup> et l'Ascension au f. 151<sup>v</sup>, illustrant la fin de chaque évangile respectivement. Luc est doté de deux images : l'Annonciation, divisée en deux miniatures situées sur des folios qui se font face (ff. 155<sup>v</sup>–156<sup>r</sup>), et Pierre devant le tombeau vide au f. 246<sup>r</sup><sup>55</sup>. Les neuf autres miniatures sont situées

<sup>50</sup> Celle-ci trouve son pendant uniquement dans le Kiev, Bibl. Nat., Φ. 301, 25 (voir plus loin). D'un autre manuscrit du « decorative style », le Chicago 965, provient aussi la seule comparaison que l'on peut faire pour la scène du Christ parlant au Temple. Elle doit sa présence dans les tétra-évangiles à l'influence de l'illustration des évangéliaires dans lesquels la représentation de cet épisode figure avant la péricope du 1<sup>er</sup> septembre, premier jour du calendrier byzantin. Il en va de même pour la scène de Zacharie accompagné de l'enfant Jean qui s'inspire de l'iconographie des psautiers.

<sup>51</sup> Carr 1987, 96 (n. 47) et Carr 1982b, 4, 6 et 7.

<sup>52</sup> Constantinides 1977–1979 et Anderson 1996–1997.

<sup>53</sup> (1) Mt : le Christ sur le Golgotha, les Saintes Femmes en pleurs, les Prêtres et les Pharisiens devant Pilate. (2) Mc : la Décision de Pilate, Christ *Elkomenos* (le Christ avançant vers le Golgotha les mains liées), Joseph d'Arimathie demande le corps du Christ par Pilate. (3) Lc : la Cène, le Christ devant Pilate. (4) Jn : la Cène, la Crucifixion.

<sup>54</sup> Carr 1987, 59–61 ; Cherkas'ka & Chernukhin 2010, 57–58 ; Yota 2016.

<sup>55</sup> N.M. Petrov qui a étudié le manuscrit en 1911, a signalé qu'autrefois le Kiev 25 comportait cinq miniatures supplémentaires réalisées sur des feuillets séparés. Les thèmes qui devaient être représentés, selon l'auteur, sont la Nativité, la Multiplication des pains, la Présentation du Christ au Temple, la Crucifixion, la Descente de la Croix et/ou le Thrène. La représentation de la Cruci-





PL. 7. Athènes, Bibl. Nat. 93 (XII<sup>e</sup> siècle), ff. 50<sup>v</sup>–51<sup>r</sup> : les Myrrhophores et les Prêtres et les Pharisiens devant Pilate. © Εθνική Βιβλιοθήκη της Ελλάδος.

dans l'évangile de Jean<sup>56</sup>. Il va sans dire que dans le cycle iconographique du Kiev 25 l'accent est surtout mis sur les épisodes de la Passion et, en particulier, sur ceux qui vont de la Semaine Sainte jusqu'au Jeudi de l'Ascension. Parmi les épisodes de la dernière semaine du carême, seule la Résurrection de Lazare est retenue au f. 292<sup>r</sup>. Le choix des passages illustrés révèle un cycle christologique dont le message se focalise sur le sacrifice du Christ et sur son rôle de Rédempteur, par l'évocation de la Seconde Parousie et du Salut universel. L'illustration de ce manuscrit est complétée par deux miniatures en pleine page représentant le Christ Emmanuel et la Vierge à l'Enfant qui se font face dans les deux premiers folios (ff. 1<sup>v</sup>–2<sup>r</sup>). Les deux images conjointes symbolisent l'Incarnation du Christ, message qui se concrétise à travers le récit des évangiles. En outre, la représentation du commanditaire agenouillé, qui apparaît vaguement dans l'angle droit de l'image de la Vierge à l'Enfant, accorde à ces images le rôle d'icônes de dévo-

fixion est la moins plausible vu que ce thème est déjà illustré dans l'évangile de Jean. Voir Petrov 1911 et Yota 2016, 711–712.

<sup>56</sup> Le Témoignage de Jean, la Guérison de l'aveugle-né, la Résurrection de Lazare, l'Onction à Béthanie, le Lavement des Pieds, la Crucifixion, l'Anastasis, l'Apparition à Marie de Magdala, l'Incrédulité de Thomas.

tion. Associées au cycle iconographique dans lequel on privilégie les scènes ayant trait à la Rédemption par le sacrifice du Christ, l'ensemble de l'illustration de ce manuscrit devient l'objet d'une vénération personnelle de la part du commanditaire, pour le salut de son âme<sup>57</sup>.

### 3.2 *Tétraévangiles à illustration liturgique*

L'exemple du Kiev 25 nous permet de constater qu'à l'antipode des cycles narratifs des certains tétraévangiles comme les Paris gr. 115, Paris gr. 74, Laur. Plut. 6. 23, Lesbos 9 et Paris Suppl. gr. 914, nombreux sont ceux pour lesquels s'opère une forte sélection des épisodes à illustrer. Cela laisse entrevoir une volonté de privilégier quelques passages évangéliques dans le but de mettre en images les moments les plus importants du calendrier liturgique. Dans les tétraévangiles Londres, British Library, Harley 1810 et Leyde, Bibl. Univ. Gro. 137 (Geel 4), seul un nombre très limité de passages reçoit une illustration.

La sélection des dix-sept scènes illustrées dans le Londres, BL Harley 1810 (fin XII<sup>e</sup> siècle) reflète explicitement le caractère singulier de son message<sup>58</sup>. Le cycle des grandes fêtes liturgiques figure au complet. Dans le cycle des fêtes fixes sont retenues deux fêtes se référant à l'Enfance du Christ (la Nativité dans l'évangile de Matthieu au f. 26<sup>r</sup> et la Présentation au Temple dans Luc au f. 146<sup>v</sup>) et deux à sa vie publique (le Baptême dans Marc au f. 95<sup>r</sup> et la Transfiguration dans Matthieu au f. 61<sup>r</sup>). Une prédilection apparente est accordée aux événements relatifs à la Passion du Christ et à ceux qui les suivent, à savoir de la sixième semaine du carême jusqu'à la fête de la Pentecôte<sup>59</sup>. Il importe de s'attarder sur certaines scènes, dont l'emplacement est fort intéressant. Il s'agit, d'une part, de la miniature qui met en scène la double image de la Descente de la Croix-Thrène au f. 205<sup>v</sup> (pl. 8) et d'autre part de la scène de l'Anastasis au f. 206<sup>v</sup>, les deux évoquées dans l'évangile de Luc. La première attire notre attention par sa disposition dans une miniature à deux registres et par sa mise en relation avec le texte de Luc qui ne fait pas partie des lectures liturgiques principales pour ces deux fêtes. Quant à la scène de l'Anastasis, elle se situe à la fin de Luc illustrant ainsi le passage qui relate l'épisode des Saintes Femmes au Tombeau (24,1-12) et qui est le quatrième évangile de la Résurrection lors de l'*orthros* (l'office des matines) du Dimanche (ἐωθινό ἀναστάσιμον). Le Harley 1810 est le seul qui opte pour un tel emplacement alors que dans les autres tétraévangiles l'Anastasis illustre toujours le prologue de Jean lu durant la liturgie du Dimanche de

<sup>57</sup> Yota 2016, 716-722.

<sup>58</sup> Carr 1987, 55-69 et 251-252 (microfiches 6C12, 6D12 et 6F5-7A7) ; Yota 2001.

<sup>59</sup> La Résurrection de Lazare (Jn), l'Entrée à Jérusalem (Jn), la Cène (Mt), le Lavement des Pieds (Jn), la Crucifixion (Lc), la Descente de la Croix et le Thrène (Lc), l'Anastasis (Lc), l'Incrédulité de Thomas (Jn), l'Ascension (Mc), la Pentecôte (Jn).



PL. 8. Londres, British Library, Harley 1810 (fin XII<sup>e</sup> siècle), f. 205<sup>v</sup> : la Descente de la Croix et le Thrène. © British Library.

la Pâques (1,1–17). Le nombre important des tétraévangiles qui associe l'illustration de l'Anastasis avec le texte de l'évangéliste Jean, bien que celui-ci ne relate pas cet épisode, prouve la volonté d'utiliser l'image pour sa valeur exégétique sur la réalité liturgique de la Pâques et non pas seulement pour instaurer une corrélation narrative entre l'image et le texte, comme c'est le cas dans le Harley 1810<sup>60</sup>.

Toujours dans l'évangile de Luc, on constate également la représentation de la Dormition de la Vierge au f. 174<sup>r</sup> qui n'est guère habituelle dans les tétraévangiles. Bien que Luc ne relate pas l'épisode de la Dormition, c'est le passage Lc 11,27–28, pericope essentielle lors de la célébration de cette fête le 15 août, qui devient le support textuel de son illustration. Un tel choix fait davantage transparaître un emprunt des évangé-

<sup>60</sup> Yota 2001, 229.

liaires au cycle liturgique. Enfin, l'illustration du Harley 1810 comporte aussi l'épisode de l'Exécution de Jean-Baptiste au f. 107<sup>v</sup>, dont la représentation dans un cycle iconographique non narratif est fort peu usitée. Elle est introduite dans l'évangile de Marc au début de la péricope désignée pour la célébration du 29 août (6,14–30).

Très original se présente aussi le cycle iconographique du Leyde Gro. 137 (deuxième moitié du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle), dans lequel tous les épisodes de la Passion et de nombreuses fêtes liturgiques sont complètement omis<sup>61</sup>. Dans ce manuscrit, seules six scènes sont sélectionnées, toutes ayant trait aux manifestations divines du Christ et à sa glorification : dans l'évangile de Matthieu le Baptême au f. 5<sup>v</sup> et la Transfiguration au f. 44<sup>v</sup> ; dans l'évangile de Marc l'Ascension au f. 131<sup>v</sup> ; dans Luc l'Annonciation au f. 135<sup>v</sup> et la Présentation du Christ au Temple au f. 141<sup>r</sup> et dans l'évangile de Jean la Pentecôte au f. 244<sup>v</sup> (pl. 9). Chacune de ces enluminures sert de lemme pictural aux principales lectures liturgiques.

#### 4. DES CAS SINGULIERS

##### 4.1 *L'image comme signe de dévotion*

Le renvoi à la liturgie est davantage marqué dans les tétraévangiles ou les images se situent au tout début du manuscrit comme c'est le cas dans le tétraévangile Istanbul, Patriarcat Œcuménique, Panaghia 176 daté du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle.

Dans ce tétraévangile, la Déisis et six autres miniatures en pleine page se placent aux premiers folios (ff. 2<sup>v</sup>–5<sup>v</sup>) avant même les Tables des Canons<sup>62</sup>. La Déisis, accompagnée des portraits de quatre évangélistes, figure en tant que symbole de la Divinité du Logos<sup>63</sup>. Unie avec les six autres illustrations qui suivent, elles retracent toutes ensemble, brièvement mais d'une façon très significative, les moments les plus marquants de la Vie du Christ : la Nativité, le Baptême, la Crucifixion, l'Anastasis, l'Ascension et la Pentecôte. L'image de la Transfiguration se détache de cet ensemble et se place avant l'évangile de Luc au f. 131<sup>r</sup>. Cet emplacement crée un lien entre l'image et la péricope de Luc lue lors de l'orthros du 6 août, jour de la fête de la Transfiguration<sup>64</sup>. Comme l'a démontré R. Nelson, un tel type d'illustration confère à ce manuscrit un caractère singulier. Elle s'inspire profondément de la structure de l'épistyle médio-byzantin, mais également de la décoration des psautiers dans lesquels on place souvent la Déisis en frontispice accompagnée des portraits des prophètes ou encore des scènes tirées

<sup>61</sup> Carr 1987, 55–69 et 244 (microfiches 6E1–12).

<sup>62</sup> Nelson 1978, 197–207. Voir également Kouroupou & Géhin 2008, n° 416.

<sup>63</sup> Carr 1982b, 6.

<sup>64</sup> Lc 9,28–36.





PL. 9. Leyde, Bibl. Univ. Gro. 137 (Geel 4) (deuxième moitié du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle), f. 244<sup>v</sup> : la Pentecôte.  
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des quatre évangiles<sup>65</sup>. L'image se détache du texte et acquiert une fonction d'objet de dévotion personnelle et de méditation visuelle sur la nature des évangiles<sup>66</sup>. Une série d'épigrammes entoure les miniatures de l'Istanbul 176 et fait office de commentaire sur le contenu de l'image au même titre que le texte évangélique ou les titres des chapitres<sup>67</sup>.

<sup>65</sup> Nelson 1978, 197–199 et 202. Pour l'influence du templon, voir également Spieser 1999.

<sup>66</sup> Yota 2008, 170. Une telle configuration se trouve également dans un tétraévangile du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle, l'Athos, Vatopédi 937, qui présente une série de neuf miniatures en pleine page, situées avant le début de Matthieu : la Nativité, le Baptême, la Transfiguration, la Présentation du Christ au Temple, le Thrène, la Crucifixion, l'Anastasis, l'Ascension et la Pentecôte. L'Annonciation, quant à elle, se place avant l'évangile de Luc alors que la Résurrection de Lazare et l'Entrée à Jérusalem avant celui de Jean. L'emplacement du Thrène avant la Crucifixion est évidemment problématique et laisse supposer que les miniatures ont été ajoutées postérieurement ou déplacées le moment d'une nouvelle reliure. Voir Djurić 1989.

<sup>67</sup> Le texte de ces épigrammes est transcrit dans Nelson 1978, 16–22. Des épigrammes entourent également les miniatures du Vatopédi 937. On en trouve dans d'autres tétraévangiles, en particulier dans ceux où les miniatures sont en pleine page ou en frontispice. Un florilège d'épigrammes se référant aux grandes fêtes liturgiques se diffuse à partir du XI<sup>e</sup> siècle et se reproduit dans les différentes expressions artistiques. Voir Hörandner 1992 et 1994 ; Bentein et al. 2010 ; Rhoby

En pleine-page sont également les quatre miniatures du tétraévangile Florence, Bibl. Laur. Conv. Soppr. 160 (fin XI<sup>e</sup>-début XII<sup>e</sup> siècle), mais leur emplacement est bien singulier<sup>68</sup>. Les deux premières, la Pentecôte et la Déisis se font face dans les deux folios qui précèdent Matthieu alors que les deux autres, la Descente de la Croix et les Saintes Femmes au Tombeau avec l'Apparition du Christ aux Saintes Femmes, se placent dans les deux derniers folios du manuscrit. Ces deux ensembles, tels des diptyques, résument le message évangélique. Les premières établissent un lien visuel entre la diffusion de la parole divine par les apôtres et la divinité du Logos alors que les deux dernières résument à la fois la souffrance de la Passion et la doctrine de la Rédemption.

Un peu plus tard, à la fin du XII<sup>e</sup> / au début du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, les tétraévangiles Washington, Smithsonian Inst. F1909.1685-1689<sup>69</sup> et Los Angeles (jadis Malibu), J. Paul Getty Museum, Ludwig II 5<sup>70</sup> sont aussi dotés d'une série des miniatures en pleine page mais malheureusement leur état actuel ne nous permet pas de savoir quel était leur emplacement initial. Le Washington F1909.1685-1689 est conservé dans un état très fragmentaire et seuls cinq folios subsistent alors que pour le LA, Ludwig II 5, une grande partie de son cycle iconographique a été ajoutée postérieurement dans des folios séparés.

#### 4.2 *L'image en frontispice de chaque évangile*

La prédominance du cycle des Grandes Fêtes liturgiques inspiré des textes liturgiques du décor des églises médio-byzantines et de l'illustration des évangélistes a fait naître un autre mode d'illustration. Dans un large groupe des tétraévangiles datés principalement du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle, les images, au nombre très restreint, se détachent de leur contexte textuel et, situées au début de chaque évangile, deviennent des images-signes qui mettent en valeur la place liturgique du chapitre avec lequel débute chacun des livres.

Le tétraévangile Parme, palat. 5 (fin XI<sup>e</sup> siècle) est certainement le plus remarquable et en même temps le plus intrigant exemple de ce groupe<sup>71</sup>. Dans les premiers folios du manuscrit figurent le portrait d'Eusèbe et Carpien suivi de la Lettre d'Eusèbe. Un riche en-tête illustre le début du texte de l'*hypothesis* dans lequel est peint le Christ

2018, 73-76, 207-209, 249-256, 313-318, 389 et 393-398. Voir également la base de données de l'université de Gand, <https://www.dbbe.ugent.be/> (consulté le 03 février 2020).

<sup>68</sup> Ce manuscrit a été daté au X<sup>e</sup> siècle par G. Millet et à la seconde moitié du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle par K. Weitzmann. À mon avis tant le type de l'écriture que les éléments iconographiques et stylistiques plaident pour une datation vers le début du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle (voir Yota 2007).

<sup>69</sup> Morey 1914, 31-62 (pl. III-X) ; Mechlin 1923.

<sup>70</sup> Voir <http://www.getty.edu/art/collection/objects/1357/unknown-maker-gospel-book-byzantine-early-late-13th-century/?artview=dor1029> (consulté le 25 août 2018) ; von Euw & Plotzek 1979, 164-170 (pl. 64-87) ; Evans 2004, 284-285 (n° 169) ; Guernelli 2016.

<sup>71</sup> Eleuteri 1993, 3-13 (n° 5), avec bibliographie antérieure ; Calzolari 2001, 268-272 ; Foti 1992.

en gloire (*Maestas domini*) entouré des quatre symboles des évangélistes, des chérubins et des séraphins<sup>72</sup>. Les quatre évangélistes sont situés dans les angles de la composition alors que les prophètes David et Isaïe sont situés dans les marges verticales du folio. Les apôtres Pierre, Paul, Jean, l'empereur Trajan sont représentés de part et d'autre du titre de l'*hypothesis*<sup>73</sup>. Après les Tables des Canons et le portrait d'Eusèbe, Carpien et Ammonios, débute l'évangile de Matthieu avec la scène de la Nativité accompagnée de Constantin et Hélène de part et d'autre de la Croix et le portrait de l'évangéliste Matthieu qui fait pendant à la scène de la Fuite en Égypte. Cette juxtaposition entre le portrait de l'évangéliste et une scène de fête liturgique se reproduit également pour les trois autres évangiles : l'évangéliste Marc fait face à la scène du Baptême du peuple par Jean-Baptiste ; Luc à la Naissance de Jean-Baptiste et Jean à l'Anastasis. Le cycle se complète par trois folios précédant l'évangile de Marc où trois miniatures en pleine page, divisées en quatre compartiments, illustrent les épisodes (pl. 10)<sup>74</sup>. La disposition des scènes christologiques dans des miniatures compartimentées et placées dans des folios séparés est inusité et ne trouve pas son pendant exact dans un autre tétraévangile. Une disposition similaire, bien que beaucoup moins complexe et soignée, figure dans le tétraévangile Kalabryta, Megalou Spēlaiou 8 (XII<sup>e</sup> siècle)<sup>75</sup>. Dans ce manuscrit chacun des portraits des évangélistes partage la composition d'une miniature en pleine page avec la représentation d'une fête liturgique (Matthieu/Nativité, Marc/Naissance de Jean-Baptiste<sup>76</sup>, Luc/Annonciation et Jean/Anastasis). Après la fin de Marc est réalisée une miniature en pleine page, comportant dans quatre petits médaillons les scènes de la Transfiguration, de la Crucifixion, de l'Ascension et de la Pentecôte.

La mise en page du tétraévangile Parme, palat. 5 se rapproche davantage de la mise en page de l'évangélaire BAV, Vat. gr. 1156 (XI<sup>e</sup> siècle). Hormis les portraits des évangélistes qui ornent le début des évangiles et des portraits des saints qui illustrent la section du Ménologe, ce manuscrit présente une miniature en pleine page divisée en six compartiments située en frontispice aux péricopes lues pendant la Semaine sainte (f. 194<sup>v</sup>). Chacune des six scènes (la Prière à Gethsémani, l'Arrestation du Christ, le Christ devant Pilate, la Crucifixion, le Thrène et l'Anastasis) illustre un événement important relatif à la Passion et à la Résurrection du Christ commémoré dans les péricopes qui

<sup>72</sup> Sur les textes des *hypotheses*, voir Soden 1902, 300–327 ; Galavaris 1979, 26–28 ; Nelson 1988, 5–10.

<sup>73</sup> Sakurai 2009, 226.

<sup>74</sup> Les Noces de Cana, la Pêche miraculeuse, le Lavement des Pieds, le Dernier repas ; la Prière à Gethsémani, le Baiser de Judas, le Repentir de Pierre, la Crucifixion et la Descente de la Croix (pl. 10) ; la Mise au Tombeau, les Femmes au Tombeau vide, l'Ascension et la Pentecôte.

<sup>75</sup> Tzimas & Papachatzidakis s.d., 45–46 (pl. 39–59).

<sup>76</sup> Il s'agit certainement d'une miniature plus tardive qui reproduit le même épisode.



PL. 10. Parme, palat. 5 (fin XI<sup>e</sup> siècle), f. 92<sup>r</sup> : la Prière à Gethsémani, le Baiser de Judas, le Repentir de Pierre, la Crucifixion et la Descente de la Croix. © Biblioteca Palatina di Parma.

suivent<sup>77</sup>. Dans le Parme, palat. 5, il est possible que les scènes qui figurent dans les trois miniatures en pleine page renvoient à des péricopes évangéliques étant donné que son texte est ponctué d'indications liturgiques. Des notations bien explicites et écrites en or dans les marges annoncent les péricopes pour des jours spécifiques de l'année et le début et la fin de chaque péricope sont également soigneusement écrits en or. Enfin, une liste complète de toutes les péricopes évangéliques de l'année pour les fêtes mobiles et fixes est placée à la fin du manuscrit.

L'association des portraits des évangélistes avec une scène christologique (Nativité, Baptême, Annonciation et Anastasis) comme cela apparaît dans les Parme, palat. 5 et Kalabryta 8, marque aussi l'illustration des plusieurs tétraévangiles du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle<sup>78</sup>.

<sup>77</sup> [https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS\\_Vat.gr.1156](https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.gr.1156) avec bibliographie (consulté le 25 août 2018).

<sup>78</sup> Les autres manuscrits de ce groupe sont : Ann Arbor, Univ. Libr., MS 182 ; Athènes, Mus. Byz. BM 4116 (cat. 204) ; Bâle, Bibl. univ. A. N. IV. 2 ; Baltimore, Walters Art Museum W 522 et W 531 ; Bratislava, Bibl. Acad. 394 kt (codex Maurocordatianus) ; Dublin, Chester Beatty MS W.135 ; Genève, BPU gr. 19 ; Athos, Vatopédi 975 ; Washington, Museum of the Bible, G.C.MS.000484 (olim Oslo, Schøyen 231 ; codex Kraus de New York) ; Oxford, Bodl., Auct. T. inf. 1. 10 (codex

Cette double représentation, exécutée en une seule ou en deux miniatures séparées, devient le prélude visuel de chaque texte évangélique et le charge d'une évocation liturgique ponctuée par une indication écrite en rouge et en or qui désigne le jour de lecture de la péricope du premier chapitre<sup>79</sup>. Ces notes liturgiques ne font que souligner l'influence de la mise en page des évangélistes illustrés, dont les images sont accompagnées de renvois aux lectures des péripécopes lues lors de la liturgie. Dans le cas de ces tétraévangiles, les indications liturgiques mentionnent les péripécopes lues le dimanche de la semaine qui précède chaque fête, ou encore la péricope principale lue le jour de la fête en question. L'influence de l'évangéliste sur le choix des scènes illustrées dans ce groupe de manuscrits se confirme, non seulement par la présence de l'Annonciation dans Luc, remplaçant ainsi l'image de la Naissance de Jean-Baptiste, mais surtout, par celle de l'Anastasis qui, n'étant pas puisée dans les évangiles, s'associe avec le prologue de Jean en raison de l'importance de ce passage dans la liturgie du Dimanche de Pâques<sup>80</sup>.

Il ne faut pas perdre de vue non plus le rôle que les textes des *hypotheses* ont pu jouer à la formation de ce type d'illustration<sup>81</sup>. Le contenu de ces brefs commentaires a pu influencer considérablement le choix des scènes illustrées au début de chaque évangile. Il suffit de mentionner pour cela l'*hypothesis* d'Irénée sur Matthieu qui fait mention de la Nativité du Christ, celle d'Eusèbe concernant Marc qui indique comme épisode principal le Baptême du Christ, ou encore l'*hypothesis* de Cosmas Indicopleustès sur Luc qui se rapporte à la Naissance de Jean-Baptiste.

Par conséquent, autant les textes des *hypotheses* que l'influence de l'illustration des évangélistes contribuent à la mise en œuvre d'un mode d'illustration dans lequel l'image, grâce à sa valeur exégétique, fait ressortir la nature liturgique du passage cor-

Ebnerianus) ; Oxford, Bodl., Clarke 10 ; Oxford, Christ Church 28 ; Paris, BnF gr. 75 ; Patmos 274 ; Kalabryta, Megalou Spēlaiou 1 ; Princeton, UL, Garrett MS 3 ; BAV, Urb. gr. 2 ; BAV, Vat. gr. 189 ; Venise, Marc. gr. I. 8 et Z. 540. Différents dans leur mise en page, les manuscrits de ce groupe reproduisent, quasiment toujours, les mêmes scènes même si, d'un manuscrit à l'autre, on peut repérer quelques légères modifications. Dans ces cas, la Nativité laisse sa place à la scène de la Fuite en Égypte, le Baptême est substitué à la Prédication de Jean-Baptiste, l'Annonciation à celle de la Naissance de Jean-Baptiste et dans l'évangile de Jean l'Anastasis peut parfois être remplacée par la Résurrection de Lazare ou la Sainte Trinité. Voir Meredith 1964, Meredith 1966 et Carr 1980. Le plus ancien s'avère être le Baltimore, Walters Art Museum W 524, daté du X<sup>e</sup> siècle. Dans ce manuscrit, le début de chaque évangile est illustré de deux miniatures en pleine page représentant le portrait de l'évangéliste et une grande fête liturgique (la Nativité, le Baptême, l'Annonciation et l'Anastasis). Voir, avec bibliographie, <http://www.thedigitalwalters.org/Data/WaltersManuscripts/html/W524/description.html> (consulté le 5 août 2018).

<sup>79</sup> Gregory 1909, 343–389.

<sup>80</sup> Meredith 1966, 423.

<sup>81</sup> Sur ces textes, voir les notes 3 et 72 plus haut.

respondant et fonctionne comme signe distinctif au début de chaque évangile, de telle façon qu'il soit facilement repéré par le lecteur.

## 5. CONCLUSION

Les sources textuelles demeurent très peu explicites sur les tétraévangiles et leur décor. Considérés comme des livres d'usage privé et quotidien, souvent de facture médiocre et, dans leur majorité, démunis de tout décor figuratif, ce type de livre reçoit des colophons succincts et imprécis à la fin du texte évangélique laissant sans réponse des éléments essentiels de sa composition (lieu de réalisation, datation, noms des copiste, artiste et commanditaire). L'absence des colophons dans le plus grand nombre d'entre eux ne facilite pas cette tâche et ne permet pas de considérations définitives. Les recherches sur les manuscrits conservés ont considérablement avancé depuis ces dernières décennies et tentent de combler ce manque.

Un premier point à retenir à travers l'étude des tétraévangiles est que la mise en forme de leur illustration et l'emplacement des scènes illustrées suit des modèles pré-existants et valables pour tout type de manuscrit. La miniature marginale, en frise ou encadrée, est attestée depuis les premiers codex mais son exécution acquiert une maîtrise considérable à partir de l'époque médio-byzantine. À cette période l'insertion de l'illustration dans le texte et la prééminence de la miniature encadrée apporte à l'image une entière autonomie et une valeur symbolique égale à celle du texte.

L'illustration de ce livre s'adapte en premier lieu aux préférences personnelles du commanditaire qui, par le choix des scènes illustrées exprime sa volonté de personnaliser le message qui sera transcrit par l'image. Néanmoins, bien que le rôle du commanditaire est décisif pour la mise en œuvre d'un livre, il n'en reste pas moins que l'on ne peut nier le fait que la réalisation d'un cycle iconographique reflète l'état d'esprit de la pensée théologique et l'acceptation des tendances artistiques dominantes. Ainsi, l'importance que l'on accorde au calendrier liturgique au XI<sup>e</sup> siècle génère-t-elle la prolifération progressive d'un cycle dit liturgique qui se développe parallèlement dans le décor des églises et dans les manuscrits<sup>82</sup>. C'est d'ailleurs à cette époque que l'illustration du tétraévangile devient plus sommaire et traduit uniquement les moments importants de la vie du Christ.

L'impact de la liturgie et l'importance du cycle des grandes fêtes liturgiques demeurent perceptibles dans les tétraévangiles même après la réapparition du cycle narratif qui se situe vers le début du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle. La thématique des tétraévangiles de cette époque s'enrichit par des scènes propres au décor des églises. Placées à proximité

<sup>82</sup> Spieser 1999, 153–155.

de la péricope correspondante, ces scènes deviennent aux yeux du lecteur une sorte de symbole à la fois du calendrier liturgique et du rapport de l'image avec la liturgie qui interprète sacramentalement le message de l'Incarnation narré dans le texte évangélique.

Cependant, la présence d'un cycle comme étant liturgique n'implique pas nécessairement un usage liturgique aux tétraévangiles. Les indications liturgiques accompagnent rarement l'ensemble du récit et, comme cela a été démontré, les miniatures n'acquièrent pas toujours une place prédéfinie à proximité de la péricope principale. La pluralité que nous observons dans le choix et l'emplacement des scènes illustrées est indéniablement due à l'apport des inspirations diverses mais cela n'enlève en rien à l'aspect singulier du cycle qui orne chaque livre. Cela trahit la volonté de créer un ensemble qui va répondre aux exigences et aux besoins spirituels du lecteur qui, membre du clergé, d'une communauté conventuelle ou simple pèlerin, voit dans l'illustration du tétraévangile la concrétisation du message évangélique et son adaptation au déroulement de la liturgie.



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# CHRISTIAN INSTRUCTION IN THE MINIATURES OF THE SIMONOV PSALTER OF NOVGOROD (MS MOSCOW, HIST. MUS., CHLUD. 3)

ENGELINA SMIRNOVA



IN THIS ARTICLE, I aim to show that some of the marginal illustrations in the so-called Simonov Psalter demonstrate the theme of Christian enlightenment. I argue that these compositions probably repeat the miniatures from one of the lost Russian Psalters created in the eleventh century (soon after the Christianization of Rus' in 988) for the Saint Sophia Cathedral in Kiev or in Novgorod.

## 1. INTRODUCTION: THE MANUSCRIPT

The Simonov Psalter is named after the monk of one of the Novgorod monasteries who had supposedly commissioned the manuscript.<sup>1</sup> Its current dating to the second quarter of the fourteenth century was suggested and substantiated by Anatoliy Turilov on the basis of palaeographical characteristics.<sup>2</sup>

The manuscript comprises three prefatory miniatures, a series of large compositions (full-page or smaller) from the story of King David, marginal illustrations accompanying nearly every psalm, illuminations to the biblical Odes at the end of the manuscript, as well as numerous headpieces (before every *kathisma* and in some other cases) and initials with teratological ornament.<sup>3</sup> Marginal texts at the beginning of nearly every psalm can be identified as drastically abbreviated versions of patristic commentaries to the Psalms that are represented to a fuller extent on the margins of the thirteenth-century Bologna Psalter of Bulgaria.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Shchepkina et al. 1965, 163–165; Zhukovskaia 1984, 318–319. Both publications cite the standard bibliography on the manuscript.

<sup>2</sup> Turilov 1998, replacing the dating to the end of the thirteenth century proposed earlier (Zhukovskaia 1984, 318–319).

<sup>3</sup> See Putsko 1991 for the illustrations from King David's life.

<sup>4</sup> MS Bologna, University Library 2499 (on which, see Dujčev 1968).

For several reasons, the decoration of the codex has for long a time been little known to art historians. Only its three opening miniatures by different masters were reproduced more than once. The main figure of one of them, *Jesus Christ with Martha and Mary*, was painted by a special artist who was not involved in work on the other illuminations of the manuscript. Olga Popova's study has enabled us to consider the figure in question as one of the earliest examples of Palaiologan painting in Rus'.<sup>5</sup> The last decades have revived interest in the Simonov Psalter among historians and philologists as well as with art historians.<sup>6</sup>

The bulk of the illuminations in the Simonov Psalter interpret artistic traditions of the thirteenth century and earlier periods in an original way. Despite the indisputably provincial style of these miniatures, they are of great interest. On the one hand, they demonstrate the specific elements of Russian art of the second quarter of the fourteenth century, especially its expressively simplified style. On the other hand, these miniatures provide an insight into the spiritual life of Novgorod, including the earlier ideological and artistic conceptions that endured in it. In this way, they shed light on certain aspects of the earlier stages of Russian Christian culture as part of the culture of the larger Byzantine world.

## 2. CONTENT AND MESSAGE

An analysis of some illuminations, selected from the section on Ps 66–131, shows that they centre on Christian preaching and dogmas, education and piety. Some of the miniatures are expressive many-figured compositions while others are more laconic.

### 2.1 *Analysis*

The first of the miniatures under review (fig. 1) precedes Ps 66, which begins "May God have mercy on us and bless us: may he cause the light of his countenance to shine upon us [...]". The Saviour is shown enthroned with an open Gospel, in which one can discern a poorly preserved text from Matt 11:28: "Come to me, all who labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest". In the image, Jesus is flanked by two groups in poses of prayerful intercession with the Saviour. On the upper margin above the illumination an annotation, badly effaced from leafing, reads: "Inducing [or impelling] tribes and praising those granted mercy by the grace of God and who for this inces-

<sup>5</sup> Popova 1972.

<sup>6</sup> See, for example, Stichel 2007, 160–167; Smirnova 2016; Preobrazhensky 2017. Note Ekaterina Gladysheva's unpublished essays on the links between marginal miniatures and exegetical annotations in the margins.





FIG. 1. MS Moscow, Hist. Mus., Chlud. 3 (14<sup>th</sup> cent.), f. 115<sup>r</sup> (detail): Christ teaching the nations.  
Image reproduced by permission of the State Historical Museum, Moscow.

santly call upon God”<sup>7</sup> This slightly extended quotation from a Psalter commentary functions as a lection and people’s prayer to God.<sup>8</sup>

From an iconographical point of view, the scene is a composition with a purely local Novgorodian tenor. Such representations of the enthroned Jesus with the fingers of his right hand pointing at the text of the open Gospel have reached us only within the framework of the Novgorodian art tradition, which may have derived from the lost cultural stratum of eleventh-century Kievan culture.

<sup>7</sup> My translation of Оущенье языкъ и похваленье техъ же яко помиловани быша блг(с)тию Биею. Сего ради вопиють къ Бу беспрестани (“Oushchenie iazyk i pokhvalenie tekhn zhe iako pomilovani bysha blg(s)tiuu Bgieiu. Sego radi vopiiut k Bu besprestani”).

<sup>8</sup> For the commentary, see Dujčev 1968, 210.



FIG. 2. MS Moscow, Hist. Mus., Chlud. 3 (14<sup>th</sup> cent.), f. 172<sup>r</sup> (detail): Enthroned Christ with seraphim. Image reproduced by permission of the State Historical Museum, Moscow.

Those representations include above all the huge (242 x 148 cm) eleventh-century icon *Saviour in a Golden Riza* from the Saint Sophia Cathedral of Novgorod (fig. 7).<sup>9</sup> Other examples are two icons more modest in size: one commissioned by Archbishop Moisei of Novgorod in 1337, the other by either the retired Archbishop Moisei of Novgorod or his acting successor Alexei in 1362 (figs. 8a and 8b).<sup>10</sup> Both icons of the fourteenth century have a new asymmetrical composition of the figures with a predominantly diagonal compositional line, as in the miniature under review. All three icons have different texts written in the open Gospels. The text in the illumination in the Simonov Psalter stresses the tone of compassion, consolation and mercy that is

<sup>9</sup> Tolstaia 2007, 192–197. This icon was brought to the Dormition Cathedral of the Moscow Kremlin in the sixteenth century and repainted in the seventeenth, with the old iconography preserved.

<sup>10</sup> See Smirnova 2009 and Tsarevskaja 2006. The 1337 icon found its way to the Annunciation Cathedral of the Moscow Kremlin in the sixteenth century.



FIG. 3. MS Moscow, Hist. Mus., Chlud. 3 (14<sup>th</sup> cent.), f. 178<sup>r</sup> (detail): Christ and *iazyk*. Image reproduced by permission of the State Historical Museum, Moscow.

generally characteristic of Psalter imagery. This text was not typical of Russian works of the fourteenth century, but it became popular in fifteenth-century icon painting.<sup>11</sup>

In the miniature in the Simonov Psalter, the ease of the overall design, numerous compositional diagonals, accentuated gestures and a slightly asymmetrical structure convey the theme of private conversation and communication.

The next image that we tend to connect with the same broad theme of Christian education and, more specifically, with the image of Christ, is the miniature at the beginning of Ps 92 (fig. 2). The Saviour is seated on the throne with a high footstool under a red ciborium. Large red seraphim are on the two sides of the throne. The right hand of Jesus is raised high and slightly turned aside in the oratory gesture, and with

<sup>11</sup> Examples include an early fifteenth-century *piadnitsa* from the P.I. Sevastianov collection in the Tretyakov Gallery (Antonova & Mniova 1963, no. 22) and a central icon of the Deesis in the iconostasis of the Trinity Cathedral of the Trinity Monastery of St Sergios, ca. 1425 (Ostashenko 2005, 284–285).



FIG. 4. MS Moscow, Hist. Mus., Chlud. 3 (14<sup>th</sup> cent.), f. 242<sup>r</sup> (detail): Christ and man. Image reproduced by permission of the State Historical Museum, Moscow.



the left He is holding a book or scroll on His knee. Although the miniature cites no exegetical text, its very structure is fully associated with Ps 92: "The Lord reigns; he is robed in majesty; the Lord is robed, he is girded with strength. Yea, the world is established; it shall never be moved". The opening lines of the commentary on the same Psalm cited in the Bologna Psalter expound the same theme: "Christ reigned before all times and took flesh after trampling over death and He is risen from the dead".<sup>12</sup>

The prefatory miniature to Ps 92 differs from the other ones discussed here. The motif of intercession through Christ for humanity is absent in this image, where Jesus is depicted alone in majesty and glory without any attending faithful in prayer. Nevertheless, in its fundamental message this miniature is similar to the other compositions under review: it glorifies Christ. Although prayerful bystanders are not depicted in the miniature itself, their role has passed onto the reader who is him/herself in an attitude of reverent prayer before the image of Christ as s/he holds the book open and contemplates this folio.

Still another miniature from among those singled out here is placed before Ps 98, which opens as follows: "The Lord reigns; let the peoples tremble! He sits enthroned upon the cherubim; let the earth quake! The Lord is great in Zion; he is exalted over all the peoples. Let them praise thy great and terrible name!" (fig. 3). Verse 5 goes on to say: "Extol the Lord our God; worship at his footstool! Holy is He!" The illumination continues the theme of God's sermon to the 'peoples' (or 'tribes, nations'). Christ seated on the backless throne is raising his right hand, with two fingers raised in blessing, and in his left hand he holds a folded red scroll. The throne is on a small arcature with cherubim on the sides. A youth robed in long clothes lies prostrate at the footstool. There is an explicatory inscription next to his figure: *язык (iazыk)* or 'people' (i.e., one of the peoples to be initiated). The inscription reads: "This is the image of the Kingdom of God and the summons of the faithful and their being lead to the Kingdom of God".<sup>13</sup> Here we have yet another variety of the image of the enthroned Saviour, one stressing the relationship between the image and the earthly world of worshippers.

Of course, psalm illuminations frequently feature the worship of the enthroned Christ. One example is the miniature to Ps 21:28 ("and all the kindreds of the nations shall worship before thee") in a Greek Psalter from 1075, which depicts four worshippers in multi-coloured clothes but has lost the image of Christ himself (MS Sinait. gr. 48,

<sup>12</sup> My translation of the Bologna Psalter's *Прежде всехъ оубо векъ црствоваа же Хъ, и обаче възрися плътию, поправъ смръть, и възкрсъ из мрътвыхъ* ("Prezhde vsekx oubo vek tsrstvo-vaa zhe Ch, i obache vtsrisia pltiuu, poprav smrt, i vskres iz mrtvykh"), cited from Dujčev 1968, 306.

<sup>13</sup> My translation of *Се являеть ц(с)ръство Х(с)во и званье вернымъ въведение* ("Se iavliaet ts(s)rstvo Ch(s)vo i zvanie vernym i vvednie").



FIG. 5. MS Moscow, Hist. Mus., Chlud. 3 (14<sup>th</sup> cent.), f. 246<sup>r</sup> (detail): King David and the Mother of God and Child. Image reproduced by permission of the State Historical Museum, Moscow.

f. 24<sup>r</sup>).<sup>14</sup> As Alexandr Preobrazhensky has shown, the iconographical formula with either a worshipper or a votive inscription at the footstool of the enthroned Saviour was of tremendous importance in Christian culture.<sup>15</sup> The Simonov Psalter miniature under review provides a distinct commentary on ‘the summons of the faithful’ and the designation of the genuflecting figure as a *iazyk*, that is: a ‘people’ or representative of a tribe or nation whose community adopted Christian enlightenment.

<sup>14</sup> Weitzmann 1973, 113.

<sup>15</sup> Preobrazhensky 2007.

Two miniatures illustrating divine presence in a human being and the Incarnation merit special attention. The first precedes Ps 123:1–4, which reads: “If it had not been the LORD who was on our side, [...] when men rose up against us, then they had swallowed us up quick, when their wrath was kindled against us; then the waters had overwhelmed us [...]” (fig. 4). The same idea is expressed in a more straightforward way in patristic exegesis of the Psalter and in the text, which can be traced to those commentaries, above the miniature itself: “If Christ were not present in man, the latter would have been a nobody”.<sup>16</sup>

Slightly turned to the left, Christ is standing on a small footstool resting on an arcature. He has a folded scroll in His left hand, His right hand outstretched towards a youth who is depicted as if bending the knees slightly at the same time hovering, as it were, in the air. The youth has a halo over his head, and Christ is laying His right hand on the halo. Christ is gazing into the distance, as if slightly above the head of the youth, while the latter is regarding the Saviour with faithful eyes. In an expressive way, the relationship between these two images depicted in the miniature brings to mind that between Christ and Adam in the scenes of the Descent into Hell. It was described by St Epiphanius of Cyprus in his homily on Holy Saturday, when the Saviour says to Adam: “Creation of mine, arise [...] For you are present in me, and I am present in you, you and I are one and indivisible [...]”.<sup>17</sup>

The second miniature of this conceptual pair of images is placed before Ps 131 opening famously with: “O Lord, remember David, and all his meekness” (fig. 5). The illumination interprets the theme of the Incarnation and the human nature of the Saviour. The Mother of God is depicted seated frontally on the red pillow of the throne under a high ciborium. Jesus is sitting rather high on her left arm. He is shown upright, neither embracing the Mother of God nor touching her with his cheek: this allows us to categorize the image of the two figures as one of the Virgin Hodegetria type. Jesus has a folded scroll in His left hand and is stretching His right hand out in blessing. In turn the Mother of God is pointing at Christ with the raised fingers of her right hand before her bosom. It is noteworthy that Christ is depicted as an adolescent rather than a baby. The Prophet David with a royal crown is portrayed left of the image of the Mother of God and Child. Both his hands are outstretched in prayerful intercession.

Gestures play a tremendous role in this composition, holding the scene together and revealing its meaning. David is extending his hands to the Mother of God and

<sup>16</sup> My translation of *Аще не бы Хс стоялъ въ чавце, ни въ что же бы вменимъ* (“*Ashche ne by Chs stoial v chlvte, ni v chto zhe by vmenim*”). For the patristic commentaries, see Dujčev 1968, 419.

<sup>17</sup> My translation of *Създание мое, въскресни [...]* *Ты бы во мне и аз в тебе, един и неразделим есмь образ [...]* (“*Szdanie moie, vskresni [...]* *Ty by vo mne i az v tebe, edin i nerazdelim esmy obraz [...]*”), cited from Porfiriev 1890, 226–227.



Jesus, the Mother of God is pointing at Jesus with Her right hand, carrying on David's gesture, and Jesus returns it by blessing David. The composition reminds us of the inherent ties between the characters: the Mother of God, who descended 'from the tribe of David', was of human descent and thus responsible for the human nature of the Saviour.

The inscriptions in this miniature have survived in different conditions. Those naming the Mother of God and Christ are black and apparently repainted. The inscription with David's name is an old one, done in pale brown ink, as is the lengthy text above the miniature: "For Christ comes from him in flesh. He himself said that he comes from David. 'Learn from me as I am meek and have a humble heart' (Matt 11:29). David, too, was meek [...]. Christ came from the Virgin Mother of God."<sup>18</sup> It is an abbreviated quotation from a more extended passage from the commentaries on the margins of the Bologna Psalter.<sup>19</sup>

## 2.2 Overview

Together with the explicatory texts attached to them, the five miniatures analyzed above all relate to key postulates of the Christian doctrine: (1) the Christian enlightenment of the peoples, (2) the incarnation of Christ and the majesty of His divine image, (3) the summons of the faithful and their future entry in the kingdom of God, (4) the existence of divine nature in humans, and (5) the hypostatic union.

The ideas of Christian instruction and enlightenment are implicitly present in several other illuminations in the Simonov Psalter. As examples I mention two of them, which illustrate, as it were, the very process of enlightenment. In the miniature to Ps 95, David and an old man are represented (f. 175<sup>r</sup>). David is pointing at the ciborium, in accordance with the accompanying note: "he is telling about the church to new peoples, that is: tribes".<sup>20</sup> The illumination to Ps 150 shows King David with his psaltery and two musicians with their instruments (f. 268<sup>r</sup>). Playing them, the musicians praise the Lord, while the inscription reads: "Know one God, the Holy Trinity".<sup>21</sup>

<sup>18</sup> My partial translation of Яко от него по плоти. Самъ бо ре(ч)ся от Двда. Навыкнете от мене яко крото(к) есть и смирен срдцм. Бяше же и Двдъ кротокъ. Клят бо ся и не раскается. Поставъ Завет свои Двдвдв. Глтъ же Двоу Бцю из нея же ХС ("Iako ot nego po ploti. Sam bo re(ch)sia ot Dvda. Navyknete ot mene iako krito(k) est i smeren srdsim. Biashe zhe i Dvd krotok. Kliat bo sia i ne raskaetsia. Postavl Zavet svoi Dvdvi. Glt zhe Dvou Btsiu iz neia zhe ChS").

<sup>19</sup> Dujčev 1968, 428.

<sup>20</sup> My translation of сказаеъ црковъ новымъ людемъ рекше языкомъ ("skazaet tsrkov novym liudem rekshe iazykom").

<sup>21</sup> My translation of Единого разумеите Бра Троицу стую ("Edinogo razumeite Ba Trtsiu stii").



FIG. 6. MS St Petersburg, RNB, F. n. I. 5 (1056–1057 CE), f. 88<sup>v</sup> (detail): St Luke. Image reproduced by permission of the Russian State Library, St Petersburg.

### 3. SOURCES AND ORIGINS

Which iconographical prototypes guided the artist who painted the abovementioned images alongside the other miniaturists illuminating the Simonov Psalter? It is difficult to answer this question, as many of the diverse iconographical varieties of Byzantine Psalters have never been published. At the current stage of research one can suppose that earlier iconographical solutions focusing on Christian instruction and representing the Christian dogmas could have served as models.



FIG. 7. Dormition Cathedral of the Moscow Kremlin: Enthroned Christ (*Saviour in a Golden Riza*). Icon from the Saint Sophia Cathedral of Novgorod (11<sup>th</sup> century, repainted in the 17<sup>th</sup> century). Image reproduced by permission of the Museums of the Moscow Kremlin.



For example, there are certain parallels in iconography—but not in style—between two of the compositions discussed above and the miniatures of a Greek Psalter from the eleventh century, MS Vat. gr. 752.<sup>22</sup> The manuscript illumination cycle has copious representations of architecture, domical churches, gables, basilicas and thrones with ciboria before which the characters stand in poses of prayerful intercession. The illustration to Ps 66, which in the Simonov Psalter has the figures of the enthroned Christ and some bystanders and is accompanied by a note on the enlightenment of the peoples (fig. 1), shows in the Vatican manuscript a church with figures standing by, their hands raised in prayer (f. 203<sup>r</sup>).<sup>23</sup> In a sense, the miniatures of the two manuscripts are similar, save for the fact that in the Simonov Psalter the worshippers stand before Christ while in the older, Vatican one, before a church. The same can be said of the illustration to Ps 92. In the Simonov Psalter that image shows the enthroned Saviour with large red seraphim (fig. 2), while in the Vatican codex the Apostles Peter and Paul and the four evangelists, rather than the seraphim, are depicted sitting on benches on either side of the enthroned Christ (f. 292<sup>v</sup>).<sup>24</sup>

In line with such parallels, the compositional and iconographical patterns of at least some of the miniatures in the Simonov Psalter may have taken shape far earlier than the fourteenth century. Elsewhere I showed that the illustrations to the biblical Odes in the Simonov Psalter go back to Byzantine prototypes of the Macedonian period, and proposed that those models were used in an eleventh-century Russian Psalter that was most probably kept in the Saint Sophia Cathedral of Novgorod but did not survive.<sup>25</sup> A similar argument can be developed in relation to the five miniatures that are presented above and which stand out for their expressive Christian instruction and illustration of fundamental Christian dogmas. Those miniatures in the Simonov Psalter derive, like the illustrations to the biblical Odes, from an earlier prototype. That hypothetical Psalter might have been produced in Kiev, the capital of Rus', in the eleventh century, shortly after it had adopted Christianity in 988. Clarifying the main postulates of Christianity, such a Psalter would have been highly relevant to the development of Russian culture.

A copy of that hypothetical earlier Psalter could have been made for Novgorod. A parallel suggests itself with the Ostromir Gospels from 1056–1057, a manuscript made in Kiev for the Saint Sophia Cathedral of Novgorod (MS St Petersburg, RNB, F. n. I. 5): this codex evidently replicated a similar (lost) Gospel book of the Saint Sophia Cathedral of Kiev. Its miniatures show scrolls with Gospel texts descending

<sup>22</sup> DeWald 1942. See also Crostini & Peers 2016.

<sup>23</sup> DeWald 1942, pl. XXXVI.

<sup>24</sup> DeWald 1942, pl. XLI.

<sup>25</sup> Smirnova 2016.



FIG. 8A. Annunciation Cathedral of the Moscow Kremlin: Enthroned Christ (1337 CE). Image reproduced by permission of the Museums of the Moscow Kremlin.



FIG. 8B. Saint Sophia Cathedral of Novgorod: Enthroned Christ (1362 CE). Image reproduced by permission of the Novgorod Eparchy of the Russian Orthodox Church.

from heaven through the symbols of the evangelists and the evangelists themselves—St John and St Luke are especially expressive—enthusiastically receiving those scrolls (fig. 6).

#### 4. FINAL REMARKS

In its iconographical meaning and explicatory function the eleventh-century Psalter hypothesized above must have belonged—like the Ostromir Gospels still available today—to the same group of the earliest artefacts of Christian Rus' as the aforementioned icon *Saviour in a Golden Riza* (fig. 7) and its companion icon, the *Apostles Peter and Paul* (Novgorod Museum).<sup>26</sup>

Although the above artefacts of the eleventh century have survived in Novgorod, the iconographical concept of each of them was intended for the whole of the newly baptized Christian Rus'. That concept might have originated in Kiev, the capital of the state, which supposedly had the originals replicated in Novgorodian artefacts. Such works could hardly have survived in Kiev because all the icons, manuscripts and other movables kept in the churches of Kiev prior to the thirteenth century disappeared in the aftermath of the Tatar invasion in 1240 and subsequent historical upheavals.

Needless to say, the hypothetical eleventh-century book specimens (if any) that found reflection in the fourteenth-century Simonov Psalter miniatures underwent dramatic stylistic changes. Executed by the Simonov Psalter masters in the second quarter of the fourteenth century, the earlier prototypes, as well as their probable intermediary replicas, lost their possible erstwhile monumentality. In the surviving miniatures, that original monumentality gave way to pointedly expressive poses and gestures. The swiftly flowing design of the Simonov Psalter miniatures, the combination of long lines and small strokes and curling drapery were all traces of different stylistic stages reflected in these miniatures. They were evidently copied from later replicas of the thirteenth century rather than from the supposed prototypes of the eleventh century.

<sup>26</sup> For the latter icon, see [https://rusmuseumvrm.ru/data/collections/ikonopis/apostoli\\_petr\\_i\\_pavel\\_pervaya\\_tret\\_xiii\\_veka\\_drzh\\_2095/index.php?lang=en](https://rusmuseumvrm.ru/data/collections/ikonopis/apostoli_petr_i_pavel_pervaya_tret_xiii_veka_drzh_2095/index.php?lang=en) (accessed 15 June 2020).

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# THE ILLUMINATIONS OF THE ARABIC GOSPEL OF THE INFANCY IN THE LAURENTIAN LIBRARY, FLORENCE

MASSIMO BERNABÒ



THE LAURENTIAN *GOSPEL of the Infancy* is a paper codex that is part of a group of texts that provide colourful accounts of Jesus's early life (Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, cod. Orient. 387).<sup>1</sup> These texts are known collectively with different titles: *History of the Blessed Virgin Mary*, *Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew*, and *Protoevangelium of James*. Scholars claim that all of them can be drawn back to a lost fifth-century Syriac narrative as their common source. In 1697, H. Sike published an *Evangelium infantiae* that was the first known version of the story.<sup>2</sup>

The Florentine codex (ca. 155 x 115 mm) suffered much damage and the loss of a number of pages; six of them have been rewritten at a later date on Western paper. The codex was restored more than once over the centuries, so that its pages have four numberings, two of them ancient: one is in Syriac in the lower margin and one in Arabic in the upper left corner of pp. 1–11.<sup>3</sup> The codex was brought to Rome by the Antiochian Patriarch of the Syrians, Ignatios Ni'matallāh Aṣfar, a collector in Mardin (d. 1587); he sold the codex to the Stamperia Orientale Medicea; lastly, in 1771, it entered the Laurentian Library.

In its present state, fifty-four pages contain drawings that translate the narrative into images, so that the codex becomes the only existing witness to a pictorial recension of the text. We should take into account, however, that this Gospel is not a single, homogeneous writing, as it assembles four different texts. The four texts are:

1. A prologue with Zarādušt (Zoroaster) prophesying that a virgin will bear the Messiah in Bethlehem;

<sup>1</sup> A complete description of the codex is given in Bernabò et al. 2017. See also Bernabò 2017a. The text of the *Gospel of the Infancy* has been first translated into Italian by Provera 1973 and, more recently, by Voicu 2002. Other editions of the *Gospel of the Infancy*: Peeters 1914, Provera 1973, Genequand 1997, Craveri 1990, Moraldi 1999.

<sup>2</sup> A more recent edition is Budge 1899. See Provera 1973, 20 n. 17.

<sup>3</sup> Rao 2017, 309–311; Farina 2017, 315.

2. A collection of episodes on Jesus's childhood, which is the core and the longest section of the manuscript;
3. A selection of canonical episodes from the Ministry and Passion, which begins with the Raising of the Widow's Son at Nain and ends with the Pentecost;
4. In turn, the third section includes a few passages excerpted from the apocryphon known as the *Gospel of Nicodemus*.

The illustrated prologue (f. 2<sup>v</sup>) with the prophecy of Zarādušt is unique: it is not transmitted by any other known manuscript. The prophecy probably hints at a Nestorian background for the manuscript.<sup>4</sup> It follows a Qur'an *basmala*, that is, the invocation to God merciful and passionate. At the end of the codex, we find a *trisagion* (which is not by the hand that wrote the text, but by the hand that wrote the captions of the drawings), that is, a hymn to God repeated three times, starting with a *basmala* (f. 48<sup>v</sup>). The hymn hints, too, at a non-Chalcedonian, probably Jacobite, environment. Lastly, a colophon in Arabic gives us the name of the scribe, the place and date of writing of the codex (f. 48<sup>r</sup>):<sup>5</sup>

Here ends the *Book of the Infancy of Our Lord*, which is the tale of the manifestation of Our Lord Jesus, the Messiah; to His memory be the adoration and the praise. And on this date of the day of Saturday, the fourteenth day of Šubāt of the year 1610 of Alexander the Greek, it has been written by the slave who trusts in the mercy of his God and in the forgiveness of his sins, Ishāq Ibn Abī al-Farağ Ibn al-Qissīs al-Mutaṭabbib in Mardin, the well-guarded town. Praise and thanks be to God always. Amen.

تم ههنا بآ لاهوتنا اعني قصة ظهور  
سيدنا ايشوع المسيح لذكره السجود والتسبيح  
وذلك بتاريخ نهار السبت رابع عشر شباط  
من سنة الف وستماية وعشرة للاسكندر  
اليوناني وكتبه العبد الراجي رحم ربه  
ومغفره ذنبه اسحق بن ابي الفرج  
بن القسيس المتطبيب بماردين المحروسة  
والله الحمد والمثنة دائما امين

We learn that an Ishāq, the grandson of a priest (al-Qissīs), who was a doctor (al-Mutaṭabbib), copied the codex in Mardin in the year 1299 CE. The codex is pocket-size, so that we could infer that it is a portable book for the private reading of Ishāq. Remarkably, the title “Book of the Infancy of Our Lord” on the first line is written in Syriac.

The miracles of Jesus's bathwater and swaddling bands and the stories of his youth are referred to also in the Syriac *History of the Blessed Virgin Mary*, even though the Syriac *History* does not record a number of these events. For example, it does not record

<sup>4</sup> The prophecy mentions the metropolitan Jesus Ben Nun; he has been identified with Īshō'dad of Merv, the Nestorian bishop of Hadatha (Provera 1973, 20).

<sup>5</sup> Transcription by Margherita Farina. The English translation is mine.



FIG. 1. MS Firenze, Laur., cod. Orientali 387 (1299 CE), ff. 12<sup>v</sup>–13<sup>r</sup>: a woman possessed by a demon takes Jesus in her arms; a leprous woman washes herself in Jesus's bathwater. Image reproduced by permission of the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana.

the episode of the clothes stained by indigo in the workshop of the dyer Sālim, which Jesus changed back into the various colours customers had required.<sup>6</sup> The selection or harmony of episodes from the four canonical Gospels completes the story of Jesus's earthly life, so that the book can be read as a complete Gospel with a happy ending.

The drawings in the Florentine codex are only preliminary sketches.<sup>7</sup> On some pages, the figures are merely outlined, as in the episodes of the woman possessed by a demon who is healed when she takes Jesus in her arms, and the episode of the leprous woman washing herself in Jesus's bathwater (ff. 12<sup>v</sup> and 13<sup>r</sup>: fig. 1).<sup>8</sup>

The presence of a nimbus is not a symbol of sanctity: both the wicked and the holy are represented as having one. Oriental touches are shown alongside Mediterranean details, both Christian and classical. Most often, women wear clothes with arabesque ornaments and large trousers with ample folds, as the woman cleansed from leprosy who is looking at her face in a mirror (f. 24<sup>r</sup>: fig. 2).<sup>9</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Provera 1973, 110–113.

<sup>7</sup> They were all described by Rjedin (1894) and Baumstark (1911). See also Bernabò et al. 2017.

<sup>8</sup> Provera 1973, 82–83.

<sup>9</sup> Provera 1973, 102–105.



FIG. 2. MS Firenze, Laur., cod. Orientali 387 (1299 CE), ff. 23<sup>v</sup>-24<sup>r</sup>: a leprous woman looks at herself in a mirror. Image reproduced by permission of the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana.



FIG. 3. MS Firenze, Laur., cod. Orientali 387 (1299 CE), ff. 36<sup>v</sup>-37<sup>r</sup>: the wedding at Cana; Satan tempts Jesus in the wilderness. Image reproduced by permission of the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana.



FIG. 4. MS Firenze, Laur., cod. Orientali 387 (1299 CE), ff. 16<sup>v</sup>–17<sup>r</sup>: the story of the mule. Image reproduced by permission of the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana.

On the other hand, Mary is represented as a Roman *matrona*, dressed in a tunic or *paenula*, as seen in the scene of the wedding at Cana (f. 36<sup>v</sup>: fig. 3).<sup>10</sup> Men are clothed in Oriental trousers and turbans, like the men sitting and drinking at Cana, but, as a rule, Jesus wears a Roman tunic and mantle.

The demons which possess humans run away in the guise of birds, snakes, and dragons when they come into contact with Jesus's swaddling bands, as in the episode of the son of the imam (f. 9<sup>v</sup>: fig. 8 below). In the drawings illustrating episodes of the canonical Gospels, we meet puzzling images of demons: Satan tempting Jesus in the wilderness is depicted as a hybrid monster, with a long dragon tail (f. 37<sup>r</sup>: fig. 3).<sup>11</sup> Satan runs off gesturing like a comic actor wearing a costume and a huge mask: such a depiction of Satan is the distant progeny of the *servus currens* from late antique illustrations of comedies.<sup>12</sup>

On ff. 16<sup>v</sup>–17<sup>v</sup>, we find three drawings illustrating the story of the mule. The Gospel text tells that a woman has been cleansed miraculously from leprosy and has decided to accompany the holy family; near a village, the cleansed woman meets a group of three women, two sisters and their mother, who are coming back from a cemetery. They cry

<sup>10</sup> Provera 1973, 126–127.

<sup>11</sup> Provera 1973, 128–129.

<sup>12</sup> Bernabò 2004, 75–76; Bernabò 2004–2005, 29–31.





FIG. 5. MS Firenze, Laur., cod. Orientali 387 (1299 CE), ff. 17<sup>v</sup>–18<sup>r</sup>: the story of the mule; the wedding; the holy family and the two thieves. Image reproduced by permission of the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana.



FIG. 6. MS Firenze, Laur., cod. Orientali 387 (1299 CE), ff. 46<sup>v</sup>–47<sup>r</sup>: Ascension/Transfiguration. Image reproduced by permission of the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana.

and complain because their brother and son has been turned into a mule by the jealous women of the village (fig. 4).<sup>13</sup>

On f. 16<sup>v</sup>, the cleansed woman stands by the family and suggests having the child Jesus put on the mule. As a result of that action, the mule turns into a young man again. The cleansed woman and the brother decide to get married. In the following drawing on the next page, we see the wedding and the feast, with musicians playing (fig. 5). Note that the cleansed woman points her forefinger upward at her face: in the classical world, such a gesture means doubt, but in the context of a wedding scene, it is of course unexpected. The gesture is the same as that made by one of the thieves on the next page (f. 18<sup>r</sup>: fig. 5),<sup>14</sup> who now want to rob the family and will later be crucified together with Jesus; it makes no sense here either.

Canonical Scriptures are hardly interested in giving details of daily life; accordingly, in Byzantine art, scenes from the Scriptures use pictorial conventions of pose, gestures and general iconography, which sometimes can be understood as derived from Roman art. In contrast, apocrypha report more vivid episodes that may be translated into images; in particular, the text and the drawings in the *Gospel of the Infancy* tell a variety of everyday life stories. Children and especially women are the main characters in the narrative. In the sequence of the mule, a girl had made the decision by herself to move away from her village and follow the holy family; then, three women choose the girl as a wife for the young man. We meet women not only looking after children, but also looking at themselves in a mirror for checking their looks after having been healed from diseases (see fig. 2).<sup>15</sup>

The canonical scenes at the end of the codex were copied from a Lectionary or a Gospel book. In these scenes, we find surprising iconographical mistakes. In the Ascension scene, Jesus is carried up into heaven by two angels (f. 47<sup>r</sup>: fig. 6).<sup>16</sup> At the bottom, three apostles are painted, but the Gospel text states that all the apostles observed the miraculous event. An apostle seems to be kneeling, as he is swept away by the Ascension; the other two are pointing at the ascending Jesus in the *mandorla*. Evidently, the painter confused figures taken from a Transfiguration in his model and adapted them for the Ascension in this codex. In the traditional iconography of the Transfiguration, Moses and Elijah flank the *mandorla* with Jesus: in this codex, the prophets have become angels.

The search for the iconographical sources of the Florentine Gospel is no plain task. Sometimes, the illustrations hand down a visual narrative that counters the Ara-

<sup>13</sup> Provera 1973, 86–93.

<sup>14</sup> Provera 1973, 92–93.

<sup>15</sup> Provera 1973, 100–105. See Bernabò 2017a.

<sup>16</sup> Provera 1973, 138–139.





FIG. 7. MS Firenze, Laur., cod. Orientali 387 (1299 CE), ff. 8<sup>v</sup>–9<sup>r</sup>: the story of the imam's son.  
Image reproduced by permission of the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana.



FIG. 8. MS Firenze, Laur., cod. Orientali 387 (1299 CE), ff. 9<sup>v</sup>–10<sup>r</sup>: the story of the imam's son.  
Image reproduced by permission of the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana.



FIG. 9. MS Firenze, Laur., cod. Orientali 387 (1299 CE), ff. 40<sup>v</sup>–41<sup>r</sup>: Joseph of Arimathea fettered in a room. Image reproduced by permission of the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana.



FIG. 10. MS Firenze, Laur., cod. Orientali 387 (1299 CE), ff. 42<sup>v</sup>–43<sup>r</sup>: Jesus appears to Joseph of Arimathea. Image reproduced by permission of the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana.

bic text of the codex. A telling example is found in the sequence of the son of the imam (ff. 8<sup>v</sup> and 9<sup>v</sup>: figs. 7–8).<sup>17</sup> At the arrival of the holy family in an Egyptian village, the imam welcomes them; suddenly, an earthquake makes a venerated idol standing on the top of a column fall down to the ground and break (a recurrent story in the Lives of saints). The imam's son is possessed by a demon; he is depicted as a young man with a long moustache. As he grasps the swaddling bands of Jesus, the demon flies away in the guise of a crow. The point is that the Arabic text on this page claims that the imam's son is a three-year old baby; instead, in the *History of the Blessed Virgin Mary* found in the earlier Syriac version of the text, he is a thirty-year old man, which corresponds precisely to what he looks like in the scene. It is likely then that the illustration was originally invented for this earlier Syriac version of the *Gospel of the Infancy* and that it was copied from there without adaptation into the pages of this Arabic translation.

Folios 39<sup>v</sup>–43<sup>r</sup> contain a sequence of pictures that illustrate the passages excerpted from the apocryphal *Gospel of Nicodemus*.<sup>18</sup> On f. 41<sup>r</sup>, two soldiers are guarding the grave of Jesus, while Joseph of Arimathea is fettered in a room (fig. 9). Then, the text reads that Jesus looked “like the sun” when appearing to Joseph; accordingly, the young Jesus who appears to Joseph and releases him is beardless, having dismissed the beard he is always seen sporting in the scenes for the canonical episodes (f. 43<sup>r</sup>: fig. 10). These pictures for the *Gospel of Nicodemus* are uncommon; noteworthy details in the scene of the releasing of Joseph find no correspondence in the text of either the Florentine manuscript or any other version of the *Gospel of Nicodemus*.<sup>19</sup>

A brief note is necessary about the background to the making of this manuscript. In the thirteenth century, Mardin was a centre of manuscript production under the Turkish Artuqid dynasty. It was located in the middle of the area of Tur ‘Abdin, which was crowded with Christian monasteries. It seems that, after the sack of Baḡdād in 1258, the Christian community of the Jacobites in the area welcomed the Mongols and was spared thanks to Doguz Khatun, the Nestorian wife of Hūlagū, a grandson of Genghiz Khān. Tell-tale mistakes in the iconography and the sequence of the drawings of the codex urge us to suppose that Ishāq, the grandson of a priest, is unlikely to have been himself the painter of such a manuscript; rather, a professional painter must have been charged by him to fill the pages with preliminary sketches. Entrusting a professional painter with the job of illuminating a manuscript was a common practice even when

<sup>17</sup> Provera 1973, 74–79.

<sup>18</sup> Weitzmann 1961; Weitzmann 1975, 77–80; Kartsonis 1986. See also Provera 1973, 128–133.

<sup>19</sup> A discussion of the scenes following the *Gospel of Nicodemus* is found in Bernabò et al. 2017, 305–306.

books were written by monks.<sup>20</sup> Moreover, Ishāq must have died before the work of painting was accomplished, as only very few details of the scenes have been completed with colours. The painter could rely upon a number of illuminated models for his work: we know of many illuminated lectionaries from the region of Mardin, and the area must have also owned illuminated manuscripts of Syriac apocrypha from the late antique period, which have not come down to us.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>20</sup> A number of cases are mentioned in Bernabò 2017b.

<sup>21</sup> On lost illustrated apocrypha in early Syria, see Bernabò 1993 and 1996.



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# TECHNICAL EXEGESIS





# RE-CLASSIFYING THE PSEUDO-OIKOUMENIAN CATENA TYPES FOR PAUL'S EPISTLE TO THE GALATIANS<sup>\*</sup>

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AS FOR MANY other biblical books, the Byzantines composed not only commentaries, lexicons, homilies and other treatises on the Pauline Epistles, but also catenae. The Pauline catena tradition is a rich one, represented by some two hundred manuscripts. Among those, one finds both frame catenae and alternating catenae.<sup>1</sup> The oldest surviving catena manuscripts of Paul are as old as the ninth century, yet one may assume that Pauline catenae must have existed even earlier.

Manuscripts and testimonies invite us to believe that a catena was compiled by Oikoumenios, who lived in the sixth century.<sup>2</sup> This information is not necessarily correct. Another notion also circulates, stating that Oikoumenios wrote a commentary on the Pauline Epistles and that, along with those by John Chrysostom and Theodoret, that commentary was one of three main sources for the compiler of the first Pauline catena.<sup>3</sup> Therefore, the many catena manuscripts that contain excerpts attributed to Oikoumenios and identify in their title the entire compilation as a product of that same author (τοῦ Οἰκουμενίου) are today labelled *Pseudo-Oikoumenian*. This nomenclature follows the lead of Karl Staab.

In 1926, Staab published a watershed monograph on the Pauline catenae. His aim, as explained in the introduction, was to outline the history of Pauline exegesis in Byzantium and to develop criteria for distinguishing the catenae in question.<sup>4</sup> Among

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<sup>1</sup> On this terminology, see Houghton & Parker 2016, 8–10.

<sup>2</sup> Oikoumenios's originality, signaled by the first-person verbs, has been shown in comparison with other two famous Pauline catenae compilations, the *Typus Vaticanus* and that by Theophylact, who were repeating Oikoumenios's words, but in indirect speech. See Panella 2016, 126–127.

<sup>3</sup> Staab 1926, 191.

<sup>4</sup> Staab 1926, 5.

those criteria he considered, for example, the presence or absence of author attributions, the availability of information relating to the identity of the compiler, and the location of the main manuscript witnesses. Building on the work of his predecessors, who had introduced the standard classification of Pauline catenae, Staab proposed a further classification of one of those catenae, namely that of Ps.-Oikoumenios (CPG C 165).<sup>5</sup>

Staab classified the manuscripts of the Ps.-Oikoumenian catena into five types.<sup>6</sup> While providing information on the relevant catena manuscripts of all the Pauline epistles, he focused on the first three of them (Romans, 1 and 2 Corinthians). This focus relates to his assumption that he could retrieve a link between the Ps.-Oikoumenian catena types and the so-called *Typus Vaticanus* (and its main manuscript witness, *Vat. gr.* 762), which contains only those three Pauline epistles (CPG C 160).

In this paper, I supplement Staab's study by examining the Ps.-Oikoumenian catena tradition on Galatians. I aim to comment on his distinction of five Ps.-Oikoumenian types and to establish the relationships between the manuscripts more precisely.<sup>7</sup> In my study of the catena manuscripts, I focus on the presence or absence of the *corpus extravagantium* and of the *scholia Photiana*, a collection of excerpts added by the compiler and attributed to Photios.<sup>8</sup> The *corpus extravagantium* refers to unnumbered excerpts inserted into the catena when it was already complete, after its excerpts had been numbered.<sup>9</sup> There are thirty-eight such *extravagantia* in Galatians.

Upon examination, the catena witnesses revealed new elements that advance our knowledge of the connection between them beyond the one once proposed by Staab. This research allows me to propose a new grouping of the Ps.-Oikoumenian catena types for Galatians.

<sup>5</sup> Staab 1926, 93–99. The standard classification is reproduced in CPG C 160–C 168. For the Ps.-Oikoumenian catena, it simply points to the types identified by Staab (CPG C 165).

<sup>6</sup> Staab 1926, 99.

<sup>7</sup> This research builds on my dissertation (Panella 2018). Manuscripts mentioned by Staab but not taken into consideration in this study are: *Palat. gr.* 423 (GA 1968) and *Vat. gr.* 1270 (GA 621) (which do not contain Galatians) and *Patm.* 263 (which I was unable to consult). In sections 4.2 and 4.3 below, I move beyond Galatians.

<sup>8</sup> Staab 1926, 136.

<sup>9</sup> Staab 1926, 101. The additions can have a symbol in front of them, but that is not always the case. Exceptionally, they are in fact numbered (see *Ambros.* A 62 inf. in section 5.2 below).

1. THE PS.-OIKOUMENIAN 'NORMAL TYPE'<sup>10</sup>

In general, the manuscripts of the so-called 'normal type' are similar in terms of structure, features, text layout and incipit of the excerpts. Staab found in these manuscripts the majority of the witnesses of the Ps.-Oikoumenian catena tradition.<sup>11</sup> Another feature of this 'normal type' is that it presents the excerpts independently of one another, without any transitional phrases between them.

Although this type is considered as the normal type, the 'norm' in question was set by Staab in a fairly arbitrary manner, simply because he needed to start from somewhere. Nevertheless, his choice seems reasonable: among the five types, the 'normal type' offers a consistent numbering for all the excerpts—with the exception of some fragments that are preceded not by numbers but by symbols or abbreviated author names.<sup>12</sup> These are later additions that constitute the so-called *corpus extravagantium*, as explained above.

According to the presence or absence of such additions in the section on Gal 1 and the manner in which they are presented in the catena, I was able to identify four groups within the large number of manuscripts of the normal type. Some of these groups can be subdivided into subgroups.

The normal type catena on Gal 1 features only two excerpts belonging to the *corpus extravagantium*. The first one is a comment on the phrase "from the present evil age" in Gal 1:4 (ἐκ τοῦ ἐνεστώτος αἰῶνος πονηροῦ). Since in most of the manuscripts this excerpt follows the fragment with the number 10 (ι'), we may call it fragment 10a:<sup>13</sup>

Διὰ τοῦ εἰπεῖν 'ἐνεστώτος αἰῶνος πονηροῦ' ἔδειξεν ὅτι τὸ κακὸν οὐκ ἀγέννητον οὐδὲ αἰδιον, ἀλλὰ πρόσκαιρον.

By saying 'the present evil age' Paul has shown that evil is neither uncreated nor eternal, but contingent.

The second excerpt from the *corpus extravagantium* comments on the word 'Judaism' in Gal 1:13 (Ἰουδαϊσμῷ). Most of the manuscripts attribute it to Severian and position it after the twenty-fifth numbered fragment. Thus we can call it fragment 25a:<sup>14</sup>

Τίς χρεῖα τῆς ἐν τῷ Ἰουδαϊσμῷ ἀναστροφῆς, ἀλλ' ἵνα δείξῃ ὅτι οὐ προλήψει δουλεύει, ἀλλὰ ἀληθεῖα· οὐ γὰρ μισήσας τὸν νόμον ὑπέδραμε τὴν χάριν (ἐξεδίδκει γὰρ αὐτόν), ἀλλ' εὐρῶν τὸ τέλειον ἀπέστη τοῦ νόμου.

What is the need of (mentioning) his (earlier) life in Judaism, unless so as to show that he did not serve it (merely) as an anticipation, but in truth? For he did not spurn the law when he

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Staab 1926, 100–123.

<sup>11</sup> Staab 1926, 100.

<sup>12</sup> E.g. OIKOY for Oikoumenios and ΘΕΟΔ for Theodoret of Cyrrhus (Gal 4:2), ΓΕΝΝΑΔ for Gennadios of Constantinople (Gal 4:3).

<sup>13</sup> From Eusebios of Caesarea, ed. Staab 1933, 47.

<sup>14</sup> Published by Staab 1933, 299, among Severian's excerpts.

attained grace (for he did respect it); but (only) when he reached perfection he withdrew from the law.

Most likely, additional excerpts like these first appeared with or without a symbol in front of them (in order for them to be distinct from the original, numbered fragments) and were given a number in a later phase of transmission.<sup>15</sup> Observing the progression of the inclusion of these fragments in the manuscript tradition, I evince further criteria that help us to distinguish the manuscript groups within Staab's Ps.-Oikoumenian normal type. In what follows, I present these new groupings.

### 1.1 Normal Type: Group 1

This group consists of three subgroups.

- (1a) Fragment 10a has only a sign, while the sign preceding comment 25a is accompanied by the name of the presumed author (Σευηρ, for Severian). Manuscripts belonging to this subgroup are: *Laur. Conv. Soppr.* 191 (GA 619), *Laur. Plut.* 10. 7 (GA 1921), *Vat. gr.* 766 (GA 1917), *Ottob. gr.* 31 (GA 1946), *Vat. Pal. gr.* 10 (GA 1997), *Vat. Chigi R.* VIII. 55 (gr. 46) (GA 1951) and *Paris. Coislin* 28 (GA 1906). These manuscripts are dated between the tenth and the twelfth centuries and have the following characteristics in common. They have the layout of a frame catena and number the original excerpts from α' to ρ' (starting again from α' after ρ'). They all introduce Galatians with a *hypothesis*, a *prooimion* (except *Vat. gr.* 766), and a list of chapters of the book's contents (except *Chigi R.* VIII. 55).
- (1b) *Paris. Coislin* 30 (GA 1970) shares all the aforementioned characteristics but cuts excerpt 10 in two parts and combines the second part with excerpt 10a. This adjustment results in the following fragment (preceded not by a number but by a symbol): Οὕτως γὰρ καὶ ἡμεῖς εἰώθαμεν· ὅταν τι τῶν ἀδοκῆτων ἡμῖν συμβῇ, κακὴν φησιν ἡμέραν ἐποίησα. | Διὰ τοῦ εἰπεῖν 'ἐνεστῶτος αἰῶνος πονηροῦ' ἔδειξεν ὅτι τὸ κακὸν οὐκ ἀγέννητον οὐδὲ αἰδιον, ἀλλὰ πρόσκαιρον.<sup>16</sup> Excerpt 25a is preceded by Severian's name.
- (1c) MSS *Ambros.* C 295 inf. (GA 1981) and *Vat. Barb. gr.* 574 (GA 1986), from the eleventh and twelfth centuries respectively, merge excerpts 10 and 10a, and num-

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Staab 1926, 101 and 195.

<sup>16</sup> My translation: "So also is our custom: whenever something unexpected happens to one of us, he'll say that he had a bad day. By saying 'the present evil age' Paul has shown that evil is neither uncreated nor eternal, but contingent". For the full fragment 10, see Panella 2018, 233–234.

ber the resulting composition as 10 (1').<sup>17</sup> They introduce excerpt 25a with the author attribution (Σεσηριανοῦ), without any other sign.

### 1.2 *Normal Type: Group 2*

MSS *Laurent. Plut.* 9. 10 (GA 2007) and *Vat. gr.* 761 (GA 1914) form a second group. In these manuscripts, dated to the eleventh and twelfth centuries respectively, excerpts 10a and 25a have no sign at all in front of them. Neither manuscript numbers the exegetical fragments: it is difficult to say whether or not this phenomenon reveals a genealogical relationship or is just the fruit of coincidence. There are, indeed, some differences between these codices. *Vat. gr.* 761 omits the name of Severian from fragment 25a. While *Laurent. Plut.* 9. 10 is an alternating catena, *Vat. gr.* 761 is a frame one. The difference in *mise-en-page* may not be counted as very substantial.

### 1.3 *Normal Type: Group 3*

The manuscripts belonging to this group range from the eleventh to the fourteenth centuries. Six of them are frame catenae: *Paris. gr.* 222 (GA 1932), *Vat. Barb. gr.* 503 (GA 1952), *Paris. gr.* 224 (GA 1934), *Vat. gr.* 1430 (GA 622),<sup>18</sup> *Paris. Coislin* 217 (GA 1972), *Paris. gr.* 223 (GA 1933).<sup>19</sup> The two remaining ones are alternating catenae: *Paris. gr.* 218 (GA 607) and *Laurent. Plut.* 8. 19.<sup>20</sup> In these witnesses, the catena absorbed the two additional excerpts by assigning numbers to them. Although fragment 10a takes the number 11 (11') in all of the manuscripts in question,<sup>21</sup> excerpt 25a is numbered in three different ways (but always with the attribution to Severian):

(3a) MSS *Paris. gr.* 222 and *Barb. gr.* 503 give excerpt 25a the number 27 (κζ'), which is the one that is expected from the sequence. In this subgroup both excerpts 10a and 25a are fully integrated into the catena sequence of excerpts.

<sup>17</sup> Staab considered *Barb. gr.* 574 as a manuscript of the Ps.-Oikoumenian 'expanded type' (1926, 140–141).

<sup>18</sup> On *Vat. gr.* 1430, see also section 4 below.

<sup>19</sup> Staab considered *Paris. gr.* 223 as a manuscript of the Ps.-Oikoumenian 'expanded type', stating that it includes excerpts from Photios in the outer margins and incorporated into the main text (Staab 1926, 148–150). In fact, however, in the entire Pauline corpus only four marginal fragments are preceded by Photios's name (ff. 7<sup>r</sup>, 38<sup>v</sup>, 46<sup>r</sup> and 88<sup>v</sup>: always in the outer margin as a later addition). Staab mentioned two further fragments that he thought to be excerpts from Photios included in the main text of the catena. In the first case, there is no attribution to Photios (f. 34<sup>v</sup>). In the second case, there is indeed an excerpt—the only one in the whole Pauline corpus, as far as I can see—with Photios's name (f. 21<sup>v</sup>); yet it seems as if the copyist is struggling to put Photios's name in front of a sign, indicating that even this case may well be a later addition.

<sup>20</sup> Since the latter manuscript contains no biblical text, but only the catena, it does not have a GA number.

<sup>21</sup> The exception of *Laurent. Plut.* 8. 19 is discussed below (n. 24).

(3*b*) Some manuscripts present fragment 25a as number 26 (κς'). This is caused by the erroneous numbering of an earlier fragment: within this sub-group we can introduce a further distinction by looking at the numbering of fragment 22 of the original, numbered catena (which became the twenty-third fragment after the insertion of the *corpus extravagantium*):<sup>22</sup>

- (i) In *Paris. gr.* 218 fragment 22 has no number, although it starts on a new line (following strong punctuation at the end of the preceding excerpt) and opens with a capital letter.
- (ii) In *Vat. gr.* 1430, both fragment 22 (Βούλεται δείξαι...) and the preceding one are numbered as 22 (κβ').<sup>23</sup>
- (iii) One further witness, MS *Laurent. Plut.* 8. 19, might belong to the third sub-group, although fragment 10a is numbered as 10 (ι') and fragment 25a is not numbered at all.<sup>24</sup> This manuscript was copied not very carefully in at least three stages: first, the text was copied in brown ink, then the initials of the catena excerpts were added in red ink and, finally, the numbers of the excerpts were inserted (also in red ink). Because several initials had been forgotten in the rubrication phase, while others had already been written in brown ink simultaneously with the first stage of copying the text, the scribe who added the numbers skipped many excerpts, which remained unnumbered (e.g. fragment 2).<sup>25</sup> We may imagine that the scribe was operating on automatic pilot, mindlessly adding a number each time he saw a red initial. This automatic process of copy explains why excerpt 10a was numbered 10 (ι') instead of 11 (ια') and fragment 25a (preceded by Severian's name) not at all. Fragment 22

<sup>22</sup> This fragment comments on Gal 1:11 and reads Βούλεται δείξαι αὐτοῖς ὅτι οὐ παρὰ ἀνθρώπων, παρ' αὐτοῦ δὲ τοῦ Χριστοῦ παρέλαβεν τὸ κήρυγμα ("Paul wants to show that among the first he had heard the gospel be proclaimed to him, not by humans but by Christ"). For contextualization of the excerpt, see Panella 2018, 235.

<sup>23</sup> The excerpt κβ'. Οὐ διὰ τὸ κολακεῦσαι... (see Panella 2018, 235) is the last one on f. 104<sup>r</sup>, and fragment κβ'. Βούλεται δείξαι... is the first one on f. 104<sup>v</sup>. This duplication of the number can be explained in three ways: (a) the exemplar had exactly the same repeated numbers; (b) the exemplar did not have a number in front of the fragment Βούλεται δείξαι..., and the scribe deliberately added one; (c) the scribe forgot that he had already written κβ' on the previous page and repeated it on the following page.

<sup>24</sup> My reason for including *Laurent. Plut.* 8. 19 in 'normal type: group 3', despite the absence of a number in front of fragment 25a, is the fact that this MS presents a sign (instead of a number) in front of excerpt 22 (which is the only fragment in the entire section on Galatians where this happens). The codex shares this feature with *Paris. gr.* 218 and *Vat. gr.* 1430, which is a reason for me to classify all three of them in 'normal type: group 3'. Nonetheless, I acknowledge that within this group *Paris. gr.* 218 and *Vat. gr.* 1430 could constitute a subcategory by themselves.

<sup>25</sup> MS *Laurent. Plut.* 8. 19 furthermore lacks the biblical *keimena* (and therefore does not have a GA number).

is the only *hermēneia* on Galatians that has a sign in front of it instead of a number.

- (3c) MSS *Paris. gr.* 224, *Coislin* 217 and *Paris. gr.* 223 have an idiosyncratic way of numbering the excerpts: they start the numbering again at α' on every verso page, instead of going through to ρ' (100) and then starting over.<sup>26</sup> Since the layout of the page and the style of handwriting determine the number of excerpts on any given manuscript page, the numbering of excerpt 10a in the witnesses of this subgroup is variable: it is 15 (ιε') in *Paris. gr.* 224 and 13 (ιγ') in *Paris. gr.* 223 and its apograph *Coislin* 217.

#### 1.4 *Normal Type: Group 4*

Five manuscripts constitute the fourth group of the Ps.-Oikoumenian normal type: *Laurent. Plut.* 10. 19 (GA 1922), *Laurent. Plut.* 4. 1 (GA 454), *Laurent. Plut.* 10. 6 (GA 1920), *Sinait. gr.* 282 (GA 1879) and *Paris. Coislin* 95 (GA 1971). They are all frame catenae, except for *Coislin* 95, which is written in two columns.<sup>27</sup> As in the third group, these five codices present the *corpus extravagantium* as regular, numbered sections in the catena, but here excerpt 10a is number 10 (ι') and fragment 25a is number 22 (κβ'). The difference between these numbers and those in the third group is caused by the absence or transposition of a number of excerpts.<sup>28</sup> The attribution of excerpt 25a to Severian allows to distinguish two subgroups:

- (4a) MSS *Laurent. Plut.* 10. 19 and *Laurent. Plut.* 4. 1 attribute the fragment to Severian (Σεβηριανοῦ - κβ').  
 (4b) There is no attribution (but only the number κβ') in MSS *Laurent. Plut.* 10. 6, *Sinait. gr.* 282 and *Coislin* 95.

#### 1.5 *Final Summary*

The following table presents the data detailed above:

<sup>26</sup> This method may be compared with the system of references that we use today with footnotes that start from 1 on each new page.

<sup>27</sup> The inner, narrower column contains the biblical text, while the outer, wider one has the exegetical section.

<sup>28</sup> The fragments that are missing are the following: 10 (inc. Ἐδωκεν ἑαυτὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν), 12 (inc. Ἐνθυμηθεῖς διὰ τῶν εἰρημένων), 17 (inc. Μὴ γάρ μοι φησὶν εἴπης Πέτρον) and 24 (inc. Εἶτα ἐπειδὴ τὴν γενομένην αὐτῷ ἀπὸ Χριστοῦ ἀποκάλυψιν). Fragment 25 is misplaced (after 25a).



Shelf mark	GA	Date	Excerpt 10a	Excerpt 25a	Group
<i>Laurent. Conv. Soppr.</i> 191	619	984	sign <sup>29</sup>	sign–Σευηρια- νοῦ <sup>30</sup>	1a
<i>Laurent. Plut.</i> 10. 7	1921	XI	Sign	sign–Σευηριανού	1a
<i>Vat. gr.</i> 766	1917	XII	Sign	sign–Σευηριανού	1a
<i>Vat. Ottob. gr.</i> 31	1946	XI	Sign	sign–Σευηριανού	1a
<i>Vat. Pal. gr.</i> 10	1997	X	Sign	sign–Σευηριανού	1a
<i>Vat. Chigi R.</i> VIII. 55 (gr. 46)	1951	XII	Sign	sign–Σευηριανού	1a
<i>Paris. Coislin</i> 28	1906	1056	Sign	sign–Σευηριανού	1a
<i>Paris. Coislin</i> 30	1970	XII	sign (second half of 10 + 10a)	Σευηριανού	1b
<i>Ambros. C</i> 295 inf.	1981	XI	no sign (10 + 10a = ι')	Σευηριανού	1c
<i>Vat. Barb. gr.</i> 574	1986	XII	no sign (10 + 10a = ι')	Σευηριανού	1c
<i>Laurent. Plut.</i> 9. 10	2007	XI	no sign	Σευηριανού	2
<i>Vat. gr.</i> 761	1914	XII	no sign	no sign	2
<i>Paris. gr.</i> 222	1932	XI	ια'	κζ'–Σευηριανού	3a
<i>Vat. Barb. gr.</i> 503	1952	1323/4	ια'	κζ'–Σευηριανού	3a
<i>Paris. gr.</i> 218	607	XI	ια'	κζ'–Σευηριανού	3b (i)
<i>Vat. gr.</i> 1430	622	XII	ια'	κζ'–Σευηριανού	3b (ii)
<i>Laurent. Plut.</i> 8. 19	/	XII	ι'	Σευηριανού	3b (iii)
<i>Paris. gr.</i> 224	1934	XI	ια'	ιε'–Σευηριανού	3c
<i>Paris. Coislin</i> 217	1972	XIII	ια'	ιγ'–Σευηριανού	3c
<i>Paris. gr.</i> 223	1933	1045	ια'	ιγ'	3c
<i>Laurent. Plut.</i> 10. 19	1922	XIII	ι'	κβ'–Σευηριανού	4a
<i>Laurent. Plut.</i> 4. 1	454	X	ι'	κβ'–Σευηριανού	4a
<i>Laurent. Plut.</i> 10. 6	1920	X	ι'	κβ'	4b
<i>Sinait. gr.</i> 282	1879	XI	ι'	κβ'	4b
<i>Paris. Coislin</i> 95	1971	XII	ι'	κβ'	4b

<sup>29</sup> The sign used to introduce fragment 10a is an obelus-shaped sign ≈, identical in almost all the manuscripts that have a symbol.

<sup>30</sup> The sign used to introduce fragment 25a is shaped like a paragraphos in some manuscripts; the remaining codices add two vertical strokes to it.

## 2. THE PS.-OIKOUMENIAN 'EXPANDED TYPE'

A further group of manuscripts represent a type that Staab described as an expanded form of the Ps.-Oikoumenian catena.<sup>31</sup> These expansions consist of further excerpts attributed to Photios and added by the compiler. In the catena tradition on Galatians four such *scholia Photiana* (Staab's terminology) can be found in the section on Gal 1.<sup>32</sup> The catena manuscripts present them in two characteristic ways:<sup>33</sup>

- (1) A restricted number of manuscripts attribute them to Photios: *Vat. Pal. gr.* 204 (GA 1998), *Ambros.* D 541 inf. (GA 1982),<sup>34</sup> *Ven. Marc. gr. Z.* 33 (coll. 423) (GA 1923) and *Paris. gr.* 219 (GA 91).<sup>35</sup>
- (2) Intriguingly, other manuscripts only have a sign in front of these excerpts (without attribution), simply indicating that they are additional comments: *Paris. Coislin* 27 (GA 1905), *Vat. gr.* 765 (GA 1916) and *Ven. Marc. gr. Z.* 34 (coll. 349) (GA 1924).<sup>36</sup>

Picking up on the hypothesis—formulated by J. Hergenröther but hard to prove—that Photios might have composed a work on ten Pauline epistles, Staab suggested that next to his *Amphilochia* Photios had written a treatise with exegesis of the Pauline Epistles, perhaps even a commentary. He tried to reconstruct that commentary from the excerpts in the catenae, although he remained unsure about its scope.<sup>37</sup>

<sup>31</sup> Cf. Staab 1926, 132–160. He includes the manuscript *Ven. Marc. gr. Z.* 546 (coll. 786) (GA 617) from the tenth or eleventh century as a witnesses of this type (Staab 1926, 144–145, referring to a few additional comments found in sections other than Galatians). In fact it transmits only twenty percent of the exegetical section of the catena.

<sup>32</sup> They are all edited in Staab 1933, 604–605: on Gal 1:16 ('Ἡ οὕτως· οὐκ ἀπέκλινα εἰς ἄνεσιν [...] εἰς τὸ κήρυγμα ἔτρεχον), on Gal 1:17 (Οὐδὲ ἀνήλθον φησὶν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα [...] εὐηγγελιζόμεν καὶ ἐκήρυσσον), on Gal 1:21 ('Ἡ οὕτως· παρὰ Πέτρου οὐκ ἔμαθον [...] ἀπ' ἀνθρώπου ἔμαθον) and on Gal 1:24 ('Ἐδόξαζον ἐν ἐμοὶ τὸν θεόν· οὐχὶ τὸν δεῖνα [...] ἐμοὶ καὶ διδάξας τὸ κήρυγμα).

<sup>33</sup> Lamb (2016, 292) incorrectly lists most of the manuscripts of the following two groups (*Pal. gr.* 204, *Ambros.* D 541 inf., *Marc. gr. Z.* 33 (coll. 423), *Coislin* 27 and *Marc. gr. Z.* 34 (coll. 349)) as well as *Lond. BL Add.* 22734 (see n. 36 below) as witnesses of the 'abridged form', together with *Vat. gr.* 2062 (see section 5.2 below).

<sup>34</sup> As far as the section on Galatians is concerned, *Ambros.* D 541 inf. is an interesting manuscript. Quires κδ' (ff. 153–160) and κε' (ff. 161–168), covering the section 2 Cor 12:11–Gal 4:3 have been replaced. The catena on these pages is of the Ps.-Oikoumenian normal type (and not of the Ps.-Oikoumenian expanded type, as the remaining section of Galatians). To reflect this variety, one might propose to label the two quires as GA 1982<sup>s</sup>.

<sup>35</sup> MS *Paris. gr.* 219 was the primary exemplar of Donatus's printed edition of 1532. Subsequent manuscript copies of that edition are known: *Vat. gr.* 763 and *Vat. gr.* 764 (see Staab 1926, 152–153).

<sup>36</sup> MS *Lond. BL Add.* 22734 (GA 641) is absent from Staab's list and therefore also from my outline. As part of Soden's list, it could be assigned to this second sub-group (Soden 1902, 271: no. O<sup>16</sup>). MS *Marc. gr. Z.* 34 (coll. 349) was classified by Staab as belonging to the Ps.-Oikoumenian normal type.

<sup>37</sup> See Staab 1933, xl–xli (and Hergenröther 1869, III:90–92).

The Ps.-Oikoumenian expanded type derives from the normal type. This is shown by the fact that the unnumbered fragments of the normal type can be found unchanged in the expanded type, where they are supplemented with the excerpts from Photios. In the expanded type, however, the compiler started to link together excerpts (including the *scholia Photiana*) that relate to the same biblical verse with connectors such as ἢ οὕτως or ἄλλως.<sup>38</sup>

### 3. THE PS.-OIKOUMENIAN 'SECONDARY EXPANDED TYPE'<sup>39</sup>

Only three manuscripts are known to represent the secondary expanded type of the Ps.-Oikoumenian catena. All of them have the layout of an alternating catena and they are in fact copies of each other: *Marc. gr. Z.* 35 (coll. 343) (GA 1925) was copied from *Monac. gr.* 375 (GA 0142), which in turn is a copy of *Paris. Coislin* 26 (GA 056).<sup>40</sup>

The layout is determined by the compiler's technique. He grouped together some biblical verses and added an exegetical section after each string of verses. He used the blueprint of the Ps.-Oikoumenian normal type catena, but paraphrased it and inserted conjunctions and connectors to make the text flow more easily and to make it appear as if written by one single author.<sup>41</sup> This complicates our understanding of the original divisions of the text. In some passages, however, the individual excerpts are distinguishable through the presence of markers such as ἄλλος, καὶ ἄλλως, ἢ or ἢ οὕτως.

The compiler supplemented the Ps.-Oikoumenian text with additional fragments. Staab identified these as excerpts from John Chrysostom and Theodoret.<sup>42</sup> In the vast majority of cases Staab's analysis is correct, but further research shows that ten to fifteen percent of the excerpts were taken from other authors, such as Eusebios of Caesarea and Severian.<sup>43</sup>

### 4. THE PS.-OIKOUMENIAN 'SPECIAL TYPE' IN MS *VAT. GR.* 1430

MS *Vat. gr.* 1430 (GA 622) was presented by Staab as the only representative of a special type.<sup>44</sup> This codex is indeed peculiar in the sense that in its present state it transmits

<sup>38</sup> See the fragments on Gal 1:16 and 1:21 in n. 32 above.

<sup>39</sup> Cf. Staab 1926, 160–168.

<sup>40</sup> See Panella 2016, 121–122.

<sup>41</sup> Some of the *hermēneiai* are abridged and paraphrased to such an extent that it is difficult to recognize their being rooted in the Ps.-Oikoumenian tradition.

<sup>42</sup> Staab 1926, 160.

<sup>43</sup> See Panella 2018, 159–200.

<sup>44</sup> Staab 1926, 126–132.

parts of three Ps.-Oikoumenian catena types.<sup>45</sup> This is caused by the process of wear and tear of the manuscript over no less than four centuries, that resulted in constant additions to the original material.

#### 4.1 *The Main Section: the Normal Type Catena*

In the eleventh century, scribe A planned to write *Vat. gr.* 1430 in order to provide a frame catena to the Pauline and the Catholic Epistles. He therefore copied the biblical text of these epistles at the centre of the pages (ff. 1<sup>r</sup>–222<sup>v</sup> and 223<sup>r</sup>–270<sup>v</sup> respectively). For reasons unknown to us, scribe B took over the writing of the quire consisting of ff. 231–238.<sup>46</sup> Scribe A also started to copy the exegetical catena, but stopped as soon as he completed f. 2<sup>r</sup>. From f. 2<sup>v</sup> onwards, scribe C continued this task and copied the exegetical section of the Pauline Epistles. These three scribes were contemporary, all operating in the eleventh century.<sup>47</sup>

The catena copied in this phase coincides with the normal type, specifically subgroup 3b (see n. 24 above).

#### 4.2 *Folios 49<sup>r</sup>–60<sup>v</sup>: the Secondary Expanded Type*

Soon after scribe C finished copying the catena in *Vat. gr.* 1430, the seventh quire, containing the section on 1 Cor 6:13–12:7, fell out. In the twelfth century, it was replaced with a new quire, of six sheets (ff. 49–60).<sup>48</sup> Both biblical text and commentary were copied by scribe D. The exegetical text that he supplemented still draws on a catena, but does not represent the normal type. Scribe D might not have had access to the original

<sup>45</sup> An expansion of the GA number would be worth considering in order to show this variety, as for example: GA 622, GA 622<sup>s1</sup> and GA 622<sup>s2</sup>.

<sup>46</sup> The precise relations between this quire (scribe B) and those copied by scribe A are uncertain (see <https://pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr/notices/cote/id/68061>, accessed 10 May 2020). Staab (1924, 302) stated that scribe B wrote two more quires (ff. 40–48 and 49–60), but this is difficult to prove. In the second case (ff. 49–60), the original quire is missing, as I note in section 4.2. My palaeographical study reveals that ff. 40<sup>r</sup>–48<sup>v</sup> were written by scribe A (biblical text) and scribe C (exegetical section). For example, the words *κήρυγμα* and *Ἑλλησι* (twice) on f. 40<sup>v</sup> are very similar to *κηρύγματος* and *Ἑλλήνες* on f. 39<sup>v</sup>, written by scribe C.

<sup>47</sup> The *mise-en-page* of the manuscript shows that the Catholic Epistles were meant to be completed by a catena because a wide space was left empty in the upper, lower and outer margins. However, no exegetical text was added. In the fourteenth or fifteenth century, another scribe copied exegesis into it, but only for the beginning of the Epistle of James (ff. 225<sup>v</sup>–227<sup>r</sup>) and the entire Epistle of Jude (ff. 268<sup>v</sup>–270<sup>v</sup>).

<sup>48</sup> A calculation of the lines of biblical text that were missing suggests that the original quire was of the same format, a senion made of six sheets of parchment, although for the rest the manuscript consists of regular quaternions.

catena model used by scribes A and C or may have chosen to leave it aside in favour of another exemplar.

The catena on ff. 49<sup>r</sup>–60<sup>v</sup> (on 1 Cor 6:13–12:7) consists of lengthy fragments, unlike the quick succession of many short excerpts in the normal type as witnessed in the other sections of MS *Vat. gr.* 1430. This disparity was already observed by Staab, who characterized the catena on ff. 49<sup>r</sup>–60<sup>v</sup> as the product of a compiler who strove to create a new text in order to offer a new *hermēneia* of the biblical text. This compiler was not very successful in this attempt, despite the fact that he was good at paraphrasing his source by abridging, fusing and completing its contents.<sup>49</sup> Staab's characterization corresponds to the evidence. One may in addition point out the elevated language of the catena of ff. 49<sup>r</sup>–60<sup>v</sup>.

Staab's presentation of this catena as a totally new compilation was not, however, correct. According to Staab, the catena on ff. 49<sup>r</sup>–60<sup>v</sup> bears no relation to any other known Ps.-Oikoumenian catena, but exhibits a strong influence from the *Typus Vaticanus* (CPG C 160).<sup>50</sup> However, the catena on 1 Cor 6:13–12:7 in fact represents the Ps.-Oikoumenian secondary expanded type. A comparison with the corresponding section in a manuscript of this type (such as *Monac. gr.* 375, ff. 173<sup>r</sup>–188<sup>r</sup>) demonstrates a word-for-word correspondence.

#### 4.3 *Another Interpolated Instance of the Expanded Type: ff. (1<sup>r-v</sup> and?) 8<sup>r-v</sup>*

A similar replacement of leaves happened to the first and last folio of the first quire of *Vat. gr.* 1430 (ff. 1 and 8). The outer bifolium of the first quire went astray probably in the twelfth century or perhaps later.<sup>51</sup> Both folios were replaced in the (fourteenth or) fifteenth century.<sup>52</sup> Today, the replacement of f. 1 is no longer available (it must have

<sup>49</sup> Staab 1926, 129: "Der Redaktor nahm das dort gebotene Material, hauptsächlich die umfangreichen Scholien, formte sie seinem Geschmack und seinem Zweck entsprechend, kürzte, zog zusammen und ergänzte wieder. Die Berührung mit dem Wortlaut der Quelle ist bald enger, bald loser, immer aber so, dass die Parallelität der Exegese noch klar hervortritt. [...] Wir haben also hier einen Autor vor uns, der noch selbständig zu gestalten wusste, aber seine Exegese auch dem Inhalt nach aus eigener Kraft heraus zu schaffen, hat er nicht vermocht. Er blieb in Abhängigkeit von seinen Quellen und steht damit unter dem allgemeinen Charakter der Exegese im byzantinischen Zeitalter. Seine Arbeit bleibt eine Kompilation".

<sup>50</sup> Staab compared samples from f. 49<sup>r</sup> with corresponding sections in *Vat. gr.* 762, a representative of the *Typus Vaticanus* for 1 Corinthians (1926, 128–132). His references to the folia of *Vat. gr.* 762 are incorrect: read f. 257<sup>v</sup> for "f. 258" (on Staab's p. 129), f. 258<sup>v</sup> for "f. 257<sup>v</sup>" (on p. 130) and f. 257<sup>v</sup> for "f. 258<sup>v</sup>" (on p. 131). For this part of the catena, see Cramer 1841, 108–231.

<sup>51</sup> The *terminus post quem* is the addition of ff. 49–60 in the twelfth century: if ff. 1 and 8 had already been missing then, they would have been replaced together with the other quire.

<sup>52</sup> Staab (1926, 126) proposed the fifteenth century, and I tend to side with him. A recent description, however, mentions the fourteenth or fifteenth century (<https://pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr/notices/>

contained Rom 1:1–12), but one might surmise that its text was of the same kind as the replacement of f. 8.<sup>53</sup>

The new f. 8<sup>r-v</sup> offers the text of the Ps.-Oikoumenian expanded type catena (Rom 3:27–4:11).<sup>54</sup>

##### 5. STAAB'S SO-CALLED 'MISCELLANEOUS EXCERPTS' FROM THE PS.-OIKOUMENIAN CATENA

At the end of his overview, Staab grouped a number of manuscripts under the general heading 'excerpts from the Oikoumenian type'.<sup>55</sup>

###### 5.1 *Variety*

Staab's characterization must not lead one into believing that the manuscripts treated in that section form a unity: they each present an individual selection of excerpts. Some of them can be linked to one of Staab's Ps.-Oikoumenian types,<sup>56</sup> others cannot (because there is not enough material to go on).<sup>57</sup> Each manuscript with excerpts reveals the specific, personal interests and needs of its compiler. Some detach particular excerpts from any biblical context and transmit them next to a Byzantine lexicon such as that of Zonaras (*Vat. gr.* 9, *Vat. gr.* 873 and *Vat. gr.* 875). Others combine excerpts from the Ps.-Oikoumenian catena with fragments of other provenance to form a new catena.<sup>58</sup>

An interesting such case is *Paris. gr.* 237 (GA 82) from the tenth century, one of the earliest manuscripts in the Ps.-Oikoumenian tradition.<sup>59</sup> Among the manuscripts

cote/id/68061, accessed 28 March 2020). The text of f. 8<sup>r-v</sup> seems to me the collaborative effort of two scribes (scribes E and F). This folio is preceded and followed by a blank folio, which is not numbered and can be ignored (see the Pinakes description).

<sup>53</sup> When Staab examined the manuscript, the new f. 1 was still there (1926, 126). It must have gone astray between the examination of the manuscript by Staab and when, sometime between 1960 and 1970, the only available images were taken (see <https://ntvmr.uni-muenster.de/>). Its today absence explains why no f. 1 is mentioned in the detailed description in Pinakes (see the previous note).

<sup>54</sup> See already Staab 1926, 127 (referring to *Vat. gr.* 763 and *Vat. gr.* 764, mentioned in n. 35 above).

<sup>55</sup> Staab 1926, 168–183.

<sup>56</sup> See n. 31 above on *Ven. Marc. gr.* Z. 546 (coll. 786).

<sup>57</sup> The section on Galatians in *Vat. gr.* 360 (GA 131) from the fourteenth century has only ten excerpts from the Ps.-Oikoumenian catena.

<sup>58</sup> For example, in codex *Paris. gr.* 101 (GA 468) only five out of fifty-five *hermēneiai* on Galatians originate in the Ps.-Oikoumenian tradition. While these five comments can inform us of its influence, they do not justify placing the manuscript in the Ps.-Oikoumenian tradition. The same applies to *Paris. gr.* 216 (GA 605), which could be called a mixed catena.

<sup>59</sup> Staab 1926, 180–181.

collected together by Staab in the group of ‘miscellaneous excerpts’, this codex is the only one that can be characterized as an abridged version of the Ps.-Oikoumenian normal type. It offers a representative sample (about twenty percent) of the numbered excerpts of the normal type and includes those of the *corpus extravagantium*, but none of those attributed to Photios. The passages have no number or attribution but are only accompanied by signs or ‘hooks’, as Staab called them. We do not know whether the scribe found the task of introducing a new numbering system too great a challenge, or whether he copied the manuscript from an earlier exemplar, which did not have numbers.

### 5.2 *Excerpts vs Earlier Stages*

Staab’s categorization is unfortunate from another perspective. Not all of the manuscripts included under the general heading ‘excerpts from the Oikoumenian type’ belong to this group. The fact that a manuscript contains only a few elements of the Ps.-Oikoumenian catena does not necessarily mean that it selected excerpts from that catena: it might also represent an earlier stage in the development of the catena tradition.

This possibility is confirmed by *Vat. gr.* 2062 (GA 627) from the tenth century.<sup>60</sup> Staab first saw this manuscript as the source of the unnumbered fragments in the normal type, but later revised this view and identified the contents as excerpts from the Ps.-Oikoumenian tradition and the *Typus Vaticanus* (represented by MSS *Vat. gr.* 762 (GA 1915) and *Vat. gr.* 692 (GA 1993)).<sup>61</sup> My study of the section on Galatians shows that *Vat. gr.* 2062 represents most but not all of the unnumbered fragments of the normal type. If it is a product of selection and excerption from the Ps.-Oikoumenian normal type, then it offers an early and therefore valuable testimony of such activity. Yet this leaves us wondering why only twenty-seven out of thirty-eight unnumbered *hermēneiai* on Galatians were selected. This thorny question can be avoided when one sides with Staab’s initial view and sees the manuscript not as an end product but an intermediary stage in the development of the Ps.-Oikoumenian catena tradition. The confrontation with another partial witness encourages us to give preference to that view.

That manuscript is the eleventh-century codex *Ambros.* A 62 inf. (GA 1980), which was also listed by Staab among the miscellaneous ‘excerpts’ from the Ps.-Oikoumenian

<sup>60</sup> See <https://pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr/notices/cote/68692/> (accessed 30 May 2020).

<sup>61</sup> Staab 1926, 169. This readjustment is presumably inspired by Staab’s determination to prove that the *Typus Vaticanus* is the most important catena on the Pauline Epistles and the head of the catena tradition (cf. 1926, 7: “Der wichtigste Typus von Katenenkommentaren”).



catena.<sup>62</sup> Lacking the *scholia Photiana* and most of the *corpus extravagantium*, the codex only has numbered excerpts. Some of them, however, in fact belong to the latter corpus. MS *Ambros. A 62 inf.* includes precisely those eleven (out of thirty-eight) *extravagantia* that *Vat. gr. 2062* does not have. Together, these two witnesses invite us to distinguish within the *corpus extravagantium* two sets of excerpts and to suggest that they successively penetrated the catena tradition, augmenting the original collection.

This allows us to perceive the Ps.-Oikoumenian normal type as the product of a three-stage development: (1) the initial compilation was made (the so-called *Urkatene*); (2) it was augmented with the eleven fragments found in *Ambros. A 62 inf.* (= *corpus extravagantium 1*); (3) the twenty-seven unnumbered fragments found in *Vat. gr. 2062* were added (= *corpus extravagantium 2*).

This process means that the text as transmitted in the eleventh-century *Ambros. A 62 inf.*, although not representing the initial compilation, is the earliest Ps.-Oikoumenian catena on Galatians currently known.

The Ambrosian manuscript is not the only witness to this state of the text. MS *Laurent. Plut. 10. 4* (GA 1919), also from the eleventh century, has the same principal structure and content as *Ambros. A 62 inf.*<sup>63</sup> In two ways, however, it is different: an alternating catena, *Laurent. Plut. 10. 4* is the product of a hand that copied the main body of the text and added the eleven supplementary excerpts on the margin (instead of integrating them in the main text). While *Ambros. A 62 inf.* numbers all the fragments continuously, *Laurent. Plut. 10. 4* does not have any numbers (but only a *diplē* in front of each *keimenon*). A third and fourth witness are *Paris. Coislin 202bis* (GA 94) and *Paris. Suppl. gr. 1264* (GA 2011).<sup>64</sup> They transmit the same text as *Ambros. A 62 inf.*, but in an abridged version. Each omits the same (parts of) excerpts as the other. The only difference between them is that *Paris. Suppl. gr. 1264* (thirteenth cent.) is an alternating catena that does not number the excerpts, while *Paris. Coislin 202bis* (twelfth cent.) is a frame catena that numbers the scholia, starting anew on every page.

## 6. CONCLUSIONS

The above analysis suggests that the Ps.-Oikoumenian normal type is the product of the addition of the *corpus extravagantium 2* to an earlier catena. That earlier catena, represented by *Ambros. A 62 inf.*, is itself a combination of the *corpus extravagantium 1* and the *Urkatene*. The latter has not been preserved in any known manuscript. These are

<sup>62</sup> Staab 1926, 109.

<sup>63</sup> The Florentine manuscript was classified as a witness of the 'normal type' by Staab (1926, 109), but this is unfortunate.

<sup>64</sup> Both manuscripts were assigned to the normal type by Staab (1926, 121).

the earliest stages in the development of the Ps-Oikoumenian catena tradition, which can be visualized as follows:

<i>Urkatene</i>			stage 1 (no MSS)
	+ <i>corpus extravagantium 1</i>		stage 2 ( <i>Ambros. A 62 inf.</i> )
		+ <i>corpus extravagantium 2</i>	stage 3 (= normal type)

All the other Ps.-Oikoumenian catenae seem to descend from the normal type and its variations: the expanded type added to the normal type fragments attributed to Photios, while the secondary expanded type is based on the normal type with the addition of the commentaries of Chrysostom and Theodoret.<sup>65</sup>

No Ps.-Oikoumenian 'special type' exists: *Vat. gr.* 1430 may be called a patchwork manuscript, transmitting in sequence sections from the normal, the expanded and the secondary expanded types. Staab's fifth and final group categorizes manuscripts that either have extracts from the Ps.-Oikoumenian catena or witness to their formation.

Each of the Ps.-Oikoumenian types is witnessed in early manuscripts, dated to the tenth century. It is therefore unnecessary to imagine that the extended and secondary extended types were compiled in chronological succession rather than occurring simultaneously. At any rate, the development of the Ps.-Oikoumenian catena on Paul must have started before the tenth century. If Photios is indeed the author of the Photian scholia, we have a *terminus post quem* in the late ninth century for the Ps.-Oikoumenian expanded type.

Pauline catenae must have remained useful and relevant in subsequent centuries. In the twelfth century, they were consulted by Theophylact of Ohrid and Euthymios Zygaenos and used as the basis for their compilations. Handwritten copies of the catenae continued to be made down to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, including at times from printed editions. For example, manuscripts such as *Vat. gr.* 763 and *Vat. gr.* 764 are copies of the first printed edition prepared by Donatus in the year 1532.<sup>66</sup>

Looking carefully at the manuscripts, I introduced a categorization of the Ps-Oikoumenian catena types of Galatians that refines that made by Staab. The proposed groupings should be of assistance to researchers involved in the study of the text of the manuscripts. In the future, I am planning to extend this categorization to manuscripts not listed by Staab. Further work also needs to be done on the origins of the two stages of the *corpus extravagantium*. In the meanwhile, one hopes to come across a witness of the *Urkatene*, so as to prove the theory of the three-stage development visualized above.

<sup>65</sup> The relations with the normal type can be difficult to identify: see n. 41 above.

<sup>66</sup> See n. 35 above.

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# CHAÎNES DE JEAN LE DROUNGAIRE SUR LES GRANDS PROPHÈTES, OU CHAÎNES PRO-SÉVÉRIENNES ?

LAURENCE VIANÈS



CET ARTICLE EXAMINE les quatre chaînes dites de Jean le Droungaire sur les Grands Prophètes. La datation et le milieu d'origine sont réévalués à neuf à partir du traitement réservé à Sévère d'Antioche : par là, on répond à Yonatan Moss qui s'est interrogé sur la survie des œuvres de Sévère en langue grecque<sup>1</sup>. Je commencerai par décrire ces chaînes. Puis je discuterai la question sévérienne dans son ensemble, avec sa solution classique et la nouvelle solution proposée par Moss. Finalement je défendrai l'hypothèse que les chaînes du Ps.-Droungarios sur les Grands Prophètes sont l'œuvre d'érudits pro-sévériens, et que d'autres chaînes pourraient être dans le même cas.

## 1. LES CHAÎNES DU PS.-DROUNGARIOS SUR LES QUATRE GRANDS PROPHÈTES

### 1.1 *Unité des quatre chaînes*

Les chaînes exégétiques dites « de Jean le Droungaire (Johannes Drungarius) » sont un ensemble de quatre compilations de commentaires patristiques sur Isaïe, Jérémie, Ézéchiël et Daniel (chaîne du type I)<sup>2</sup>. Elles se trouvent fréquemment dans les mêmes manuscrits, tout en circulant aussi chacune indépendamment. Sur Ézéchiël les deux meilleurs manuscrits, le Vatican, Ottob. gr. 452 et le Vatican, Chigi gr. 45 (R. VIII. 54), datent de la fin du X<sup>e</sup> siècle et du début du XI<sup>e</sup><sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Moss 2016. Tous mes remerciements vont à Barbara Crostini et à Reinhart Ceulemans pour l'organisation de la table ronde au congrès de Belgrade et pour leurs relectures inlassables et toujours avisées de cet article dont les idées et les insuffisances restent miennes, bien sûr.

<sup>2</sup> Faulhaber 1899, passim ; Devreese 1928, 1147–1158 (« chaîne de Jean ») ; Vianès 1997 ; Aussedat 2006a (« chaîne à auteurs multiples »). Voir aussi Aussedat 2009 et 2010. Ces chaînes ont donné lieu à des publications récentes : Cattaneo 2019 ; Valeriani 2004. Sur les chaînes en général : Mühlenberg 1989.

<sup>3</sup> Trois autres manuscrits se joignent à ceux-là pour former la base de l'édition donnée dans ma thèse de doctorat : Paris, Coislin 17, et deux abrégés de la chaîne : Milan, Ambr. E 46 sup. et Paris. gr. 174.

Faulhaber a montré dès 1899 que l'ensemble a dû être rédigé d'un seul jet. Il utilise deux types d'argument : la similitude de méthode entre les chaînes ; la cohérence que l'on observe entre chacune d'elles et son prologue.

### 1.1.1 *Similitude de méthode*

Les quatre chaînes montrent une même méthode. Elles utilisent systématiquement certains auteurs : ainsi, toutes comportent des scholies d'Apollinaire de Laodicée. Toutes, sauf celle sur Daniel, mettent à profit le commentaire de Théodoret de Cyr. Sur Ézéchiel et Daniel, elles citent Polychronios, auteur rare dont on ne connaît que des écrits sur ces prophètes et sur Job.

La parenté se manifeste surtout par une prédilection pour Cyrille d'Alexandrie et pour Sévère d'Antioche. Cela est d'autant plus remarquable qu'aucun des deux hommes n'avait consacré de commentaire aux prophètes, sauf Cyrille à Isaïe. Leurs fragments sont tirés d'œuvres diverses : commentaires sur les Évangiles, lettres, homélies et traités.

Le texte patristique s'avère recopié avec une stricte exactitude, quand on peut le comparer avec la tradition directe. Des coupes faites ici ou là sont dûment signalées par l'indication « et après quelques mots » (καὶ μετ' ὀλίγα). Quand plusieurs scholies commentent le même lemme biblique, leurs auteurs se succèdent selon un ordre bien défini, Sévère et Cyrille étant d'habitude parmi les premiers, Origène ou Théodoret de Cyr, parmi les derniers<sup>4</sup>.

Dans plusieurs des meilleurs manuscrits, les titres des scholies sont très complets : après le nom de l'auteur on mentionne son siège épiscopal le cas échéant – mais pas pour Théodoret ni pour Polychronios. Certains auteurs, toujours les mêmes – essentiellement Sévère, Cyrille, Chrysostome et les Cappadociens – ont droit à l'épithète « saint » ou même « très saint » ; et pour ceux-là, l'œuvre d'où l'on a extrait le fragment est mentionnée quand il ne s'agit pas d'un commentaire exégétique<sup>5</sup>.

Enfin, le système de renvoi entre le texte biblique et les scholies est homogène pour les quatre prophètes, du moins dans les témoins les plus anciens. La chaîne est disposée « en couronne ». Des lettres utilisées comme nombres, placées dans le texte biblique au début du lemme et au-dessus de la ligne d'écriture, fonctionnent comme appels de notes pour assurer le lien avec les scholies, qui sont placées dans les trois marges extérieures et affectées du même nombre. Arrivés à cent, les numéros reprennent à un. Plusieurs scholies peuvent partager le même numéro quand elles commentent le même lemme. Ce système est commun aux chaînes sur les Grands Prophètes, ce qui plaide

<sup>4</sup> La place d'Origène est cependant assez variable.

<sup>5</sup> Voir les exemples donnés dans la n. 38.

pour une origine commune<sup>6</sup>. Il ne s'agit pas d'un choix du copiste ni du commanditaire, car les mêmes manuscrits, quand ils portent la chaîne sur les Douze Petits Prophètes, la disposent de façon toute différente, sur trois colonnes dont l'une est consacrée au texte biblique, l'autre à Hésychios de Jérusalem, la troisième à Théodoret de Cyr.

### 1.1.2 *L'authenticité des prologues*

Quant aux prologues ils se ressemblent de façon si frappante que leur origine commune n'admet pas de discussion<sup>7</sup>. Mais justement, cela pourrait faire présumer qu'il s'agit de morceaux banals, circulant d'un manuscrit à l'autre. Le dernier point de l'argumentation de Faulhaber consiste donc à montrer que ces prologues sont authentiques, c'est-à-dire qu'ils ont bien été composés pour ces chaînes-là et non pour d'autres<sup>8</sup>.

D'abord, tous les prologues décrivent un système de renvoi entre texte biblique et scholies qui correspond entièrement à celui que je viens d'exposer et qui s'observe dans les plus anciens et meilleurs témoins manuscrits.

Ils ont à peu près les mêmes phrases pour s'excuser d'avoir inclus des auteurs non orthodoxes. Lorsqu'ensuite ils égrènent leurs noms, les quatre listes diffèrent, mais chacune concorde avec la chaîne à laquelle elle introduit. Par exemple le prologue à Isaïe déclare qu'on a été obligé d'utiliser les œuvres des hérétiques Origène, Eusèbe de Césarée, Théodore d'Héraclée, Eusèbe d'Émèse, Apollinaire, Théodoret de Cyr ; il fait aussi remarquer que le commentaire de Basile le Grand est d'authenticité contestée ; tous ces textes se trouvent effectivement dans la chaîne sur Isaïe. Le prologue à Ézéchiël, lui, mentionne comme hérétiques Origène, Théodoret, Polychronios, et dit qu'on a utilisé un texte anonyme en donnant à ses fragments le titre *allos*. Là encore, le contenu de la chaîne répond exactement à ces annonces.

<sup>6</sup> La description ci-dessus vaut pour les manuscrits Ottob. gr. 452 et Chigi gr. 45, ainsi que pour le fils de ce dernier et son petit-fils, respectivement le Vat. gr. 1153 (XII<sup>e</sup>-XIII<sup>e</sup> s.) et le Paris. gr. 159 (XIII<sup>e</sup> s.). De façon générale, on observe que les copistes confrontés à des chaînes marginales (ou « en couronne ») cherchent à reproduire leur modèle page pour page afin de s'épargner d'inextricables difficultés. Voir Vianès 2000, 84–85. D'autres systèmes de renvoi s'illustrent dans les exemplaires de la chaîne du type II sur Ézéchiël, laquelle est un abrégé de celle du Ps.-Droungarios : par les lettres de l'alphabet d'alpha jusqu'à oméga (Florence, Laur. Plut. 5. 9 (3/4 X<sup>e</sup> s.)) ; par les lettres de l'alphabet reprenant à alpha en haut de chaque page (Vat. gr. 347, XI<sup>e</sup> s.) ; par quelques mots du lemme biblique recopiés au début de la scholie (Florence, Laur. Plut. 11. 4, XI<sup>e</sup> s.). Le renvoi par des signes diacritiques comme astérisques et obèles est attesté ailleurs mais absent des chaînes sur Ézéchiël.

<sup>7</sup> Édition du texte des quatre prologues : Aussedat 2006b, 182–185 ; et précédemment chez Faulhaber 1899, 192–196. Traduction française par Dorival 1984a, 369–370. Dans le prologue à Daniel le caténiste déclare qu'il « conserve la même disposition que dans les précédents livres des prophètes », montrant par là que son œuvre portait bien sur plusieurs livres prophétiques.

<sup>8</sup> Faulhaber 1899, 190–202, spéc. 197–199.



En outre, les auteurs nommés comme hérétiques dans le prologue reçoivent un traitement distinct dans la chaîne : lorsque plusieurs scholies portent le même numéro, leurs scholies à eux sont rangées en dernier, après celles des autres commentateurs. Ainsi la défaveur exprimée par le prologue envers certains personnages se reflète dans l'ordre de préséance qui leur est appliqué ensuite.

De toutes ces observations, Faulhaber conclut que les quatre chaînes et leurs prologues forment une unité. Elles ont été constituées en même temps dans une seule entreprise éditoriale, par le ou les mêmes caténistes.

### 1.2 *Observations supplémentaires sur la chaîne sur Ézéchiel*

Mes recherches sur la chaîne sur Ézéchiel m'ont convaincue de la solidité des conclusions de Faulhaber, dont la rigueur méthodique avait d'ailleurs été saluée comme un grand progrès de la recherche<sup>9</sup>. Elles m'amènent à formuler quelques précisions supplémentaires.

À mon avis, la chaîne sur Ézéchiel a dû se constituer en deux étapes. Assez probablement en effet, il a existé une première compilation qui rassemblait les commentaires de Polychronios, de Théodoret de Cyr et d'Apollinaire de Laodicée<sup>10</sup>.

Dans la deuxième étape, qui est la plus importante, on a ajouté à ces trois auteurs les autres textes exégétiques que l'on a pu trouver. Dans le cas d'Ézéchiel, comme on n'a pas trouvé de commentaires continus dont les auteurs fussent reconnus comme orthodoxes (c'est ce que déclare le prologue sur un ton d'excuse), on a utilisé ceux d'Origène, ainsi qu'un commentaire anonyme comme il a été dit plus haut. Outre ces textes, ont été ajoutés des extraits de Sévère, d'autres auteurs alexandrins, et des Pères cappado-ciens.

En outre, ici ou là les caténistes ont pris la parole –au singulier, en disant « je », bien que l'ampleur de leur travail fasse plutôt penser à une œuvre collective– pour désapprouver telle ou telle exégèse, ou pour signaler qu'ils abrègent un passage. Ces phrases, si rares soient-elles, nous sont extrêmement précieuses, car elles nous permettent de définir celui qui tient alors la plume comme étant « le caténiste ». Or leur contenu concorde entièrement avec le reste des indices mis en lumière jusqu'ici. Certes il n'y a pas grand-chose à tirer des « et après quelques mots » (καὶ μετ' ὀλίγα)

<sup>9</sup> Vianès 1997.

<sup>10</sup> Voir Vianès 1997, I:55–63. La chaîne à trois auteurs pourrait s'être elle-même constituée en deux phases. Mais qu'elles soient deux ou une, cela se situe en amont du travail de compilation ultime que j'attribue aux pro-sévériens. Cela n'a donc pas d'incidence sur la question débattue ici. D'autre part, cette première chaîne n'est pas la même dont parle Faulhaber 1899, 202. Aux yeux de ce dernier les scholies anonymes découvertes et incorporées avec le titre *allos* par le caténiste auteur du prologue à Ézéchiel étaient en réalité une chaîne. Je pense pour ma part que cet « autre » (*allos*) est un auteur unique, dont le nom s'était perdu.

qui indiquent l'abrègement de la source, ni des prières finales<sup>11</sup>. En revanche, on trouve parfois à la fin d'une scholie des commentaires, en général désobligeants, qui nous révèlent que le caténiste n'accepte pas toutes les exégèses qu'il reproduit. Sans conteste c'est Polychronios qu'il contredit le plus souvent<sup>12</sup>. Il lui arrive aussi de donner un coup de patte à Apollinaire<sup>13</sup>. Or Polychronios est déclaré hérétique dans les prologues à Ézéchiël et Daniel, et Apollinaire dans celui à Isaïe. Là encore, l'accord entre chaîne et prologues se révèle total.

Ainsi, nos recherches amènent à considérer que la deuxième étape de constitution de la chaîne sur Ézéchiël, qui est l'étape principale, a abouti à mettre la chaîne assez exactement dans l'état où nous la trouvons dans nos manuscrits des X<sup>e</sup> et XI<sup>e</sup> s. Il n'y a pas de raison de supposer une troisième étape<sup>14</sup>. En effet il est démontré que tous les éléments ci-dessous sont contemporains :

- le prologue
- le système de renvoi du texte biblique aux scholies, qui implique aussi que la chaîne soit encadrante (« en couronne »)

<sup>11</sup> Celle qui termine Ézéchiël suit une scholie de Théodoret, mais n'appartient pas au commentaire de Théodoret. Elle est particulièrement longue. Les autres prières conclusives, plus brèves, se présentent syntaxiquement comme des prolongements de la dernière scholie citée ; ainsi sur Isaïe, quand le dernier auteur parle de contemplation divine, le caténiste ajoute : « laquelle contemplation Dieu veuille nous accorder [...] », puis une doxologie. Voir le ms. Chigi gr. 45 respectivement aux ff. 243<sup>r</sup>, 349<sup>r</sup>, 441<sup>v</sup> et 493<sup>v</sup> (texte chez Vianès 1997, I:16–18 et II:250–251).

<sup>12</sup> Du moins Polychronios est-il la principale cible dans les derniers chapitres d'Ézéchiël. Après sa scholie numérotée 1498 dans ma thèse (soit le n° 98 de la 15<sup>e</sup> centurie, sur Éz 36,23–25), le caténiste commente : « Polychronios a pris toute cette vision à nouveau à la lettre, conformément à ses choix précédents [...] » (Chigi gr. 45, f. 423<sup>r</sup>, éd. Vianès 1997, II:171a, ou Mai 1854, 120 sous le nom de Polychronios). Voir aussi les scholies n° 1542bis sur Éz 37,25 et 1608 sur Éz 40,5 (ms. Chigi gr. 45, ff. 425<sup>v</sup> et 430<sup>r</sup>, éd. Vianès 1997, II:188a–189a et 213a, ou Mai 1854, resp. 90 sous le nom d'Apollinaire et 122–123 sous le nom de Polychronios). Ce n'est cependant pas seulement dans cette partie d'Ézéchiël qu'on remarque de l'agressivité envers Polychronios, mais aussi par exemple au chapitre 7 de Daniel, lorsque celui-ci critique Apollinaire pour son exégèse de la onzième corne : « Polychronios : [...] Je m'étonne qu'Apollinaire ait pu s'opposer au témoignage si clair du sens historique, et se trouver contraint d'appliquer le texte à l'avènement de l'Antéchrist. < Le caténiste > : Mais l'interprétation que tu proposes, toi Polychronios, Eudoxios dit qu'elle fait partie des inepties de Porphyre ! » (éd. Mai 1825, 127).

<sup>13</sup> Ainsi à la fin de la scholie n° 1607 sur Éz 40,4 (Chigi gr. 45, f. 49<sup>v</sup>, éd. Vianès 1997, II:212a ou Mai 1854, 91b.19–25 καὶ ἀπλῶς εἰπεῖν etc.).

<sup>14</sup> Tout au plus existe-t-il une possibilité que dans la chaîne sur Ézéchiël, certaines des scholies anonymes aient été ajoutées après les autres. Une partie d'entre elles sont des gloses de type hexaplaire, dont il est bien difficile de dire si elles accompagnaient la chaîne dès l'origine. Sur le chapitre 13 d'Ézéchiël apparaît une série de scholies qui semblent avoir été dépourvues de nom d'auteur à l'origine (c'est-à-dire qu'elles n'étaient pas non plus intitulées *allos*) et dont certains éléments sont tirés des homélies d'Origène. Là aussi, on peut se trouver devant un accroissement secondaire de la chaîne. Ces modifications sont minimales.

- la présence des fragments de Polychronios, d'Apollinaire, de Théodoret, d'Origène, et ceux intitulés *allos*
- les prises de parole du caténiste, marquant un jugement sur Apollinaire ou Polychronios qui concorde visiblement avec le prologue
- les chaînes sur Isaïe, Jérémie et Daniel ; en effet il est établi depuis Faulhaber que les quatre chaînes sont contemporaines entre elles et avec leurs prologues ; par conséquent, est contemporain également tout ce que la chaîne sur Ézéchiel a de commun avec les trois autres, à savoir :
  - l'ordre dans lequel les auteurs se succèdent sur un même lemme biblique, les « hérétiques » venant en dernier
  - la présence de textes nombreux de Sévère, de Cyrille et des Cappadociens
  - le système cohérent pour nommer les auteurs et indiquer quand leurs fragments sont extraits d'œuvres non exégétiques<sup>15</sup>.

Nous sommes devant une unique entreprise éditoriale. De qui émane-t-elle ?

### 1.3 *Droungarios, un auteur fantomatique*

Faulhaber a attribué les quatre chaînes à un certain Jean le Droungaire. Il s'est fondé sur le titre que porte le Paris. gr. 159, en tête du prologue à Isaïe : « Prologue du très érudit et très noble seigneur Jean de la Droungaria sur le bienheureux Isaïe »<sup>16</sup>. Selon Faulhaber, ce « Jean de la Droungaria », inconnu par ailleurs, doit être un homme assumant la fonction militaire de droungaire : comme celle-ci est attestée à partir du VII<sup>e</sup> siècle, il aurait composé l'ensemble des quatre chaînes n'importe quand entre le VII<sup>e</sup> s. et le X<sup>e</sup> s., époque du plus ancien manuscrit<sup>17</sup>.

La proposition de Faulhaber est en réalité très fragile. Seul le prologue est attribué à « Jean de la Droungaria », sur la page inaugurale d'un seul des quatre prophètes, dans un seul des manuscrits. De plus, il est établi que le Paris. gr. 159 est une copie du Vat. gr. 1153-1154<sup>18</sup>. Or ce dernier ne comporte pas le titre πρόλογος [...] Ἰωάννου

<sup>15</sup> Voir Faulhaber 1899, 200-201.

<sup>16</sup> Paris. gr. 159, f. 81<sup>r</sup> : Πρόλογος τοῦ λογιωτάτου καὶ πανευγενεστάτου κυροῦ Ἰωάννου τοῦ τῆς Δρουγγαρίας εἰς τὸν μακάριον Ἰσαΐαν. Faulhaber signale que le ms. Barb. gr. 229 (*olim* VI. 6) contient des textes de Jean Zonaras désigné comme ancien grand droungaire (1899, 56 n. 2). Il s'agit bien de l'historien Jean Zonaras, qui vivait au XII<sup>e</sup> s., bien plus tard que le Ps.-Droungarios.

<sup>17</sup> Faulhaber pensait que la chaîne « de Droungarios » sur Isaïe utilisait comme source celle du prêtre André, contenue dans l'Ottob. gr. 7, et en tirait des conséquences pour la datation (1899, 57). Mais déjà dans son compte-rendu de Faulhaber, Hans Lietzmann a fait remarquer que des deux chaînes c'est plutôt celle « de Droungarios » qui semble être la chaîne-mère (1900, 925). Cela a été reconnu par Devreesse (1928, 1147-1148) et Mühlenberg (1989).

<sup>18</sup> Voir Faulhaber 1899, 56 et 191. D'après le stemma que j'ai établi pour la chaîne sur Ézéchiel, le Vat. gr. 1153-1154 serait lui-même fils du Chigi gr. 45 (Vianès 1997, I:v et 2000, 88). Mathilde Aussedat, travaillant sur la chaîne sur Jérémie, considère plutôt que ces deux manuscrits sont

τοῦ τῆς Δρουγγαρίας. Certes, en ce qui concerne Ézéchiel le Paris. gr. 159 a subi l'influence d'une autre branche de la tradition manuscrite<sup>19</sup>. Il pourrait l'avoir subie aussi pour Isaïe, et en avoir hérité ce titre. Au total, cependant, on ne doit pas s'appuyer trop là-dessus pour déterminer un milieu d'origine ou une datation<sup>20</sup>.

Dans la suite de cet article, je proposerai de reprendre ces questions sur de nouvelles bases, à partir d'une réflexion sur la présence massive de fragments de Sévère d'Antioche. Cependant comme il y a toujours des inconvénients à abandonner un nom devenu traditionnel, puisque depuis cent vingt ans on associe « Johannes Droungarius » à la chaîne du type I sur les quatre Grands Prophètes, je parlerai désormais de la « chaîne du Ps.-Droungarios ».

## 2. L'ORIGINE DES FRAGMENTS SÉVÉRIENS

### 2.1 *Dans les chaînes en général (hypothèse de Yonatan Moss)*

Dans un article récent, en effet, Yonatan Moss pose la question de la survie des œuvres de Sévère d'Antioche en langue grecque<sup>21</sup>. Comment se fait-il que des extraits aussi nombreux nous en soient parvenus, alors que l'empereur Justinien les a condamnées à la destruction en 536 et que, là où la loi était appliquée, le scribe qui recopiait ses œuvres s'exposait à avoir la main droite coupée ? En effet, Sévère (ca. 465–538) était l'homme le plus en vue du courant miaphysite, en pleine lutte contre le chalcédonisme ; la persécution des autorités se déchaîna sur lui et, après sa mort, sur son œuvre.

De ses traités théologiques les plus importants, il paraît assuré que des volumes ont été conservés pendant un siècle ou davantage. En effet, plusieurs ouvrages qui sont écrits dans le but de réfuter Sévère le citent abondamment<sup>22</sup>. Cependant la plupart des fragments grecs de Sévère que nous possédons sont exégétiques et ont été transmis par les chaînes, non seulement sur les quatre Grands Prophètes mais sur bien d'autres

frères (2006a, I:59 et 73 : elle appelle V ce manuscrit). Quoi qu'il en soit, le ms. Chigi ne mentionne pas Jean de la Droungaria.

<sup>19</sup> La filiation du Paris. gr. 159 est complexe : voir Vianès 1997, I:116–117.

<sup>20</sup> J'ai exposé ces raisons pour lesquelles il faut cesser d'attribuer la chaîne à Jean le Droungaire : Vianès 1997, I:21–22. Aussadat, dans son travail sur les chaînes sur Jérémie, en est d'accord (2006a, I:139–140).

<sup>21</sup> Moss 2016. Sur Sévère d'Antioche, voir la bibliographie récente suivante : Allen & Hayward 2004 ; Van Rompay 2008 ; Alpi 2009a, 2009b, 2011, 2012, 2015 ; Youssef 2014 et 2015 ; Gonnet 2015 ; d'Alton & Youssef 2016.

<sup>22</sup> Voir Moss 2016, 787–789 (et les notes). Kugener observe qu'une œuvre de Sévère au moins était conservée dans la bibliothèque du patriarcat de Constantinople en 681, et la même avec trois autres dans celle du siège de Rome (Kugener & Triffaux 1922, 768).

livres bibliques. Sévère n'avait pas écrit de commentaires bibliques, mais il raisonnait constamment à partir de l'Écriture Sainte. Des centaines de ces passages-là ont été insérés dans les compilations de commentaires : ils ont été extraits non seulement de ses écrits les plus célèbres, mais d'un corpus de ses œuvres complètes, semble-t-il, y compris de son abondante correspondance.

Qu'est-ce qui a pu motiver les compilateurs à se servir aussi massivement d'un auteur condamné pour hérésie ? Yonatan Moss examine ce qu'il appelle « the ecumenical solution » (« explication libérale » ou « de la tolérance » serait un terme adapté en français). Celle-ci, admise par ceux qui se sont occupés de chaînes exégétiques dans les dernières décennies, a été formulée au mieux par Gilles Dorival : « le genre caténal est indifférent à la notion d'orthodoxie »<sup>23</sup>. Robert Devreesse précisait : « Les premiers auteurs de chaînes [...] semblent n'avoir été remués par aucune des préoccupations christologiques des IV<sup>e</sup>-V<sup>e</sup> siècles. [...] Ils ne sont d'aucune école. [...] Nos auteurs appellent saint Jean Chrysostome « notre très saint Père », mais on trouve le même qualificatif attaché quelquefois au nom de Sévère ». Et de conclure : « On pourrait mettre au frontispice de nos chaînes, les mots de la lettre de Cyrille à Eulogios : les hérétiques ont quelquefois du bon »<sup>24</sup>.

Selon Moss cependant, ce caractère hospitalier et irénique du genre littéraire des chaînes pourrait suffire à expliquer la présence d'Origène, d'Apollinaire ou de quelques autres ; mais l'explication est insatisfaisante dans le cas des fragments de Sévère. On observe à son égard une attitude spéciale. Sur plusieurs livres bibliques, la proportion des fragments sévériens est énorme par rapport aux autres auteurs. En outre, l'homme n'est pas appelé simplement par son nom, comme ailleurs « d'Origène », ni par son nom suivi de son siège épiscopal, comme « d'Apollinaire évêque de Laodicée » : les fragments portent un long titre qui proclame sa sainteté et qui, très souvent, donne la référence précise de l'œuvre mise à contribution : « de saint Sévère archevêque d'Antioche, extrait du traité X / de l'homélie n° x / de la lettre à X. » La régularité du système de référence suppose un corpus déjà mis en ordre. Enfin, d'après Françoise Petit, l'introduction des fragments sévériens dans les chaînes sur l'Octateuque et les Règles s'est faite peu de temps après la mort de Sévère, elle-même survenue deux ans seulement après sa condamnation. Appeler « saint Sévère » celui qui fut parmi les hommes les plus controversés de son époque, et ce, dans des années où la bataille continuait de faire rage autour de son nom, ne peut pas être anodin. Ces observations amènent Moss à proposer une modification substantielle de l'« ecumenical solution » ou hypothèse de la tolérance. Après la constitution des chaînes, des partisans de Sévère

<sup>23</sup> Dorival 1984b, 119. Voir aussi Dorival 1984a ; Dorival 1985 ; Dorival 2018, 287-291.

<sup>24</sup> Devreesse 1928, 1093. Devreesse et d'autres qui citent cette phrase de Cyrille d'Alexandrie l'ont trouvée dans les quatre prologues des chaînes du Ps.-Droungarios qui font l'objet de cet article.

y auraient incorporé une masse de fragments sévériens. Ils auraient été mus par le désir de sauver l'œuvre de leur maître de la destruction qui la menaçait<sup>25</sup>.

Cette hypothèse s'appuie largement, comme il était indispensable, sur les travaux de Françoise Petit. Celle-ci, après avoir longuement hésité sur l'histoire textuelle des fragments sévériens sur l'Octateuque et les Règles, a conclu qu'ils n'étaient pas présents dans la chaîne d'origine mais qu'ils y avaient été insérés à date haute, dans l'une des toutes premières étapes de la transmission<sup>26</sup>. Elle insiste sur le fait qu'il s'agit d'une « introduction massive et délibérée » des fragments de Sévère, à un moment précis de l'histoire textuelle, plutôt que de façon progressive<sup>27</sup>. Il manquait cependant à l'explication de Françoise Petit de préciser dans quel sens cet acte pouvait être délibéré, c'est-à-dire, quelle pouvait bien être la motivation des copistes à agir ainsi. À cette question, Moss propose une réponse simple, très bien adaptée à rendre compte des indices textuels parvenus jusqu'à nous : ces copistes étaient tout simplement pro-sévériens.

Ce raisonnement emporte l'adhésion. De fait, on se trouve devant un paradoxe : plus on descend le temps, plus il y a de chances que les copistes aient été indifférents à la mauvaise réputation de Sévère, mais moins il est probable qu'ils aient possédé le corpus de ses œuvres complètes. Pour trouver du sens à dépouiller ce corpus et à l'introduire massivement dans les chaînes, le motif doit avoir été soit la curiosité philologique, soit un engagement en faveur du personnage et de ses idées. Mais pour une curiosité philologique dépassionnée, il faudrait une date suffisamment basse : il faudrait donc qu'un heureux hasard ait préservé de la persécution un exemplaire de ses œuvres complètes à travers un ou deux siècles au moins. Un tel hasard ne peut pas être complètement exclu. Mais le titre « du très saint Sévère » qui nous est parfois conservé plaide pour l'engagement en faveur de ses idées.

L'introduction des fragments de Sévère aurait donc été opérée par ses admirateurs, des membres de sa tendance théologique. Faut-il accepter le reste de la reconstruction historique de Moss, à savoir, que des copistes pro-sévériens auraient enrichi des chaînes exégétiques avec les œuvres de leur maître dans l'espoir qu'elles pourraient traverser ainsi la persécution chalcédonienne ?

<sup>25</sup> Moss 2016, 797-798 : « I propose that this massive project was in fact the work of *anti-Chalcedonian* editors ».

<sup>26</sup> L'insertion de Sévère serait « nettement postérieure à la rédaction des chaînes anciennes » (Petit 1999, xii n. 6 ; voir Moss 2016, 799 n. 42). Ce caractère tardif est cependant tout relatif ; Petit tient en effet pour une datation très haute du fonds caténique ancien, vers le milieu du V<sup>e</sup> siècle (1999, xi). Cependant, en 1991, elle écrivait que le supplément d'extraits de Sévère d'Antioche « a dû pénétrer assez tôt dans la tradition » (Petit 1991, xxii).

<sup>27</sup> Petit 1999, xii (n. 6).

## 2.2 *Dans les chaînes sur les Psaumes (hypothèse de Marcel Richard)*

Une autre hypothèse a été avancée par Marcel Richard<sup>28</sup>. Elle repose aussi sur la conviction que le premier copiste qui a inscrit dans les manuscrits le titre « Du très saint Sévère » se déclarait par là miaphysite ; mais c'est la situation chronologique de ce copiste par rapport aux origines de la chaîne qui est appréciée différemment. En effet, l'abbé Richard, reconstruisant l'une des chaînes les plus anciennes sur les Psaumes, a soutenu que ses auteurs étaient eux-mêmes des miaphysites<sup>29</sup>. Ceux-ci donc, au lieu d'intervenir sur des textes compilés par d'autres pour les enrichir, seraient à l'origine de la compilation elle-même<sup>30</sup>. Dans l'article qu'il a consacré à cela, il met surtout en avant le fait que cette chaîne porte un grand intérêt aux œuvres de Sévère, puisqu'elle en donne de très nombreux extraits. Deux autres arguments sont suggérés : la prédominance des auteurs alexandrins, et le fait que Sévère, là encore, est déclaré « très saint »<sup>31</sup>.

L'argumentation de l'abbé Richard pouvait laisser croire qu'elle reposait sur la constatation de préférences dogmatiques (anti-chalcédoniennes) ou à tout le moins exégétiques (une tendance alexandrine allégorisante, par opposition à une tendance historicisante). Or il est facile de montrer que les chaînes sont en général accueillantes à toutes les tendances exégétiques. De là, on peut conclure qu'une chaîne qui serait anti-chalcédonienne dans son orientation théologique et dans son choix d'auteurs constituerait une exception au sein du genre caténal. Aussi plusieurs savants ont-ils rejeté la thèse de l'abbé Richard<sup>32</sup>.

Pour ma part, au contraire, je la considère comme tout à fait probable. Il me semble seulement que le meilleur argument en sa faveur n'est pas celui que Richard mettait le plus en avant, i.e. la prédominance d'auteurs égyptiens ou de tendance alexandrine<sup>33</sup>,

<sup>28</sup> Richard 1956.

<sup>29</sup> Voir Richard 1956, 97, où l'auteur exprime trois jugements auxquels j'adhère aussi : d'abord, seul un pro-sévérien peut être le premier à écrire « de saint Sévère » dans un manuscrit. Ensuite, les « appellations compliquées », donnant pour chaque fragment le siège épiscopal de l'auteur et la référence de la source, doivent être prises en compte comme un indice significatif de l'origine de la chaîne, soit qu'elles concernent des fragments de Sévère ou bien ceux d'autres auteurs moins sulfureux. Enfin, à cause de la mauvaise réputation de Sévère il est logique qu'au cours de la transmission textuelle ses fragments aient été laissés de côté par certains copistes.

<sup>30</sup> Marcel Richard propose une datation dans les cent ans qui suivent la mort de Sévère (1956, 98).

<sup>31</sup> Voir la n. 33 ci-dessous. Athanase, Cyrille et Hésychios de Jérusalem constituaient en effet la base de cette chaîne. Les deux premiers sont alexandrins à tous points de vue y compris géographique. Hésychios ne l'est que par sa tendance exégétique et christologique.

<sup>32</sup> Dorival 1984b, 117–119 et 2018, 287–291 ; Van Rompay 2008, 6 ; Moss 2016, 799 (n. 41).

<sup>33</sup> Richard 1956, 97. La prédominance d'Athanase, Cyrille et Hésychios dans la chaîne sur le Psautier ne prouve rien, même pas un lieu d'origine. Dans un monde de communications faciles comme l'était l'Orient méditerranéen à la fin de l'Antiquité, les écrits ne restaient pas confinés dans un cercle restreint ou dans une région donnée.



mais au contraire celui qu'il mentionne comme en passant: c'est le titre « du très saint Sévère » qui est à mes yeux un indice très sûr – comme il l'est pour Moss. Certes, des copistes ont pu recopier ce terme par honnêteté philologique ou par ignorance de l'histoire de l'Église. Mais le premier individu qui a écrit ce titre en tête des fragments de Sévère devait appartenir aux rangs anti-chalcédoniens.

Or l'abbé Richard ne voyait pas de moyen de distinguer chronologiquement entre l'action de cet individu et la constitution de la chaîne tout entière. Pour lui, cet érudit anti-chalcédonien *était* le caténiste auquel nous devons la chaîne ancienne sur les Psaumes.

### 2.3 *Dans les chaînes sur les Grands Prophètes*

Dans une hypothèse parallèle à celle de Marcel Richard, je voudrais soutenir que la chaîne sur les quatre Grands Prophètes du Ps.-Droungarios a été produite – c'est-à-dire mise dans la forme que l'on trouve intacte dans des manuscrits au moins pour Ézéchiël et Jérémie – par des érudits pro-sévériens, c'est-à-dire miaphysites. Ce nonobstant, je reconnais qu'elle est presque entièrement indifférente aux querelles de dogme. Il serait vain de le nier, dans la mesure où c'est justement dans les prologues du Ps.-Droungarios que l'on lit la fameuse phrase de Cyrille que les savants modernes reprennent à l'appui de l'« œcuménical solution » pour prouver la tolérance qui règne dans les chaînes. Mais si large que soit son « œcuménisme » en matière d'exégèse, un caténiste appartient à telle communauté religieuse ou bien à telle autre. Il peut être tolérant et chalcédonien, mais il peut aussi bien être tolérant et miaphysite ; et cela se révèle dans ses choix et dans son langage.

En supposant que cet ensemble de chaînes a pris naissance dans le milieu pro-sévérien, on ôte plusieurs difficultés qui ont été remarquées dans l'histoire de la recherche. D'abord, l'harmonie entre les prologues et la chaîne a paru incomplète à Devreesse. De fait, alors que chacun des quatre prologues signale dûment quels auteurs doivent être considérés comme hérétiques, Sévère n'est jamais nommé parmi eux ; et pourtant dans les quatre chaînes, il est présent en quantité. Devreesse a cru devoir formuler l'hypothèse que ses fragments auraient été introduits postérieurement, si bien que le prologue aurait été écrit, non pour la chaîne telle que nous l'avons, mais pour un état plus ancien<sup>34</sup>. Notons que si on admettait que les fragments de Sévère soient un enrichissement secondaire, il devrait en être de même de plusieurs autres auteurs non exé-

<sup>34</sup> « Le fait que Sévère soit si amplement mis à profit, alors que l'auteur de la chaîne faisait au début [c'est-à-dire dans le prologue] de solennelles déclarations d'orthodoxie, n'a rien d'étonnant si l'on suppose que Sévère faisait partie d'une seconde étape [...] ; autrement il faudrait croire – c'est peut-être l'hypothèse la plus juste – que l'auteur du prologue est différent de l'auteur de la chaîne » (Devreesse 1928, 1151, à propos de la chaîne sur Isaïe). Croire que le prologue n'est pas

gétiques (Cyrille, les Cappadociens, Chrysostome) : car tous ceux-là sont caractérisés par l'usage de titres identiques, qui leur confèrent la même appellation de « saint » et qui indiquent l'œuvre d'où le fragment est extrait<sup>35</sup>.

En réalité, ce problème se dissout si on admet une origine pro-sévérienne. Les caténistes ont utilisé massivement Sévère, et ils ne l'ont pas nommé dans le prologue parce qu'ils le considéraient comme suprêmement orthodoxe et ne nécessitant pas la vigilance du lecteur, au même titre que les théologiens universellement reconnus comme les Cappadociens ou Chrysostome.

On s'est étonné également de voir compter comme hérétiques Théodoret de Cyr ainsi que Polychronios (d'Apamée), le jeune frère de Théodore de Mopsueste, assez obscur comme exégète et plus encore comme théologien. On a discuté pour savoir à quelle époque une condamnation aussi tranchée de ces deux hommes pourrait trouver place chez des chalcédoniens. Chez des anti-chalcédoniens elle est toute naturelle.

Le titre de « saint » ou son superlatif « le plus saint » (*hagiôtatos*) est utilisé en général à bon droit<sup>36</sup>, mais on le voit aussi décerné à Théophile archevêque d'Alexandrie, l'oncle et prédécesseur de Cyrille<sup>37</sup>. À ma connaissance celui-ci n'a jamais été canonisé par les chalcédoniens. Il semble que seuls des anti-chalcédoniens auraient pu le considérer comme saint ; disons plus encore, des anti-chalcédoniens égyptiens. En outre les prologues, qui citent tous quatre la même phrase de Cyrille, l'introduisent par

d'origine, c'est renoncer à toute la démonstration de Faulhaber, qui a amplement prouvé que les prologues et les chaînes ont été rédigés d'un seul jet (voir plus haut).

<sup>35</sup> Exemples tirés de la chaîne sur Ézéchiel : τοῦ ἁγίου Γρηγορίου ἐπισκόπου Νύσσης ἐκ τοῦ εἰς τὸν ἄνθρωπον κεφαλαιὸν κζ' (scholie 23 de la 16<sup>e</sup> centurie sur Éz 37,10 : Vianès 1997, II:178a–179a) ; Τοῦ ἁγίου Σευήρου ἀρχιεπισκόπου Ἀντιοχείας ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ τῶν προσθηκῶν Ἰουλιανοῦ λόγου (scholie 33 de la 17<sup>e</sup> centurie sur Éz 44,2 : Vianès 1997, II:222a–223a) ; Τοῦ ἁγίου Σευήρου ἀρχιεπισκόπου Ἀντιοχείας ἀπὸ λόγου ρις' (scholie 46 de la 17<sup>e</sup> centurie sur Éz 44,18 : Vianès 1997, II:227a). Ces titres figurent en entier dans les deux meilleurs manuscrits (voir n. 6) quand ceux-ci attestent la scholie en question. Pour un auteur occasionnel non-orthodoxe on trouve l'indication du siège épiscopal : Εὐσεβίου Καισαρείας (scholie 30 de la 17<sup>e</sup> centurie sur Éz 43,16 : Vianès 1997, II:219a–220a).

<sup>36</sup> Dans la chaîne sur Ézéchiel, sont désignés comme saints ou très saints : Sévère, Cyrille d'Alexandrie, Jean Chrysostome, Basile de Césarée et Grégoire de Nysse. Sur Isaïe, Hippolyte de Rome l'est, mais pas Irénée.

<sup>37</sup> Dans la chaîne du Ps.-Droungarios sur Jérémie, qu'Aussedat appelle « la chaîne intégrale à auteurs multiples » : scholies 114bis sur Jr 2,36 ; 120bis et 122 sur Jr 3,2 ; 126bis sur Jr 3,4, éd. Aussedat 2006a, II:46, 48, 50 (voir aussi 2006a, I:121) ou éd. Richard 1938. Pour la première de ces scholies, seul l'Ottob. gr. 452 lit τοῦ ἁγίου Θεοφίλου ἀρχιεπισκόπου Ἀλεξανδρείας, alors que les trois autres manuscrits pris pour base par Aussedat ont seulement Θεοφίλου etc. (Paris. gr. 158 : Θεοφίλου ἐπισκόπου etc.). Mais l'Ottob. gr. 452 est en général un témoin excellent. Pour les deux suivantes, seul le Paris. gr. 158 omet τοῦ ἁγίου. Pour la dernière, les quatre manuscrits lisent τοῦ ἁγίου κτλ.

une longue circonlocution : « notre très saint père Cyrille, archevêque de la métropole amie du Christ, la cité d'Alexandrie ». On observe l'hommage adressé non seulement à l'évêque, mais aussi à la ville d'Alexandrie. Enfin, il est visible que pour justifier leur méthode de travail, les auteurs pensent tenir une arme invincible du fait qu'ils peuvent citer Cyrille à leur appui. À leurs yeux, ce soutien posthume du grand théologien les prémunit définitivement contre tout reproche.

Il y a donc bien une certaine tendance pro-alexandrine de la chaîne. Elle ne consiste pas cependant dans l'affirmation d'une théologie ou d'une christologie particulières, encore moins dans l'adhésion à une méthode exégétique<sup>38</sup>. Mais elle se fait sentir dans le jugement porté sur certains acteurs majeurs du passé de l'Église.

La faveur pour la cité d'Alexandrie nous encourage à préciser notre hypothèse : la chaîne serait née entre les mains d'anti-chalcédoniens égyptiens – même s'ils peuvent avoir travaillé en exil.

Gilles Dorival et Mathilde Aussedat ont élevé des critiques contre cette hypothèse d'une origine miaphysite de certaines chaînes. Dorival a fort bien montré que l'adjectif « monophysite » (ou miaphysite) ne peut pas valoir pour le choix du contenu, puisque dans la chaîne étudiée par Richard, Hésychios de Jérusalem occupe une grande place<sup>39</sup>. Ils ont principalement cherché à démontrer que l'hypothèse est superflue pour expliquer la répartition de l'adjectif « saint » : il n'y aurait rien à tirer de cet emploi, puisqu'on trouve l'adjectif appliqué à des auteurs patristiques assez divers, et aussi bien à Sévère qu'à Jean Chrysostome<sup>40</sup>. En fait, il nous reste sans doute beaucoup à apprendre sur l'appréciation que les membres des différentes tendances théologiques pouvaient porter sur les auteurs du passé, au long des inextricables querelles du VI<sup>e</sup>

<sup>38</sup> L'abbé Richard faisait valoir une orientation pro-alexandrine de la chaîne monophysite sur les Psaumes. Mais le choix des auteurs l'y portait : hormis Jean Chrysostome, y figurent Sévère, Athanase, Cyrille, et Hésychios de Jérusalem dont l'exégèse est au plus haut point allégorique (voir cependant n. 39). Rien de tel ne se remarque sur les Grands Prophètes. Certes, le fait que Sévère et Cyrille d'Alexandrie soient exploités même pour leurs œuvres non exégétiques mérite l'attention. Mais c'est le cas aussi pour bien d'autres, comme Eusèbe de Césarée (*Histoire ecclésiastique*), Eusèbe d'Émèse, Athanase d'Alexandrie (homélies etc.), Sévérien de Gabala, l'abbé Apollon (*Gerontikon*), Basile de Césarée, Grégoire de Nysse, Théophile d'Alexandrie... (voir Devreesse 1928, 1147–1158).

<sup>39</sup> La présence massive d'Hésychios sur les Psaumes est interprétée de façons diverses, puisqu'elle semble servir comme preuve d'une tendance alexandrine (certainement au plan exégétique) pour Richard, tandis que pour Dorival, elle est le signe que la chaîne n'a pas pour but de promouvoir Sévère.

<sup>40</sup> Aussedat 2006a, I:141–143 à propos des Grands Prophètes, en réaction à ma propre thèse de doctorat (Vianès 1997, I:21–28) ; Dorival 2018, 287–291, à propos des Psaumes, en réaction à l'hypothèse de Richard. Je remercie chaleureusement Gilles Dorival pour m'avoir permis de consulter son texte dès avant la parution, et pour l'ensemble de nos échanges sur ce sujet depuis de longues années.

siècle et même au VII<sup>e</sup> siècle<sup>41</sup>. Pauline Allen a montré en tout cas que Jean Chrysostome était une figure vénérée chez les anti-chalcédoniens. Sévère lui-même manifestait la plus grande considération à son prédécesseur sur le siège d'Antioche, et lui accordait couramment le titre de saint<sup>42</sup>.

#### 2.4 *Conséquences pour la datation des chaînes du Ps.-Droungarios*

En se fondant sur le nom de « Jean de la Droungaria », Faulhaber a proposé de dater la chaîne entre le VII<sup>e</sup> et le X<sup>e</sup> siècle<sup>43</sup>. Mais mon hypothèse d'une origine anti-chalcédonienne conduit à privilégier plutôt les deux derniers tiers du VI<sup>e</sup> siècle, tout en considérant possible le VII<sup>e</sup>. En effet c'est seulement après la mort de Sévère en 538 que l'on pourra lui donner le titre de saint. Par ailleurs, assez rapidement le mouvement pro-sévérien constitué en Église séparée s'est détourné de la pratique du grec pour développer sa littérature en syriaque et en copte. Bien que le processus d'abandon du grec reste assez obscur, on peut admettre qu'il y a plus de chances de trouver des érudits et des copistes miaphysites hellénophones dans la deuxième moitié du VI<sup>e</sup> siècle, plutôt qu'à la fin du VII<sup>e</sup>. Il y a aussi plus de chances que ces hommes aient réussi à préserver les œuvres complètes de Sévère en langue originale malgré les persécutions<sup>44</sup>.

Si l'on pense avec Moss que les copistes pro-sévériens ont conçu leur propre action comme une entreprise de sauvetage, on s'orientera vers les moments de persécution intense ou d'érosion des communautés miaphysites. Mais l'idée est trop séduisante pour être reçue sans méfiance : ces hommes auraient en quelque sorte travaillé pour nous, pour que le XX<sup>e</sup> et le XXI<sup>e</sup> siècles puissent reconstituer l'œuvre de Sévère à partir de ses *membra disjecta*. En réalité le sentiment d'appartenir à une communauté qui est sur le point de disparaître incite-t-il vraiment à des travaux d'érudition ? Je penche pour l'idée que les pro-sévériens écrivent en langue grecque parce qu'ils croient que

<sup>41</sup> Ainsi, ceux qui ont voulu déterminer à quels moments, du côté de l'Église officielle, Théodoret de Cyr et Polychronios ont été réputés hérétiques (comme ils le sont dans le prologue à la chaîne sur Ézéchiël), ont pu considérer que c'est essentiellement dans les décennies qu'a duré la querelle des Trois Chapitres, ou bien à partir de 553 et au-delà (Lamb 2012, 175–178), ou bien de 553 à 681, ou bien à partir du VII<sup>e</sup> s. et au-delà (Faulhaber 1899, 57, d'après Montfaucon).

<sup>42</sup> Allen 2016. Pour Roux, Chrysostome est le principal inspirateur de l'exégèse de Sévère (2002, 42 et 121).

<sup>43</sup> Voir la n. 17.

<sup>44</sup> Lucas Van Rompay (2008) passe en revue très utilement les traces de la survie des œuvres de Sévère en grec. La plus tardive remonte aux ans 700–701, quand Jacques d'Édesse révisé la traduction des *Homélies Cathédrales* en la comparant à l'original. L'Église miaphysite avait donc conservé des exemplaires de ces œuvres, malgré l'édit de Justinien et la persécution. Mais Jacques d'Édesse lit le grec pour le mettre au service de travaux en syriaque. Le moment où les miaphysites ont cessé de trouver du sens à produire des œuvres en grec est probablement bien antérieur aux années 700.

leur Église a encore un avenir de ce côté-là. Ils peuvent cependant être aveuglés dans leur analyse, bien sûr. Persuadés de détenir la vérité sur le dogme et d'être les véritables défenseurs de la tradition de l'Église, ils ont un espoir inextinguible que la Providence fera triompher leur cause.

Aussi n'est-il pas nécessaire, pour situer la production de ces chaînes, de trouver un moment où les anti-chalcédoniens aient été particulièrement dans la prospérité, ni particulièrement dans la détresse. À vrai dire, on ne peut pas à l'heure actuelle se risquer à préciser la datation : il faut rester dans la fourchette très large entre 538 et la fin du VII<sup>e</sup> siècle<sup>45</sup>. Parmi les milieux possibles pour la production de ces chaînes, on doit réserver une attention particulière au monastère de l'Énaton, situé à neuf milles d'Alexandrie. C'était un lieu d'érudition et de calme relatif, surtout dans la période de 574 à 619. Mais aucune certitude n'est permise là-dessus<sup>46</sup>.

### 2.5 *D'autres chaînes pro-sévériennes ?*

Les fragments de Sévère sont très nombreux dans une multitude de chaînes exégétiques. On ne peut éviter de se demander si l'entreprise éditoriale qui a produit les chaînes du Ps.-Droungarios, et derrière laquelle j'identifie des clercs pro-sévériens, pourrait avoir concerné aussi d'autres livres bibliques.

<sup>45</sup> Le colophon du ms. Turin, BN, B. I. 2 est une trop belle aubaine, à laquelle il ne faut pas accorder de crédit précipitamment. Il indique que le manuscrit a été copié à une date qui correspond à 535 ap. J.-C. Il ne peut s'agir du manuscrit de Turin lui-même, qui est à situer entre 959 et 985, mais de son ancêtre. Or le ms. de Turin, qui contient une chaîne dite « de Philothéos » sur les Douze Petits Prophètes, à l'origine ne faisait qu'un avec le ms. Florence, Laur. Plut. 5. 9 contenant un abrégé de la chaîne du Ps.-Droungarios sur les quatre Grands Prophètes (sur Ézéchiel, cet abrégé est appelé « chaîne du type II ») : à eux deux ils forment le premier tome de la « Bible de Nicéas » (Belting & Cavallo 1979). On pourrait être tenté de faire l'hypothèse qu'un manuscrit datant de 535 était le prototype de la Bible de Nicéas pour ses deux parties, à savoir, pour la chaîne de Philothéos *et* pour celle du Ps.-Droungarios. Mais John Lowden a mis en garde contre une exploitation abusive du colophon (1983). Il serait difficile d'admettre que celle du Ps.-Droungarios ait vu le jour avant la mort de Sévère en 538, car ordinairement on ne saurait déclarer saint un vivant. Sur les relations entre les manuscrits de chaînes sur les Grands Prophètes au point de vue de l'histoire de l'art, voir Lowden 1988, 9–38.

<sup>46</sup> Vianès 1997, I:29–32. Sur l'Énaton, voir Juckel 2011 et Gascou 1991. La Bible Syro-hexaplaire et la révision syriaque harcléenne du Nouveau Testament ont été faites à l'Énaton en 615–617. Pillé par les Perses en 619, le monastère semble se relever rapidement, donne plusieurs archevêques aux VII<sup>e</sup> et VIII<sup>e</sup> siècles, et est encore admiré au XII<sup>e</sup> (Gascou 1991). Gilles Dorival, lui, est favorable à une datation des chaînes au cours du VII<sup>e</sup> s. à Constantinople. Son raisonnement a un point de départ complètement différent, l'analyse des mises en pages et des réglures. Pour l'inclusion des scholies sévériennes il propose une date antérieure à 630 : Dorival 1986, 50–51, 79–80, et correspondance privée avec M.N. Birdsall, citée dans Birdsall & Parker 2004, 130.

À coup sûr, les apories qui forment le point de départ de Moss –qui pouvait posséder les œuvres de Sévère ? d'où pouvait venir la motivation pour les transmettre ?– continuent de valoir quelle que soit la partie de l'Écriture Sainte considérée. L'abbé Richard tirait déjà argument du grand effort qu'il a fallu pour dépouiller le corpus sévérien. Il serait naturel que cet effort ait été opéré une seule fois pour l'ensemble de la Bible<sup>47</sup>. Mais il faut se garder d'affirmer aucune vérité générale dans le domaine des chaînes, où tout doit partir d'un examen des manuscrits. Aussi, l'enquête devrait commencer par recenser les lieux où Sévère est appelé « saint » ou « très saint ». On trouvera que les cas suivants au moins méritent examen.

D'abord, la chaîne sur le Psautier reconstruite par l'abbé Richard. C'est à son propos qu'il a parlé de chaîne monophysite<sup>48</sup>.

Ensuite, les antécédents de la chaîne sur les Actes des Apôtres imprimée par Cramer. Son édition, peu fiable, reproduit le manuscrit d'Oxford, New College 58. Sur cinquante-cinq fragments de Sévère, trois sont introduits comme « de saint Sévère » dans le texte imprimé<sup>49</sup>. Les variantes fournies par le manuscrit Paris, Coislin 25, données en annexe par Cramer, en comportent encore deux de plus<sup>50</sup>. Également, les antécédents de la chaîne sur Luc 1–11 contenue dans le Codex Zacynthius. Ce célèbre codex appelle Sévère « saint » dans un tiers des cas environ, et « archevêque d'Antioche » plusieurs fois<sup>51</sup>.

<sup>47</sup> Richard 1956, 97.

<sup>48</sup> Le Paris. gr. 139, considéré par M. Richard comme le meilleur témoin indirect de la chaîne monophysite, présente le titre « De saint Sévère archevêque d'Antioche » au moins une fois ; y sont appelés saints Cyrille (souvent), Athanase (parfois), Théophile d'Alexandrie, Basile, Jean Chrysostome (d'après une communication privée de Gilles Dorival).

<sup>49</sup> Cramer 1838, 43 (sur Ac 2,24), 47 (sur Ac 2,28) et 82 (sur Ac 4,32–33). Sont également appelés saints : Athanase (pp. 85 sur Ac 5,4 ; 140 sur Ac 8,23 ; 263 sur Ac 16,3), Cyrille (pp. 115 sur Ac 7,29 ; 122 sur Ac 7,42 ; 123 sur Ac 7,43 ; 125 sur Ac 7,49–50 ; 130 sur Ac 7,59 ; 284 sur Ac 17,18 etc.), Basile (pp. 129 sur Ac 7,55–56 ; 407 sur Ac 28,3 ; 418 sur Ac 28,26–27), Épiphanie (p. 135 sur Ac 8,9), liste non exhaustive. Sur cette chaîne, une mise au point récente se trouve dans Parsons, Brookins & Reynolds 2012.

<sup>50</sup> Voir Cramer 1838, 425–451. Ainsi les scholies aux pp. 224 (sur Ac 13,34) et 225 (sur Ac 13,35–36) de Cramer ont le titre « de saint Sévère » dans le Coislin 25 au lieu de simplement « de Sévère » dans le ms. New College 58. Par ailleurs huit scholies de plus dans le Coislin 25 donnent à Sévère son titre d'archevêque d'Antioche. Le Coislin 25 est indubitablement plus complet que le ms. du New College 58 pour les titres de scholies, car il donne plus souvent le siège épiscopal des auteurs, plus souvent aussi la source de l'extrait, pour Sévère (p. 143.15 sur Ac 8,29–30) mais aussi pour Cyrille (p. 18 sur Ac 2,3) et pour d'autres. Les deux manuscrits sont frères d'après Staab (1924), qui l'a vérifié pour la chaîne sur les Épîtres Catholiques.

<sup>51</sup> Le Codex Zacynthius (Cambridge, UL, Add. 10062), palimpseste, présente la seule chaîne sur le Nouveau Testament où les scholies soient écrites en onciales tout comme le texte biblique. La chaîne est disposée en couronne, avec un système de renvoi par nombres organisés en centurries. Le prologue a des phrases communes avec ceux de la chaîne du Ps.-Droungarios sur les quatre

Dans la chaîne sur l'Octateuque et les Rois, Devreesse signale l'appellation « du très saint Sévère », sans dire quels manuscrits la portent<sup>52</sup>. Selon Françoise Petit, les fragments de Sévère ont été introduits après la constitution de la chaîne, dans un deuxième temps qui n'est pas très éloigné du premier cependant. Cela pourrait être réexaminé<sup>53</sup>.

La chaîne sur les Épîtres Catholiques, étudiée par Staab, mérite aussi d'être incluse dans notre recensement. Ses manuscrits ne comportent nulle part l'adjectif « saint »

Grands Prophètes. D'après Greenlee 1959, 997 (je traduis), « Chrysostome, Cyrille, Basile et Titus sont généralement désignés comme ἄγιος. Sévère n'est pas désigné ainsi les quatorze premières fois où son nom apparaît, mais est appelé ἄγιος huit fois sur les neuf restantes. Quand Sévère ou Isidore sont cités on nomme généralement aussi l'œuvre qui a servi de source ; dans le cas des autres Pères, la source n'est presque jamais nommée ». Daté du VIII<sup>e</sup> s. par Tregelles (1861), puis du VI<sup>e</sup> s. depuis Hatch (1937), le manuscrit fait maintenant l'objet d'une nouvelle datation, qui le place au tournant des VII<sup>e</sup> et VIII<sup>e</sup> s. (Birdsall & Parker 2004). Pour expliquer la présence de Sévère, Greenlee invoque la tolérance des chaînes avec les arguments classiques, contre Tregelles qui croyait à un caténiste pro-sévérien. Tregelles avait manqué d'exactitude sur bien des points, mais la réprimande que lui adresse Greenlee ne manquera pas de faire sourire quiconque accepte mon point de vue : « Tregelles is quite mistaken in assuming that the presence of quotations from Severus indicate an acceptance of his heretical views. Devreesse pointed out that orthodoxy was not the preoccupation of the catenists: they quoted appropriate material from various sources. Tregelles could have avoided this misunderstanding if he had read the introduction [i.e. le prologue] to the catena, which clearly stated that rejected exegetes and heretics are quoted as well as orthodox Fathers, appealing to a statement in the letter of Cyril of Alexandria to Eulogios [...] » (Greenlee 1959, 998–999).

<sup>52</sup> Devreesse 1959, 186.

<sup>53</sup> Voir la n. 26. Le manuscrit Bâle, UB, A. N. III. 13, transmettant la chaîne du type I, ne contient pas de fragments de Sévère sur la Genèse selon Petit ; les trois autres manuscrits qui représentent « la tradition caténique primaire, c'est-à-dire la descendance directe de l'archétype » (Saint-Petersbourg, RNB, gr. 124 ; Sinaï gr. 2 ; et Moscou, GIM, Sinod. gr. 385 (Vlad. 28)) « ont en commun un important supplément d'extraits de Sévère d'Antioche, supplément qui a dû pénétrer assez tôt dans la tradition » ; celui de Moscou ajoute le plus souvent la référence de l'œuvre excerptée (Petit 1991, xxi-xxii et n. 30). Sur l'Exode en revanche, c'est dans le ms. de Bâle et la chaîne du type III que l'on trouve des fragments de Sévère. Petit en a conclu que l'incorporation de Sévère est secondaire et s'est faite au hasard des manuscrits, sans plan. Mais en réalité, même le ms. de Bâle contient des fragments sur la Genèse qu'il attribue à Sévère, et souvent l'un des autres manuscrits l'appuie (c'est le cas des fragments 154 (sur Gn 1,26), 218 (sur Gn 2,7), 243 (sur Gn 2,9) : Petit 1991 *ad locum* et xxii n. 30). L'éditrice ne les a pas retrouvés dans les traductions syriaques et considère leur authenticité sévérienne comme suspecte. Une hypothèse mériterait peut-être considération : les textes de Sévère sur la Genèse pourraient avoir été présents déjà dans le premier lot de scholies qui compose la tradition manuscrite (le deuxième étant la *Collectio Coisliniana*) mais avoir été presque tous exclus du ms. de Bâle par un copiste bien averti de l'histoire de l'Église. Celui-ci cependant aurait relâché ses règles en abordant la copie de l'Exode. Dans le cas d'un homme comme Sévère, dont le nom est une pomme de discorde, il y a une possibilité que la chaîne-fille ait expurgé son modèle. Il faut reconnaître cependant que l'absence de tout fragment de Sévère dans la chaîne de Procope de Gaza fournit un appui à l'analyse de Petit.



appliqué à Sévère. Malgré cela, Staab était convaincu que l'orientation dogmatique du caténiste était anti-chalcédonienne, parce que sur 1 P 4,1 qui est crucial pour la christologie, il laisse la parole à Sévère pour quatre longs développements, qu'il encadre par deux scholies de Cyrille et une d'Athanase, sans ajouter aucun autre auteur<sup>54</sup>. On aurait ici peut-être le cas exceptionnel d'une chaîne qui manifesterait une prise de position doctrinale, limitée toutefois à un verset particulier<sup>55</sup>.

### 3. CONCLUSION

Quand on tente de penser l'histoire des chaînes, il est difficile de se garder des illusions de raisonnement. Nous aurons tendance à dire par exemple qu'une chaîne a été constituée d'abord, et que plus tard, elle a servi de noyau autour duquel se sont agrégés divers apports. En réalité il est rarement établi que les « apports » soient « plus récents » que le « noyau ». Ils peuvent consister en un commentaire récent, ou bien très ancien ; ou bien en un lot de fragments, peut-être issu d'une autre chaîne, ou peut-être constituant lui-même une chaîne. En quelque sorte, chaque apport est lui aussi un noyau.

Dire que la chaîne A a été enrichie avec la chaîne B, ou que la chaîne B a été enrichie avec la chaîne A, est-ce équivalent ? Dire que des scribes anti-chalcédoniens ont inséré des fragments de Sévère dans une chaîne, selon l'hypothèse de Moss, est-ce la même chose que de dire qu'ils ont composé une chaîne à partir de matériaux divers, dont certains étaient sans doute déjà des compilations ? L'un et l'autre auraient comme résultat la présence de scholies intitulées « du très saint Sévère » dans nos manuscrits.

<sup>54</sup> Staab 1924, 328 (n. 1) et 321. Le plus ancien manuscrit, Coislin 25, est une chaîne en couronne avec un système de renvoi par centurries. Staab identifie un commentaire anonyme qu'il appelle l'*Urkommentar*, sans pouvoir toutefois exclure qu'il s'agisse plutôt d'une chaîne sans noms d'auteurs, une *Urkatene* (1924, 336–340). Il pense que la chaîne s'est formée autour de ce commentaire, par accroissement de celui-ci. Ainsi quand Moss écrit que Staab a postulé « that the initial editor of the catena on the Catholic Epistles was himself a follower of Severus » (2016, 797 n. 36), il aurait sans doute mieux résumé la pensée de Staab en disant « the final editor ». Quoi qu'il en soit, le préfixe *Ur-* présume trop. En réalité il est possible que se soient formés, dans n'importe quel ordre ou simultanément, deux textes, le commentaire anonyme et le reste de la chaîne, et que cette dernière se soit transmise seulement réunie au commentaire anonyme tandis que celui-ci s'est transmis à la fois indépendamment et réuni à elle. Sur une éventuelle origine pro-sévérienne, il y a grand risque qu'on ne réussisse pas à aller plus loin que les observations de Staab, et qu'il faille conclure sur un *non liquet*.

<sup>55</sup> Dans les chaînes sur Marc, William Lamb a décelé une préférence pour la théologie cyrillienne, avec de bons arguments (Lamb 2012, 71–72, à propos d'une prise de parole du caténiste qui condamne une thèse nestorienne sur le baptême du Christ). Seul le ms. Paris. gr. 194 contient des scholies de Sévère, et l'histoire textuelle de ces chaînes est passablement compliquée.

Il y a une différence selon moi : dans le deuxième cas les anti-chalcédoniens sont aussi responsables de la structure de la chaîne, et dans le premier cas, non.

Que toutes les chaînes possèdent une structure digne de ce nom, ce n'est pas assuré. J'espère avoir suffisamment montré que la chaîne du Ps.-Droungarios sur les Grands Prophètes, elle au moins, en a une. Celle-ci se reconnaît à des traits peu frappants mais sans ambiguïté : système pour nommer les auteurs, mise en pages « en couronne » avec système de renvoi du texte biblique aux scholies, paratexte sous forme de prologues, de conclusions et de prises de parole du caténiste.

Ce sont tous les éléments de cette sorte, détaillés plus haut dans cet article, qu'il faut prendre en compte dans la question d'une origine pro-sévérienne de telle ou telle chaîne, en examinant s'il y a une ressemblance formelle avec les chaînes du Ps.-Droungarios, et si l'on peut déceler un surcroît de respect envers les auteurs aimés des mia-physites. Chacun importe, mais seule la réunion de plusieurs de ces traits peut prendre valeur de preuve.

Ma proposition en effet ne consiste pas à dire que les pro-sévériens se seraient montrés particulièrement productifs sur plusieurs générations dans le domaine des chaînes, mais à faire l'hypothèse d'une vaste entreprise éditoriale réalisée à l'intérieur d'un même groupe à partir des mêmes moyens, analogue à ce qu'est de nos jours un programme de recherche, et aboutissant à l'équivalent d'une collection dans nos maisons d'édition, où la « feuille de styles » et l'organisation générale des ouvrages se maintiennent homogènes alors même que le contenu diffère d'un volume à l'autre. C'est une homogénéité de ce genre que l'on observe dans les quatre chaînes sur les Grands Prophètes. On en trouvera peut-être les marques ailleurs aussi.

Du reste, sur Ézéchiél la chaîne du Ps.-Droungarios est conservée à peu près telle quelle, sans apports ultérieurs. La pénurie de commentaires sur ce prophète, dont se plaint déjà le caténiste dans le prologue, a bloqué l'évolution du texte, constituant une chance pour le philologue moderne.

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# THE COMPOSITION AND TRANSMISSION OF THE CATENA ON PSALM 11 IN THE PARIS PSALTER

LEONTIEN VANDERSCHelden



IN THE FIELD of biblical exegesis in Byzantium, the Psalter had an important role to play. This role is evident from the different types of exegesis this biblical book has generated: a considerable amount of commentaries and homilies, as well as their reuse in catenae. Catenae represent a more scholarly method for the interpretation of the Bible, in contrast to homilies, which were intended for a wider audience. In this article, the catena in one of the most beautiful illuminated Greek biblical manuscripts is subjected to an analysis of its transmission and composition.

MS *Parisinus gr.* 139, a tenth-century manuscript known as the Paris Psalter, contains, apart from the miniatures that have been studied intensively, a catena.<sup>1</sup> This text consists of a sequence of excerpts from commentaries, scholia and homilies by patristic authors, selected and brought together to explain the text of the Psalms. This text has not been studied as intensively as the miniatures. In this article, I offer an analysis, an edition and a translation of the catena on Ps 11.

## 1. THE PALESTINIAN CATENAE ON THE PSALMS

The catena of the Paris Psalter belongs to a complex and broad tradition of catena commentaries on the Psalms. This tradition started already in the sixth century and continued well into the Byzantine period (and beyond).

The most ancient catena commentary on the Psalms is believed to be the so-called first Palestinian catena.<sup>2</sup> It has been named after its place of origin and has been dated to 520–540 CE.<sup>3</sup> This text contains fragments taken directly from patristic commentaries by authors such as Asterios, Athanasios of Alexandria, Basil of Caesarea, Cyril of Alexandria, Didymos the Blind, Eusebios of Caesarea, Origen and Theodoret of

<sup>1</sup> For the miniatures, see e.g. Weitzmann 1929; Buchthal 1938; Cutler 1984; Lowden 1988; Wander 2014.

<sup>2</sup> Mühlenberg called this catena Grundtyp A (1978, 41).

<sup>3</sup> See Dorival 1986, 112.

Cyrrhus. Since this catena is not based on a previous one, it is a primary catena. No extant manuscript offers its full text, but much of it has been preserved in three separate parts. The first part, on Ps 1–50, is represented by catena type VI (CPG C 19).<sup>4</sup> The second part, on Ps 51–100, was only fully transmitted, it seems, in MS *Taurin. gr.* C. II. 6, but this codex was seriously damaged by a fire in 1904. The Palestinian catena on Ps 78–150 is preserved in catena type XI (CPG C 24). This tradition shows that, in Late Antiquity, the first Palestinian catena must have been edited twice: once in two volumes (Ps 1–77 and 78–150), of which only the second one survives, and once in three volumes (Ps 1–50, 51–100 and 101–150), of which only the first has been preserved.<sup>5</sup> The first Palestinian catena is also transmitted in indirect tradition through paraphrases and excerpts.<sup>6</sup>

A second Palestinian catena (also called the ‘Monophysite’ catena) was composed a few decades after the first, and is preserved through a direct tradition.<sup>7</sup> It generally completed and enriched the first Palestinian catena by adding fragments from authors that were already found in that catena, as well as excerpts from authors that were not, such as the *Commentarius magnus* on the Psalms by Hesychios of Jerusalem.<sup>8</sup> On the other hand, excerpts from the first Palestinian catena were sometimes shortened or even deleted to make room for the newly inserted ones. Here, we encounter a secondary catena, since the second Palestinian catena is based on the previous one.

A third stage, that of the so-called third Palestinian catena, was reached sometime in the seventh century. This text combines a paraphrase of the first Palestinian catena with fragments of the second Palestinian catena. It is only preserved in selections: a long selection can be found in catena type III, two shorter ones are preserved in MS *Athos, Vatoped.* 660 and in the *Homily on Ps 101* by Ps.-Chrysostom respectively.<sup>9</sup>

The longer selection of the third Palestinian catena is represented by catena type III, of which the Paris Psalter is the most important witness.<sup>10</sup> In this type, other sources were added to the third Palestinian catena, though not for every Psalm. Excerpts from the scholia of Athanasios of Alexandria were added sometime in the seventh century. Between the eighth and tenth centuries, pieces of the commentary by Theodore

<sup>4</sup> The catenae on the Psalms were categorized by Karo & Lietzmann 1902 into 27 categories based on the indices of Ps 22 and 115.

<sup>5</sup> See Richard 1956, 88; Dorival 1986, 115–118 and CPG C 12.

<sup>6</sup> See CPG C 12.

<sup>7</sup> The name ‘Monophysite catena’ was introduced by Richard (1956, 93), but replaced by Dorival with ‘second Palestinian catena’ (1986, 27–29). Mühlenberg called it Grundtyp B (1978, 41–42). See the contribution of Laurence Vianès in the present volume.

<sup>8</sup> More information on the second Palestinian catena can be found in Dorival 1986, 232–301.

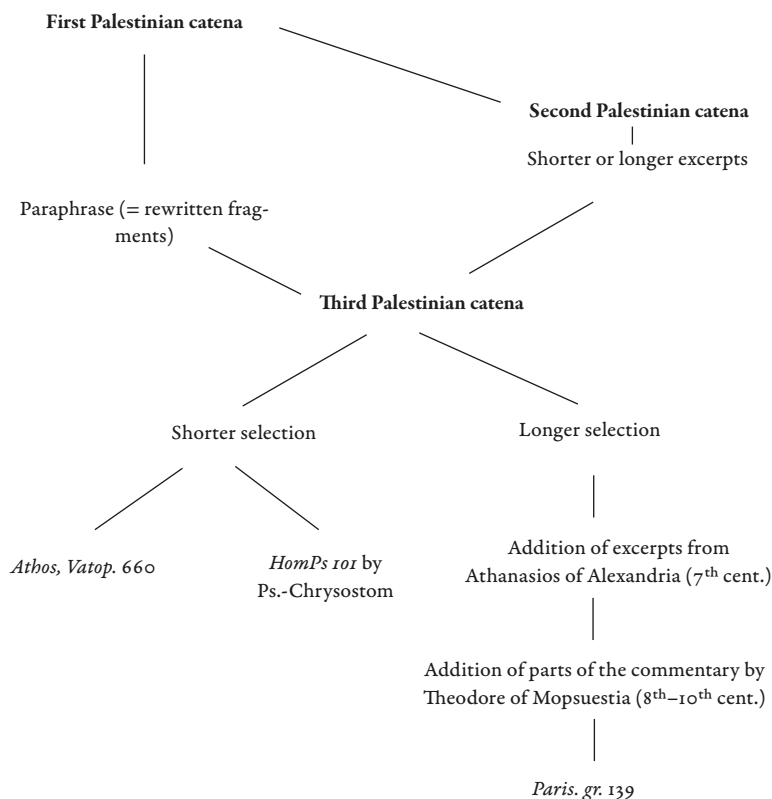
<sup>9</sup> More information on the third Palestinian catena can be found in Dorival 1986, 301–324.

<sup>10</sup> See Karo & Lietzmann 1902, 25–28 and CPG C 16.



of Mopsuestia were inserted.<sup>11</sup> In accordance with this genesis in different stages, a division of catena type III into six parts was proposed by Richard.<sup>12</sup>

Although Dorival mentioned the addition of excerpts from Athanasios and Theodore, he did not take these into account when presenting a diagram that shows the relationship between the several types of Palestinian catenae and the Paris Psalter.<sup>13</sup> Therefore, I propose the following alternative:



<sup>11</sup> See Dorival 1989, 350–354 and Dorival 1995, 174–179.

<sup>12</sup> See Richard 1956, 96–97. This division is taken up by Mühlenberg (1978, 23–25) and CPG C 16.

<sup>13</sup> Dorival 1986, 123.

2. THE MANUSCRIPT TRADITION OF THE TYPE III CATENA<sup>14</sup>

The type III catena has been transmitted in the Paris Psalter and other manuscripts. Twelve witnesses are known, none of them older than *Paris. gr.* 139, which is dated to the tenth century on palaeographical grounds.

MS *Venice, Marc. gr.* 17, produced at the end of the tenth or beginning of the eleventh century for Emperor Basil II, has often been called a twin of the Paris codex.<sup>15</sup> Their assumed relationship is based on similarity in size, layout and content.<sup>16</sup> However, *Marc. gr.* 17 belongs to a different branch of the textual tradition and has arranged the excerpts in a more logical sequence than did *Paris. gr.* 139: those that comment on the same verse of a specific Psalm are grouped together, which is not the case in the Paris Psalter.

The thirteenth-century manuscript *Atheniensis gr.* 45 is characterized by many variant readings that cannot be found in any of the other manuscripts.

Most of the remaining witnesses were copied in the sixteenth century: *Matrit. gr.* 4702–4704; *Ambros. C* 264 inf.; *Monac. gr.* 12–13; *Oxon., New College* 31; *Oxon., Bodl. Auct. E.1.5*; *Paris. gr.* 148; *Vat. gr.* 1677–1678 and *Vat. gr.* 1682–1683.<sup>17</sup> In MS *Oxon., New College* 31, the excerpts in the catena are rearranged in an altogether different sequence.

Two special cases should *not* be counted among the witnesses of the type III catena (although this was done in earlier research).<sup>18</sup> MS *Vat. gr.* 617 (sixteenth century) starts by following the sequence of *Marc. gr.* 17, but already from Ps 3 onwards it retains (almost) only excerpts from Theodoret.<sup>19</sup> MS *Vat. gr.* 1519 (seventeenth century) contains a selection of excerpts from Origen in combination with other fragments, only some of which are paralleled in the type III catena.<sup>20</sup> Both manuscripts should be regarded as transmitters of exegetical works other than the type III catena.

<sup>14</sup> The list of manuscripts is retrieved from Dorival (1986, 244–248) and Mühlenberg (1975, xxvi–xxvii). My research focuses on a selection of Psalms, defined by earlier research (Mühlenberg 1978, 7 and Dorival 1986, ix–xii) and other criteria: Ps 1, 3, 5, 11 and 17. A stemma of the witnesses is proposed below.

<sup>15</sup> See e.g. Mühlenberg 1977, xiii.

<sup>16</sup> See Lowden 1988, 245.

<sup>17</sup> I have not been able to study the manuscripts *Matrit.* 4702–4704.

<sup>18</sup> Dorival 1986, 246–247.

<sup>19</sup> See Vanderschelden 2018, 408–422.

<sup>20</sup> The title is: Ὁριγένους σχόλια εἰς ψαλμούς (p. 1). See Vanderschelden 2018, 422–435.

## 3. THE CATENA ON PSALM 11

The section on Ps 11 has been studied by Gilles Dorival.<sup>21</sup> It illustrates the above-mentioned characteristics of the catena of the Paris Psalter. The excerpts commenting on Ps 11 represent all the stages in the genesis of catena type III, including the addition of fragments from the commentary by Theodore of Mopsuestia.<sup>22</sup> An excerpt by Evagrius Pontikos is attributed to Eusebios in all the witnesses of the catena that contain this fragment.<sup>23</sup> This example shows that the attribution of the excerpts is not always evident: some patristic authors used the text of their predecessors as inspiration, which can make it difficult to attribute the text to one specific writer. When identifying the source text behind a certain excerpt in the type III catena on the basis of the available editions, there is also the risk of circular reasoning: some older editions (reproduced in the PG series) rely on manuscripts of this catena.<sup>24</sup> To solve both problems, secondary literature on the textual tradition of a specific author can offer a solution.

The problems of attribution are not the only obstacle one encounters when studying the catena of the Paris Psalter. It is difficult to state which excerpt can be retraced to which phase in the tradition of the Palestinian catenae, since the first Palestinian catena was completed in the second and paraphrased in the third. In the table below, all of the fragments that form the commentary on Ps 11 are listed according to the compositional phase through which they may have entered the catena.<sup>25</sup> The excerpts in the first two columns are characterized by the fact that they generally are verbatim excerpts from the patristic authors, while the excerpts in the third column are mostly paraphrases.

	3rd Palestinian catena			
	2nd Palestinian catena: literal fragments			
	1st Palest. catena	2nd Palest. catena	Paraphrasis of the 1st Palest. catena	later additions
150 <sup>26</sup>			Eusebios of Caes. (11:1): Ἡ αὐτὴ ἐστὶ - πάσης ψυχῆς	

<sup>21</sup> See Dorival 1986, 250–251, 306–307.

<sup>22</sup> See frg. 186 in the table below (not mentioned by Dorival).

<sup>23</sup> The text (frg. 185 in the table below) is printed under Eusebios's name (PG 23: 141C), but that attribution is based on a misreading of the abbreviated author's name (Εὐ: see Dorival 1986, 250). The authorship of Evagrius is well supported according to Rondeau (1982, 266–267).

<sup>24</sup> Andrea Gallandi, for example, edited fragments of Origen from *Marc. gr.* 17 (reprinted in PG 17: 105–137), and *Vat. gr.* 1682 served as Angelo Mai's source *B* in his edition of Cyril of Alexandria's commentary (reprinted in PG 69: 717–1273). These are not the only cases.

<sup>25</sup> This list is based on Dorival's research (1986, 250–251, 306–307), but completed and revised according to my edition (Vanderschelden 2020).

<sup>26</sup> These numbers refer to the fragments in the edition offered below. See also n. 53.

	3rd Palestinian catena			
	2nd Palestinian catena: literal fragments			
	1st Palest. catena	2nd Palest. catena	Paraphrasis of the 1st Palest. catena	later additions
151	Theodoret (11:1): Τῆς αὐτῆς ἔχεται - προρρήσεως ἐσομένης			
152		Cyril of Alex. (11:1): Ἡ τῆς ὥδης - γέγονε κλήσις		
153		Didymos (11:1): Πλησθείσης τῆς ἀνθρωπότητος - ἡμᾶς ἐπιδημίας		
154	Theodoret (11:2): Τῆς παρὰ σοῦ - τὰ τολμώμενα			
155		Theodore (11:2): Ὅσιους ἐνταῦθα καλεῖ - θαυμαστὸν διαπραττομένους		
156		Theodore (11:2): Τὸ ὀλιγώθησαν - οὐδενὶ ἢ ἀλήθεια		
157			Eusebios (11:2-3): Διαβάλλει πᾶσαν - διδάσκει Γραφή	
158		Hesychios (?) (11:3): Λέγοι δ' ἄν - αὐτοὺς παραπέμπουσιν <sup>27</sup>		
159			Didymos (11:2): Καὶ ἐν Ἱερεμίᾳ - δόγμασι κακοδοξίας	
160	Theodoret (11:2): Ὑποκρίνονται - ἐργάζονται			
161		Theodore (11:3): Μάταια ἀντὶ - πραττόντων γινόμενα		
162	Theodoret (11:3): Μετὰ δόλου - ἀπειλεῖ τιμωρίαν			

<sup>27</sup> This fragment is attributed to Theodoret in almost every manuscript, but Dorival suggests it be an excerpt from the *commentarius magnus* by Hesychios of Jerusalem (1986, 251). The hypothesis that this fragment is not from Theodoret is supported by the testimony of MS *Vat. gr.* 617: this manuscript, which retains almost exclusively fragments from Theodoret, does not include frg. 158 (see n. 19 above).

	3rd Palestinian catena			
	2nd Palestinian catena: literal fragments			
	1st Palest. catena	2nd Palest. catena	Paraphrasis of the 1st Palest. catena	later additions
163		Hesychios (?) (11:3): Τὰ χεί- λη, φησίν - τὸν ἀπείραστον		
164		Theodoret (11:4): Τί δὲ τῆς - σημαίνων ἐπήγαγεν		
165		Theodore (11:5): Λέγουσι γὰρ - οὐκ ὄντος κριτοῦ		
166		Hesychios (?) (11:3-4): Ἀεὶ μὲν χρῆ - βίον τὸν ἀνθρώπινον		
167			Eusebios (11:4-5): Θεοῦ γὰρ ἦν - ἐξουσίαν ταύτην	
168			Origen (11:4): Ἐξολο- θρεύσει δὲ - ἐπισυνέβη τὰ χείρονα	
169			Didymos (11:4-5): Οὐ γὰρ τὰ μέλη - δουλεύσομεν αὐτῷ <sup>28</sup>	
170		Theodoret (11:6): Οὐ περιόψομαι - εἰρημένα προτέθεικεν		
171		Cyril (11:6): Ἐξεγερθήσε- σθαι λέγει - τὴν σώζουσαν		
172		Origen (11:6): Ὁ Παῦλός φησι - στενάζομεν		
173			Didymos (11:6): Καὶ ἄλλως δὲ - πεποιήσθαι σημαῖνον <sup>29</sup>	
174		Origen (11:7): Καὶ ὁ θησαυ- ρίζων - οὐ καταγινώσκει		

<sup>28</sup> This fragment is present in MS *Vat. gr.* 1519, although this manuscript tends to retain only fragments from Origen (see n. 20 above). The same is true for frg. 173.

<sup>29</sup> See the previous note.

	3rd Palestinian catena			
	2nd Palestinian catena: literal fragments			
	1st Palest. catena	2nd Palest. catena	Paraphrasis of the 1st Palest. catena	later additions
175			Eusebios (11:7): "Ἡ καὶ οὕτως - παρρησιάζομαι κατορθώματι	
176		Theodoret (11:7): Τὸ ἑπταπλασίως - τῇ θείᾳ Γραφῇ		
177		Cyrl (11:7): Τουτέστιν ἀγνοποιά - Σωτήρος τὰ λόγια		
178			Eusebios (11:7): Ὁ δὲ ἄργυρος - Κυρίου τὰ λόγια	
179		Origen (11:7): Καὶ γὰρ καλὰ - συμπεφυρμένα		
180		Theodoret (11:8): Ὑπὸ γὰρ τῆς - σωτηρίας τευζόμεθα		
181		Athanasios (11:8): Διατοῦτό φησιν - πονηραὶ δυνάμεις		
182	Ps.-Eusebios (11:8): Ἐπειδὴν φυλάξης - τῶν ἀνθρώπων <sup>30</sup>			
183		Theodore (11:8): Τῷ δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς - ταύτης τῆς πονηρᾶς		
184	Theodoret (11:9): Οἱ μὲν οὖν δυσσεβεῖα - σωτηρίαν δωρούμενος			
185		Evagrius (11:9): Ἐπειδὴ ὁ κύκλος - εὐθείαν περιπατοῦσιν <sup>31</sup>		
186				Theodore (11:9): Ἐπειδὴ τοὺς ὑπὸ - βοηθῶ χρωμένους

<sup>30</sup> An attribution to Origen is not excluded for this fragment: see Dorival 1986, 250. The fragment is not included in Devreesse's list of authentic fragments from Eusebios (1970, 95).

<sup>31</sup> See n. 23 above.

	3rd Palestinian catena			
	2nd Palestinian catena: literal fragments			
	1st Palest. catena	2nd Palest. catena	Paraphrasis of the 1st Palest. catena	later additions
187			Didymos (11:8–9): Κατὰ τοῦτο δὲ - προνοίας τῆς σῆς	

#### 4. THE EDITION OF PSALM 11

In this section I propose a *recensio* for Ps 11 in particular, which I tested against Mühlenberg's findings. I reconstruct a stemma, which relies on these data and on additional evidence taken from other Psalms.<sup>32</sup>

##### 4.1 *Recensio*

The following shared mistakes show that MSS A (*Paris. gr.* 139, tenth century), E (*Ambros.* C 264 inf., sixteenth century), J (*Paris. gr.* 148, sixteenth century) and N (*Vat. gr.* 1682, sixteenth century) together belong to the first branch of the tradition:<sup>33</sup>

- Frg. 151.2: φίλιαν BCEFG] φίλια AJN  
 Frg. 152.5: γενομένην BC] γενομένη AEEFGJN  
 Frg. 152.6: πλανώμενον BCEFGJ] πλάνω μὲν (sic) AN  
 Frg. 153.1: ἀλήθειαν BC] ἀλήθεια AEEFGJN, ἴσως ἀλήθειαν add. in margine F  
 Frg. 162.2: ἀντιπέμπει BCFJ] ἀνταπέμπει (sic) AEGN, ἀναπέμπει J  
 Frg. 165.2: οὐχ BCF] om. AE<sup>a.corr.</sup>GJN  
 Frg. 186.2: χρωμένους BFJ] χρώμενος AE<sup>a.corr.</sup>GN

In contrast to what its early date suggests, A is not the archetype. It represents one of two branches in the tradition of the type III catena (see below) and contains a number of errors.<sup>34</sup>

Mühlenberg states that both J and N are copies of A. As far as N is concerned, that claim is correct: every important variant in A can also be found in N, while N still has its own variants. Some cases are listed here:

- Frg. 160.1: τὰ ABCEFGJK] τὰς N

<sup>32</sup> Next to Ps 11, I edited other sections of the catena (Vanderschelden 2020; see also n. 53 below).

<sup>33</sup> See already Mühlenberg 1975, xxvii (note that his sigla differ from mine).

<sup>34</sup> From the large amount of phonetical mistakes, Mühlenberg concluded that A was copied through dictation. In other Psalms, I found omissions and other errors.



Frg. 164.7: Τοιοῦτος ABCEFGJK] τοιοῦτον N

Frg. 166.1: δόλος ABCEFGJ] ἄδολος N

For J, the situation is less clear. Yes, it shares a substantial number of the meaningful variants of A (see above) and furthermore contains many unique readings, such as:

Frg. 159.3: ἀθεσίας ABCEFGN] ἀθείας J

Frg. 165.2: ἐκείνων ABCEFGN] ἐκεῖνος J

Frg. 171.2: κάμνουσι ABCEFGN] λαμβάνουσι J

Yet J does not have all of A's readings. Furthermore, it also has some meaningful mistakes in common with the second branch of the tradition (B C), against A.<sup>35</sup> This makes us doubt that J be a simple copy of A: yet, because of the lack of an undisputed alternative, I propose to accept that view as a stemmatic hypothesis.<sup>36</sup>

The branch of A J N E further counts G among its descendants (*Oxon., New College* 31, sixteenth century).<sup>37</sup> Manuscript G shares variants with these four manuscripts (see the examples above) and also has its own unique variants, such as the following ones:

Frg. 150.1: ἐπιγραφὴ ABCFJN] ἐπιγραφὴν G

Frg. 151.2: μὴνύοντας ABCFJKN] μὴνύουσας G

Frg. 164.9–10: τίσουσι ... ἐπήγαγεν ABCFJKN] om. G

Frg. 165.1: Λέγουσι ... ἐξουσίας ABCEFJN] om. G

In Psalm 11, there is no evidence to further assess the position of G in the first branch, but taking into account the variants in other Psalms, one can conclude that G is a brother of E.

Manuscript E (*Ambr.* C 264 inf.) was identified by Mühlenberg as a copy of A that features later corrections made on the basis of B (*Marc. gr.* 17).<sup>38</sup> It is clear that codex F (*Monac. gr.* 12, sixteenth century) was copied from E in its corrected state: every correction in E can also be found in F, while F never agrees with an *ante correctionem* reading in E (E<sup>a.corr.</sup>) but shares mistakes with E where the text has not been corrected:

<sup>35</sup> This can be observed in Psalms other than Ps 11.

<sup>36</sup> Endorsed by the fact that (a) the agreements with A clearly outnumber those with the second branch (not only in Ps 11, but also in Psalms 1, 3, 5 and 17), and that (b) J presents the biblical lemmata and exegetical fragments in the same sequence as A.

<sup>37</sup> This manuscript is not mentioned by Mühlenberg.

<sup>38</sup> Mühlenberg 1975, xxvii.

- Frg. 152.7: κλῆσις ABCE<sup>a.corr.</sup>GJN] om. E<sup>p.corr.</sup>F<sup>39</sup>  
 Frg. 171.2: θέλειν ABCGJN] θείης EF  
 Frg. 178.1: ἑτέρας ABCGJN] ἕτερος EF  
 Frg. 184.2: περιπλανῶνται ABCGJKN] περιπλανοῦνται EF

Furthermore, F has many unique variants, confirming that it is a copy of E:

- Frg. 152.4: ἐπαγγελίαν ABCEGJN] ἐπαγγελίας F  
 Frg. 164.9: καὶ ABCEGJKN] bis scr. F  
 Frg. 173.11: ἡμεῖς ABCEGJLN] ἡμᾶς F  
 Frg. 182.3: χυθισομένης ABCEGJN] χυθισομένων F  
 Frg. 182.3: σου ... σωζομένων ABCEGJN] om. F

Many of the corrections in E are from a hand different from that of the copyist of E itself. We therefore have to distinguish within E the text before and after the correction: each of these phases of the text deserves a place in the stemma. The text of E *ante correctionem* indeed belongs to the branch of A J N G (see the examples above). In fact, it can be identified (on the basis of variants in other Psalms) as the brother of G. The corrections as a rule agree with the second branch of the stemma, mentioned below and consisting of B and C: without a doubt the corrector used a manuscript from this branch to correct the text of E. Since C, a partial witness, cannot have been the codex consulted by the corrector, one spontaneously thinks of B. There are indeed a certain number of variants that E *post correctionem* (E<sup>p.corr.</sup>) shares with B:<sup>40</sup>

- Frg. 150.1: τῇ AE<sup>a.corr.</sup>GJN] om. BCE<sup>p.corr.</sup>F  
 Frg. 187.5: ὡς AE<sup>a.corr.</sup>GJN] λέγουσαν τότε δεῖγμα ἱκανὸν προφέρομεν (προσφέρομεν EF) τῆς πρὸς θεὸν ἀγαπήσεως καὶ προαίρεσιν παρεχόμενοι ἀντιλαμβάνομεν βοήθειαν praem. BE<sup>p.corr.</sup>F<sup>41</sup>  
 Frg. 187.6: ἀνεπιβουλεύτως AE<sup>a.corr.</sup>GJN] ἄνευ τῆς ἐκείθεν χειρὸς BE<sup>p.corr.</sup>F

<sup>39</sup> More examples in which F shares a *post correctionem* reading of E are given below (section on B).

<sup>40</sup> These origins of E<sup>p.corr.</sup> explain why Mühlenberg called its copy, F, “a mixture of A and C” (1975, xxvii: “eine Mischung aus P [= A] und C [= B]”).

<sup>41</sup> Frg. 187 is absent from C.

Not all the readings of B, however, have been adopted by the corrector of E:

Frg. 173.9: βίον ACEFGJN] παρόντα praem. B

Frg. 174.1: σωτηρία ACEFGJN] σωτηρίω B

I therefore suggest that E has been corrected according to the readings found in the model of B.

Manuscript B forms together with C (*Athen. gr.* 45, thirteenth century) a second branch in the tradition of the type III catena. The following shared readings prove their relation:

Frg. 150.3: ἐλέγομεν AEEFGJN] om. BC

Frg. 152.3: ὡς AEEFGJN] om. BC

Frg. 163.2: γὰρ AEEFGJN] om. BC

Frg. 166.1: μὲν AEEFGJN] om. BC

Frg. 167.6: κατ' AEEFGJN] δόλους praem. BC

Frg. 173.4: τῶν AEEFGJN] ἡμῶν BC

Frg. 181.2: ἐπιβουλεύονται AEEFGJN] ἐπιβουλεύοντες BC

Manuscripts B and C are siblings.<sup>42</sup> Each of these manuscripts has additional errors that cannot be found in the other one:

Frg. 173.9: βίον ACEFGJLN] παρόντα praem. B

Frg. 174.1: σωτηρία ACEFGJLN] σωτηρίω B

Frg. 187.4: ἐπιτηρήσει AEEFGJN] ἐπιτηρήσεις B<sup>43</sup>

Frg. 151.5: ἐσομένης ABEFGJKN] γενησομένης C

Frg. 155.1: φιλίαν ABEFGJN] om. C

Frg. 156.1: Σύμμαχος ABEFGJN] ὁ praem. C

Lemma 37.2: ἡμῶν<sup>4</sup> ABEFGJKLN] ἡμῖν C

Since C has many additional errors (and additions in general), B is a more trustworthy witness than C.<sup>44</sup>

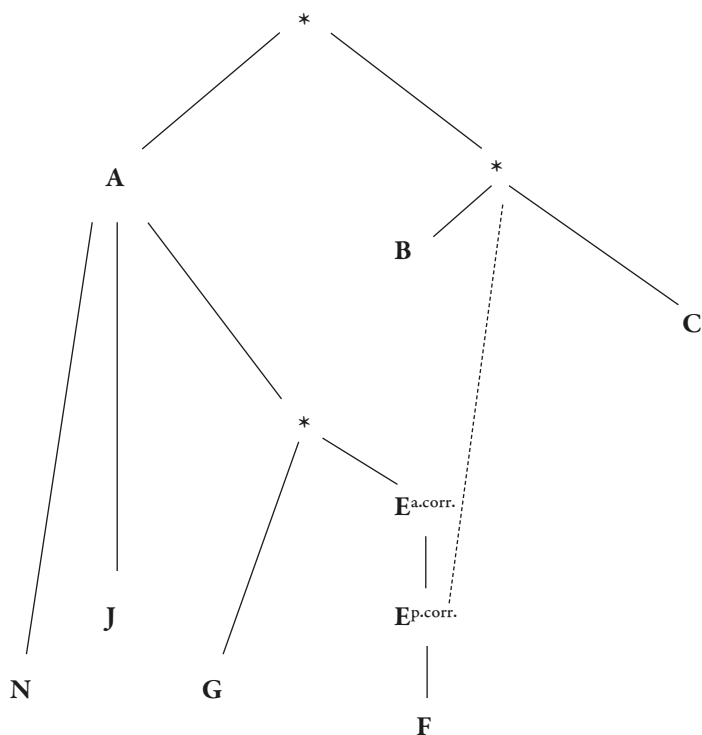
On the basis of these data, I propose the following stemma:<sup>45</sup>

<sup>42</sup> See already Mühlenberg 1975, xxvi.

<sup>43</sup> See n. 41 above.

<sup>44</sup> In other Psalms, the deterioration of C is clearer than in the section on Ps 11.

<sup>45</sup> I do not include MSS *Vaticani gr.* 617 and 1519, for reasons mentioned above (see notes 19 and 20).



- A *Paris. gr.* 139 (s. X), ff. 33<sup>v</sup>–34<sup>r</sup>  
 B *Marc. gr.* 17 (s. X/XI), f. 27<sup>r-v</sup>  
 C *Athen. gr.* 45 (s. XIII), ff. 103<sup>r</sup>–108<sup>r</sup>  
 E *Ambr. C* 264 inf. (s. XVI), ff. 68<sup>r</sup>–71<sup>r</sup>  
 F *Monac. gr.* 12 (s. XVI), ff. 93<sup>v</sup>–97<sup>v</sup>  
 G *New College* 31 (s. XVI), ff. 73<sup>r</sup>–76<sup>r</sup>  
 J *Paris. gr.* 148 (s. XVI), ff. 82<sup>r</sup>–85<sup>r</sup>  
 N *Vat. gr.* 1682 (s. XVI), ff. 43<sup>r</sup>–45<sup>r</sup>

#### 4.2 *Ratio edendi*

In the edition of the catena on Ps 11, I reconstruct the text of the archetype of the type III catena on the basis of A B and C. These witnesses have the highest position in the stemma and are thus retained for the edition.<sup>46</sup> Because the position of J in the stemma

<sup>46</sup> These are also the witnesses that Mühlenberg would take into account in a critical edition (1975, xxvi).

is uncertain, I also document this manuscript in the apparatus. The other witnesses are *descripti*.

Text shared by A B C is, as a general rule, correct and is printed in the edition.<sup>47</sup> When these three manuscripts do not agree, the reading of A tends to be the preferable one.<sup>48</sup> A number of times, however, A is wrong and I follow B C or B C J.<sup>49</sup>

Three times an error appears to have entered both branches, with only C or even J having preserved the correct text:

Frg. 159.2: Ἀλήθειαι C] ἀλήθεια ABJ

Frg. 184.3: τοὺς C] τοῖς ABJ<sup>50</sup>

Frg. 152.3: καταβοήν J] καταβοήν A, καταβολήν BC

I print the attributions that identify the authors of the fragments as they are supplied in the catena, even when they are incorrect (in which case, I use square brackets to signal the error). Also, the excerpts that lack an author identification are presented in the manuscripts as separate (but anonymous) fragments: as a rule, the distinction between one fragment and another is clearly identifiable in the manuscripts and I never have to interfere as an editor.<sup>51</sup> The delineation and sequence of the fragments, as well as their connection to the respective biblical lemma, is uniform in all four manuscripts A B C J, even when they use different systems of reference.<sup>52</sup> For ease of reference, I impose in the edition one uniform system of numbering on the exegetical fragments as well as the biblical lemmata.<sup>53</sup>

<sup>47</sup> There is one exception: frg. 164.10: σημαίνων scripsi cum Tht.] σημαίνη/-ει ABCJ.

<sup>48</sup> See the recurrent presence of B C readings in the third and fourth apparatus.

<sup>49</sup> See the first list in the *recensio* above, to which I add: frg. 157.2 διατηρήσεις BCJ] διατηρήσει A, and lemma 37.1 τοὺς BCJ] οὓς A.

<sup>50</sup> The text of C breaks off immediately after the article. The participle it governs also needs to be an accusative, which makes me change the dative transmitted in all three witnesses retained in the edition: 184.5 πολεμουμένων scripsi] πολεμουμένοις ABJ.

<sup>51</sup> Note that what I write here and in the remainder of this paragraph only relates to the section on Ps 11. In other sections of the catena, there is more disagreement between the manuscripts in terms of delineation, presentation, sequence etc. In the section on Ps 11, there is only one (minor) disagreement: the very short fragment 160 precedes lemma 35 in manuscripts B and C, instead of following it (as in A and J). This difference is not documented in the apparatus.

<sup>52</sup> I elaborate on these systems of reference (and their implications for reading the catena) in a forthcoming contribution to a volume with proceedings from the 2019 Oxford Patristics conference (ed. Cordula Bandt and Reinhart Ceulemans).

<sup>53</sup> These numbers are taken from my doctoral dissertation (Vanderschelden 2020). Since my edition also covers Ps 1, 3 and 5, the numbering for Ps 11 starts at 150 (and lemma 33). Note that C omits several lemmata.

Since A has many spelling mistakes, I standardize orthography in my edition (as I do with punctuation and orthography, which are not consistent in the manuscripts). I limit the use of subscript iota to word ending (dative singular and subjunctive forms). Five apparatuses document subsequently: (1) manuscript support, (2) identification of sources and biblical citations, (3) variant readings of the attributions and (4) of the text, (5) difference from the original text.<sup>54</sup>

The critical text is accompanied by an English translation.<sup>55</sup> For the lemmata and biblical citations, I rely on NETS and NRSV but I modify these translations often. Additions inserted to clarify the meaning are marked with pointed brackets.<sup>56</sup>

## 5. CONCLUSION AND EDITION

The tradition of the catenae on the Psalms is reflected in the catena commentary of the Paris Psalter on Ps 11. The table on pp. 431–435 shows that all three Palestinian catenae are represented: literal fragments from the first and second Palestinian catena and paraphrased fragments from the third Palestinian catena. One fragment cannot be retraced to any of those previous catenae and probably reflects a later phase in the catena of the Paris Psalter.

Problems of attribution and circular arguments are difficult to avoid while analyzing the catena. The manuscript tradition does not always offer a clear-cut solution. Further research on the catena of the Paris Psalter will provide more conclusive results on the composition and tradition of the text.

<sup>54</sup> The last three apparatuses are negative. Difference from the source is only documented when the fragment in the catena is reasonably close to the original text (i.e.: no “cf.” in the second apparatus). When the edition of the source relies on the type III catena itself, I adapt my nomenclature (i.e.: referring to the edition, not to the patristic author: see the fifth apparatus to frgg. 172, 175, 181 and 182). This cautions the reader for circular reasoning (see Vanderschelden 2020, 14–15 and 21–31).

<sup>55</sup> I did not use an earlier translation of Theodoret’s commentary (Hill 2000–2001).

<sup>56</sup> At the end of fragments 164 and 170, hooked brackets signal a shortcoming of the catena. In Theodoret’s commentary, the corresponding text builds up to the introduction of the next lemma. In the catena, this effect is lost, because the excerpt is followed by another fragment, even when Theodoret’s wording is maintained. This led to a nonsensical line. Oddities such as these are quite frequent in the type III catena (Vanderschelden 2020, 19–20).

Lemma 33 *Εἰς τὸ τέλος, ὑπὲρ τῆς ὁγδόης· ψαλμὸς τῷ Δαυΐδ.*

Ps 11:1

**frg. 150** Εὐσεβίου

Ἡ αὐτὴ ἐστὶ τῇ τοῦ ζ' ἐπιγραφῇ. Ἐλέγομεν δὲ ὡς καὶ τὸν νόμον λύει Μωσέως, εἰ ἄγοι βρέφος ἐν Σαββάτῳ ἡμέραν ὁγδόην, τῆς περιτομῆς ἐν αὐτῇ γινομένης. Τὴν ὁμοίαν ἔχειν ἐλέγομεν δύναμιν καὶ τὴν Κυριακὴν, ἀναστάσιμον οὖσαν τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ τυγχάνουσιν ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης ὁγδόην, πρώτην δὲ κατὰ φύσιν ὑπάρχουσιν· καθαρτικὴ γάρ ἐστὶ πάσης ψυχῆς.

**frg. 151** [Θεοδώρου]

Τῆς αὐτῆς ἔχεται καὶ οὗτος ὁ ψαλμὸς διανοίας. Διαβάλλει γὰρ τοὺς διπλόη κεχρημένους, καὶ φιλίαν μὲν ὑπισχνουμένους, προΐεμένους δὲ αὐτὸν τῷ πολέμῳ Σαοὺλ καὶ μηνύοντας ἔνθα διῆγεν. Ὑπὲρ δὲ τῆς ὁγδόης τὴν ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχει, ἅτε δὴ τῆς δικαίας τοῦ Θεοῦ κρίσεως μεμνημένος, ἦν μετὰ τὴν ἐβδόμην ποιήσεται, καθὰ προειρήκαμεν, ὁ δίκαιος κριτής.

5 Διατοῦτο εἰς τὸ τέλος προγέγραπται, ὡς χρόνῳ ὕστερον τῆς προρρήσεως ἐσομένης.

**frg. 152** Κυρίλλου

Ἡ τῆς ὥδης δύναμις ἔντευξιν ἔχει κατὰ παντὸς μὲν ἀδίκου καὶ πονηροῦ, διψύχου τε καὶ ἑτερογνώμονος, ψευδοεποῦς τε καὶ βωμολόχου, δόλοις καὶ ἀπάταις ἐντεθραμμένου. Ἐοικε δὲ πῶς καὶ τῆς Ἑλλήνων σοφίας, ὡς πλείστην ὄσσην, ποιεῖσθαι τὴν καταβολήν, ποιεῖται δὲ καὶ μνήμην τοῦ πάντων ἡμῶν Σωτῆρος Χριστοῦ, περιέχει δὲ καὶ ἐπαγγελίαν ὡς παρ' αὐτοῦ  
5 γενομένην ὡς ὅσον οὐδέπω παρεσομένου πρὸς ἐπικουρίαν τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ διαβόλου πλεονεκτουμένων. Καὶ ἵνα τὸ πλανώμενον ἐπιστρέψῃ, ἄδεται δὲ ὑπὲρ τῆς ὁγδόης καθ' ἣν ἡ ἀνάστασις καὶ ἡ τῶν ἐθνῶν γέγονε κλήσις.

**Lemma 33** ABJ **150** ABCJ **151** ABCJ **152** ABCJ

**150,1-4** Eus. Caes. comm. in Ps 11:1, PG 23: 140B5-12 (e cod. A et al.; cf. Pitra 1883, 402.33-403.8 (e cod. N et al.)) **1-2** cf. Io 7:23 **151,1-5** Tht. Cyr. comm. in Ps 11:1, PG 80: 941B2-12 **2-3** cf. I Reg 23:19 **152,1-7** Cyr. Alex. comm. in Ps 11:1, PG 69: 796A7-B3 **6** cf. Ez 34:4

**150,1** τῇ] om. BC **3** ἐλέγομεν] om. BC **151,2** φιλίαν] φιλία AJ **5** ἐσομένης] γενησομένης C **152,3** ὡς] om. BC | καταβολήν] καταβο.ήν A, καταβολήν BC **5** γενομένην] γενομένην AJ **6** πλανώμενον] πλάνω μὲν (sic) A

**151,5** ante εἰς] καὶ hab. Tht. | χρόνῳ] χρόνοις Tht. **152,1** ante τῆς] δὲ γε hab. Cyr. | ante ἔχει] μὲν hab. Cyr. **3** ὡς... καταβολήν] καταβοᾶν Cyr. **6** Καὶ... ἐπιστρέψῃ] non hab. Cyr. | ὑπὲρ] περὶ Cyr.



*To the end, on the eighth. A psalm pertaining to David.*

From Eusebios

This title is the same as that of the sixth <psalm>. We said that if the eighth day for a baby falls on Sabbath, he is circumcised on that day, so that this event even cancels the law of Moses. We said that Sunday too has the same power, because it is the day of the resurrection of the Lord and occurs on the *eighth* day from the first, although it is in fact the first: for it has a purifying function for every soul.

[From Theodore]

This psalm, too, has the same meaning. It thus disproves those who use duplicity, and who, while they professed friendship, in fact betrayed David to his enemy Saul and revealed where he was living. It has the title '*On the eighth*', because it makes memory of God's righteous judgement, which the righteous judge will execute after the seventh <day>, as we said before. For this reason the words '*To the end*' are put before the title, because at a later time what was prophesized will be fulfilled.

From Cyril

The power of the song takes up issue against everyone who is unrighteous and bad, who is double-minded and fickle, who tells lies and steals, who is brought up in tricks and deceit. It seems, as it were, to inveigh against the wisdom of the Hellenes, however great it may be, and instead it makes us remember Christ as Saviour of us all; it also encompasses the promise that has come about through him, that he will never ever fail to come to the rescue of those who are ensnared by the devil. In order *to turn about what is misled*, it sings '*On the eighth*', on which <day> the resurrection and the call of the gentiles took place.

**frg. 153** Διδύμου

Πλησθεισης τῆς ἀνθρωπότητος ἀπάτης καὶ κακίας ὡς μὴ εἶναι ἔλεος καὶ ἀλήθειαν καὶ ἐπίγνωσιν Θεοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, ὑπὲρ καταλύσεως τῆς ὑπαρξάσης βλάβης χρεια γέγονε τῆς τοῦ Σωτῆρος πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐπιδημίας.

Lemma 34 Σώσόν με, Κύριε, ὅτι ἐκλείοιπεν ὅσιος, ὅτι ὠλιγώθησαν αἱ ἀλήθειαι ἀπὸ τῶν υἱῶν τῶν ἀνθρώπων. Ps 11:2

**frg. 154** [Θεοδώρου]

Τῆς παρὰ σοῦ, Δέσποτα, σωτηρίας παρακαλῶ ἀπολαῦσαι, ἐπειδὴ κινδυνεύει τῆς ἀληθείας ἀποσβῆναι τὸ χρήμα, πάντων, ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀπιστίαν νεοσηκότων. Εἴτα διηγείται σαφέστερον τὰ τολμώμενα.

**frg. 155** Θεοδώρου Ἀντιοχείας

Ὅσιους ἐνταῦθα καλεῖ τοὺς ἀληθινῇ τῇ διανοίᾳ σώζοντας τὴν φιλίαν, ὡς ὅσιν τι καὶ μάλα θαυμαστὸν διαπραττομένους.

**frg. 156** Τοῦ αὐτοῦ

Τὸ ‘ὠλιγώθησαν’ ἀντὶ τοῦ ‘ἐξέλιπον’ εἶπεν· οὕτω γὰρ καὶ Σύμμαχος φησιν ὅτι ‘ἐκποδὼν ἢ πίστις’, ἀντὶ τοῦ ‘οὐκ ἔστι παρ’ οὐδενὶ ἢ ἀλήθεια’.

**frg. 157** Εὐσεβίου

Διαβάλλει πᾶσαν τὴν καθ’ ἑαυτὸν γενεάν· λέξει γὰρ καὶ προΐων· Σύ, Κύριε, φυλάξεις ἡμᾶς καὶ διατηρήσεις ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τῆς γενεᾶς ταύτης καὶ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα. Τοιαύτη γὰρ ἡ προτέρα γενεά, περὶ ἧς ἔφη καὶ ὁ Σωτὴρ· Ἄνδρες Νινευίται ἀναστήσονται ἐν τῇ κρίσει μετὰ τῆς

153 ABCJ Lemma 34 ABCJ 154 ABCJ 155 ABCJ 156 ABCJ 157 ABCJ

153,1-3 Did. Alex. comm. in Ps 11:1, ed. Mühlenberg 1975, 165.20-22 (e codd. ABC) 154,1-3 Tht. Cyr. comm. in Ps 11:2, PG 80: 941C1-5 155,1-2 Theod. Mops. comm. in Ps 11:2, ed. Devreesse 1939, 69.20-23 156,1-2 Theod. Mops. comm. in Ps 11:2, ed. Devreesse 1939, 69.28-70.2 1-2 cf. Ps 11:2 σ’ 157,1-9 Eus. Caes. comm. in Ps 11:2-3, PG 23: 140C5-D6 (e cod. A et al.; cf. Pitra 1883, 403.14-404.2 (e cod. N et al.)) 1-2 Ps 11:8 3-4 Mt 12:41

Attr. fr. 154 Θεοδώρου] θεοδ BC, θεοδ ἀντιοχ J Attr. fr. 155 Θεοδώρου Ἀντιοχείας] θεοδ C

153,1 ἀλήθειαν] ἀλήθεια AJ 155,1 φιλίαν] om. C 156,1 Σύμμαχος] ὁ prae. C 157,2 διατηρήσεις] διατηρήσει A

154,1 παρακαλῶ] post ἀπολαῦσαι hab. Tht. 2 ἀποσβῆναι] ἀποσβεσθῆναι Tht. (sed vide app. crit.)

From Didymos

Since humankind was so filled with deceit and evil that there was no remorse or truth or knowledge of God left on earth, need arose for the coming to us of the Saviour to efface original sin.

*Save me, Lord, for even a holy man has failed, because truths became scarce among the sons of men.*

[From Theodore]

Let me, Lord, enjoy salvation from you, because the need for *truth* is in danger of being extinguished, as everyone has fallen sick, so to say, with reciprocal distrust. Then <the psalm> describes more in detail what these daring deeds are.

From Theodore of Antioch

Then <the psalm> calls *holy* those who save their friendship by their true understanding, because they do what is *holy* and very admirable.

From the same

He said '*became scarce*' instead of '*failed*': because in the same way Symmachus also said: 'faith has gone away', instead of 'there is no *truth* in anyone'.

From Eusebios

He blames the entire generation of his own time, because he will continue saying: '*You, Lord, you will guard us and you will preserve us from this generation and forever*'. The previous generation was also of this kind, about which the Saviour spoke: '*The people of Nineveh will rise up at the judgement with this generation, and they will condemn it*',

γενεᾶς ταύτης, καὶ κατακρινούσιν αὐτήν, καὶ βασίλισσα νότου καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς, καὶ πάλιν· *Οὕτως*  
 5 *ἔσται τῇ γενεᾷ τῇ πονηρᾷ ταύτῃ.* Οὐκ ἀδίκως δὲ ταύτης κατηγορῶ, φησὶν ὁ προφήτης, ἀλλ’  
 ὅτι μηδεὶς ὅσος ἐν αὐτῇ, μηδεὶς ἀληθής. Ἐπεὶ οὖν μηδὲνα μοι σωτηρίας αἴτιον εὐρίσκω,  
 αὐτὸς μοι, Κύριε, τοῦτο γενοῦ. Διελέγχει δὲ τῶν Ἰουδαίων τὴν ἀπιστίαν, περὶ ὧν φησι καὶ  
 Μωσῆς· *Υἱοί, οἷς οὐκ ἔστι πίστις ἐν αὐτοῖς.* Ὅτι δὲ μάταια ἐλάλουν, ἐπιβουλεύοντες τῷ  
 Σωτῆρι καὶ δολίως αὐτῷ προσερχόμενοι, σαφῶς ἢ τῶν Εὐαγγελίων διδάσκει Γραφή.

frg. 158 [Θεοδωρήτου]

Λέγοι δ’ ἂν καὶ περὶ τῶν δοκούντων αὐτοῦ φίλων ὁ Δαναῖδ, ὡς τὰ πολεμίων ἐργαζομένων  
 καὶ ὅτι δόλους λαλοῦντες εἰς τὰς ἀλλήλων καρδίας αὐτοὺς παραπέμπουσιν.

frg. 159 Διδύμου

Καὶ ἐν Ἱερεμῇ δὲ φησιν· *Ἐκαστος τοῦ πλησίον αὐτοῦ καταπαίξεται, ἀλήθειαν οὐ μὴ*  
*λαλήσωσιν· μεμάδηκεν ἡ γλῶσσα αὐτῶν λαλεῖν ψευδῇ.* Ἀλήθειαι δὲ εἶπε καὶ οὐκ ἀλήθεια,  
 τὸ μὲν διὰ τὰς διαφοροὺς ἀθεσίας τὰς ἐν τοῖς συναλλάγμασιν, τὸ δὲ διὰ τὰς ἐν τοῖς δόγμασι  
 κακοδοξίας.

Lemma 35 *Μάταια ἐλάλησεν ἕκαστος πρὸς τὸν πλησίον αὐτοῦ.*

Ps 11:3a

frg. 160 [Θεοδώρου]

Ὑποκρίνονται φιλίαν, καὶ τὰ πολεμίων ἐργάζονται.

frg. 161 Θεοδώρου Ἀντιοχείας

Ἐάντι τοῦ ὁλοερά. Κοινῶς δὲ μάταια οἶδεν ἅπαντα καλεῖν τὰ ἄτοπα, ὡς εἰκὴ παρὰ  
 τῶν πραττόντων γινόμενα.

ABCJ 158 ABCJ 159 ABCJ Lemma 35 ABCJ 160 ABCJ 161 ABCJ

157,4 Mt 12:42 4-5 Mt 12:45 8 Deut 32:20d = Od 2:20d | Ps 11:3 158,1-2 fons ignotus,  
 fortasse Hesychii Hierosol. commentarius magnus in Ps 11:3 (cf. Dorival 1986, 251) 2 Ps 11:3  
 159,1-4 cf. Did. Alex. comm. in Ps 11:2, ed. Mühlenberg 1975, 165.23-26 1-2 Ier 9:4 1 Ps 11:3a  
 160,1 Tht. Cyr. comm. in Ps 11:2, PG 80: 941C7-8 161,1-2 Theod. Mops. comm. in Ps 11:3, ed.  
 Devreesse 1939, 70.9-12 (vide etiam PG 66: 656B7-9 (e cod. N et al.))

Attr. fr. 160 Θεοδώρου] θεοδω B, θεοδ C

159,1 τοῦ] τῷ A 2 Ἀλήθειαι] ἀλήθεια ABJ 3 ἀθεσίας] ἀθείας J | τοῖς<sup>2</sup>] om. J

and '*the queen of the South*' and so on, and again: '*It will be like this with this evil generation*'. I do not accuse this generation unrighteously, the prophet says, but because no one in it is *holy*, no one honest. Since I on my part find nothing a cause of salvation, be thou, o Lord, this cause for me. <The Psalmist> refutes the disbelief of the Jews, about whom Moses also says: '*Sons, in whom there is no faith*'. That *they spoke vanities*, when they are plotting against the Saviour and are treacherously approaching him, that is what the Scripture of the Gospels teaches clearly.

[From Theodoret]

David would say even about those who appear to be his friends, that they act hostile, and that by speaking deceitfully they reject them from each other's *hearts*.

From Didymos

And in Jeremiah it says: '*Each one will deceive his neighbour, so as never to tell the truth: their tongue has learned to speak falsehood*'. But <David> said '*Truths*' and not '*truth*', on the one hand because of the various types of breaking contracts, on the other hand because of the heretical opinions in doctrinal matters.

*Each one spoke vanities to his neighbour.*

[From Theodore]

They pretend friendship and act hostile.

From Theodore of Antioch

'*Vane things*' instead of 'treacherous things'. He usually knows to call '*vane things*' everything that is inappropriate, as the things that happen without a plan on the part of those who do them.

Lemma 36 *Χεῖλη δόλια ἐν καρδίᾳ καὶ ἐν καρδίᾳ ἐλάλησε κακά.*

Ps 11:3b

frg. 162 [Θεοδώρου]

Μετὰ δόλου, φησίν, ἀλλήλοις προσδιαλέγονται. Καὶ οὕτως τοῖς *χείλεσι* χρώμενος εἰς τὴν τοῦ πέλας *καρδίαν* τὰ ψευδῆ παραπέμπει, κακείνος πάλιν ὁμοίως ἀντιπέμπει τὰ ὅμοια. Ἐντεῦθεν λοιπὸν αὐτοῖς ἀπειλεῖ τιμωρίαν.

frg. 163 Ἑσυχίου

Τὰ *χεῖλη*, φησίν, τῇ *καρδίᾳ* συνεφωνήθη καὶ ἡ *καρδία* τοῖς *χείλεσι*. Δόλου γὰρ ἡ διάνοια τῶν Ἰουδαίων· μεστὴ γὰρ καὶ ἡ γλῶσσα ἐτύγχανε καὶ διατοῦτο προσιόντες ἐπειράζον συνεχῶς τὸν ἀπείραστον.

Lemma 37 *Ἐξολοθρεῦσαι Κύριος πάντα τὰ χεῖλη τὰ δόλια, γλῶσσαν μεγαλορήμονα, τοὺς εἰπόντας· Τὴν γλῶσσαν ἡμῶν μεγαλυνοῦμεν, τὰ χεῖλη ἡμῶν παρ' ἡμῶν ἐστίν· τίς ἡμῶν Κύριός ἐστιν;* Ps 11:4-5

frg. 164 [Θεοδώρου]

Τί δὲ τῆς μεγαλορημοσύνης τὸ εἶδος ἢ τοῦτο; Οὐκ ἀνέχονται γάρ, φησιν, μετῆσαι τῇ φύσει τοὺς λόγους, οὐδὲ εἰς τοὺς θεοὺς ἀποβλέπειν ἐθέλουσι νόμους, ἀλλὰ ἀθυρώτοις στόμασι κεχρημένοι μετὰ ἀδείας ὅπερ βούλονται φθέγγονται τῆς θείας μακροθυμίας καταφρονούντες καὶ μηδὲ τελεῖν ὑπὸ τὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ δεσποτείαν νομίζοντες. Τοιοῦτος ἦν ὁ 5 Φαραὼ διόπερ καὶ ἔλεγεν· *Οὐκ οἶδα τὸν Κύριον*. Τοιοῦτος ἦν ὁ Ῥαψάκης λέγειν τολμῶν· *Μὴ σε ἀπατάτω ὁ Θεός σου, ἐν ᾧ σὺ πέποιδας ἐπ' αὐτῷ ὅτι ῥύσεται τὴν Ἰερουσαλὴμ ἐκ χειρὸς μου*. Τοιοῦτος Ναβουχοδονόσορ τοὺς γενναίους ἐκείνους δεδιττόμενος παῖδας, καὶ λέγειν οὐ φρίττων· *Τίς ἐστίν ὁ Θεός ὃς ἐξελεῖται ὑμᾶς ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν μου; Ἀλλ' ὅμως κακείνοι ποινὴν*

Lemma 36 ABCJ 162 ABCJ 163 ABCJ Lemma 37 ABCJ 164 ABCJ

162,1-3 Tht. Cyr. comm. in Ps 11:3, PG 80: 941C9-14 163,1-3 fons ignotus, fortasse Hesychii Hierosol. commentarius magnus in Ps 11:3 2 Ps 11:4a 164,1-10 Tht. Cyr. comm. in Ps 11:4, PG 80: 941D1-944B4 5 Ex 5:2 5-6 Is 37:10 6 Is 36:20 8 Dan 3:15

Attr. fr. 162 Θεοδώρου] θεοδω B, om. C Attr. fr. 163 Ἑσυχίου] om. C Attr. fr. 164 Θεοδώρου] θεοδ BC

162,2 ἀντιπέμπει] ἀνταπέμπει (sic) A, ἀναπέμπει J 163,2 γάρ] om. BC Lemma 37,1 τοὺς] οὓς A 2 ἡμῶν<sup>4</sup>] ἡμῖν C 164,7 Ναβουχοδονόσορ] ὁ praem. C

Lemma 36,1 κακά] non. hab. Ps (sed vide app. crit.) Lemma 37,1 ante γλῶσσαν] καὶ hab. Ps (sed vide app. crit.) 164,1 ἢ τοῦτο] non hab. Tht. | γάρ] non hab. Tht. 6 ἐν] non hab. Tht. (sed vide app. crit.) 8 ἐστίν] non hab. Tht. (sed vide app. crit.)

*Lips are deceitful in the heart and in the heart they spoke evil.*

[From Theodore]

They talk to each other deceitfully, <the text> says. And in this way one instils falsity in the *heart* of his neighbour by using one's *lips*, and the other in turn returns the same things in the same way. Therefore, then, <the psalm> threatens to punish both.

From Hesychios

The *lips* were, it says, in harmony with the *heart* and the *heart* with the *lips*. The spirit of the Jews was a spirit of treachery: their *tongue* was thus sated and therefore they continuously attempted to reach the unreachable.

*May the Lord destroy all deceitful lips and a boastful tongue, those who say: 'Our tongue we will magnify, our lips are our own: who is our Lord?'*

[From Theodore]

What aspect does the act of boasting have, if not this one? For <the text> says that they do not manage to measure their words according to a natural limit, nor do they want to pay attention to the laws of God, but using doorless mouths they without fear give vent to whatever they want, despising divine forbearance and not considering to live their life by the power of God. Pharaoh was like that, because he also said: '*I do not know the Lord*.' And so was Rabshakeh, who dared to say: '*Do not let your God, in whom you rely, deceive you, <when he says to you> that he will take Jerusalem out of my hand*.' And so was Nabuchodonosor who scared those noble children and was not afraid to say: '*Who is the God who will take you out of my hands?*' But still these



ἔδωσαν ὧν ἐτόλμησαν, καὶ οὗτοι περὶ ὧν ὁ προφητικὸς διέξεισι λόγος τὰς ἀξίας τίσουσιν  
10 δίκας, καὶ τοῦτο σημαίνων ἐπήγαγεν.

**frg. 165** Θεοδώρου Ἀντιοχείας

*Λέγουσι γάρ, φησιν, ὅτι ἐπ' ἐξουσίας ἡμῖν ἐστιν ἃ βουλόμεθα φθέγγεσθαι· τίνα γὰρ ἔχομεν  
δεσπότην, ὃν καὶ δεῖσαι δεῖ; Τοῦτο δὲ οὐχ ὡς πάντως λεγόντων ἐκείνων, φησίν, ἀλλ' ὡς τῷ  
πράγματι δεικνύντων τὸ οὕτως ἀδεῶς ἅπαντα πράττειν, ὡς οὐκ ὄντος κριτοῦ.*

**frg. 166** Ἡσυχίου

*Ἀεὶ μὲν χρὴ τὸ τοιοῦτο προσεύχεσθαι· οὐδὲν γὰρ οὕτως ὡς ὑπερηφάνεια καὶ δόλος  
διαφθείρει τὸν βίον τὸν ἀνθρώπινον.*

**frg. 167** Εὐσεβίου

*Θεοῦ γὰρ ἦν, οὐκ ἀνθρώπου, τῆς ἐκείνων περιγενέσθαι κακίας καὶ σβέσαι λόγους  
βλασφημοῦντας τὸν Ἰησοῦν. Ὅμοίως δὲ τῷ Φαραὼ φήσαντι· *Οὐκ οἶδα τὸν Κύριον*, καὶ  
αὐτοὶ φασιν· *Τίς ἡμῶν Κύριός ἐστιν*; νομίσαντες εἶναι κύριοι διὰ τῶν ἰδίων λόγων τὴν τοῦ  
Σωτῆρος σβέσαι διδασκαλίαν, ὡς ἂν ὄντες αὐτεξούσιοι. Ταῦτα δὲ ἦν τὰ Φαρισαίων καὶ  
5 Σαδδουκαίων *χείλη*, μεθ' ὑποκρίσεως προσιόντων τῷ Σωτῆρι καὶ Ῥαββὶ καλοῦντων  
αὐτόν, λάθρα δὲ κατ' αὐτοῦ τυρευόντων. *Μεγαλορήμονες* δὲ ἦσαν οἱ πρεσβύτεροι καὶ οἱ  
ἀρχιερεῖς τοῦ λαοῦ, τολμῶντες ἀνακρίνειν τὸν Σωτῆρα καὶ λέγειν αὐτῷ· *Ἐν ποίᾳ ἐξουσίᾳ  
ταῦτα ποιεῖς, καὶ τίς σοι ἔδωκε τὴν ἐξουσίαν ταύτην*;*

ABCJ 165 ABCJ 166 ABCJ 167 ABCJ

**165,1-3** Theod. Mops. comm. in Ps 11:5, ed. Devreesse 1939, 71.11-14 et 71.18-21 **166,1-2** fons  
ignotus, fortasse Hesychii Hierosol. commentarius magnus in Ps 11:3-4 **167,1-8** Eus. Caes. comm.  
in Ps 11:4-5, PG 23: 140D11-141A13 (c cod. A et al.; cf. Pitra 1883, 404.8-34 (c cod. N et al.)) **2** Ex  
5:2 **7-8** Mt 21:23

**Attr. fr. 165** Θεοδώρου Ἀντιοχείας] om. J

**164,10** σημαίνων] scripsi cum Tht., σημαίνει AB, σημαίνει CJ | ἐπήγαγεν] ὁ praem. C **165,1** Λέγουσι]  
έγουσι (sic) J **2** οὐχ] om. AJ | ἐκείνων] ἐκεῖνος J **166,1** μὲν] om. BC **167,6** κατ'] δόλους praem. BC

**165,1** ἡμῖν] ἡμῶν Theod.

<boasters> paid the price for what they dared <to say>. And those about whom the word of the prophet speaks will pay their due penalty. Teaching this, <David> continued <...>.

From Theodore of Antioch

According to the text, they therefore *say*: 'Our arrogance permits us to say what we want. What kind of ruler do we have, whom we need to fear?' That seems like the habit, so <this verse> goes, not just of those who *say* that all of the time, but of those who show in deed that they do anything in this way without fear, as if there was no judge.

From Hesychios

It is always necessary to pray these words of the psalm, because nothing ruins human life as much as arrogance and deceit.

From Eusebios

It was proper to God, not to man, to overcome their evil and to extinguish words that speak profanely of Jesus. In the same way as Pharaoh, when he said: '*I do not know the Lord*', they too say: '*Who is our Lord?*', because they consider themselves to be powerful enough to extinguish by their own words the teaching of the Saviour, as if they were self-sufficient. These were *the lips* of the Pharisees and Sadducees, who with hypocrisy came to the Saviour and called him Rabbi, while in fact secretly concocting mischief against him. The elders and priests of the people were *boastful*, because they dared to question the Saviour and to say to him: '*With what power do you do this, and who gave you such power?*'

**frg. 168** Ὠριγένους

Ἐξολοθρεύσει δὲ τὰ χείρονα ὁ Κύριος, ὡς ἂν ἀφανισθέντων τῶν ἐπισυμβεβηκότων ἀνακύψῃ τὸ πρῶτον τοῦ Θεοῦ κτίσμα, ᾧ ἐπισυνέβη τὰ χείρονα.

**frg. 169** Διδύμου

Οὐ γὰρ τὰ μέλη τοῦ σώματος ἐξωλόθρευεν ἀλλὰ τὴν δολίαν χρῆσιν αὐτῶν· εἴρηται γὰρ ἐν Παροιμίαις· *Περίελε σεαυτοῦ σκολιὸν στόμα καὶ ἄδिका χεῖλη μακρὰν ἄπωσαι ἀπὸ σου. Οἱ δὲ περὶ ὧν ὁ λόγος ὧν ἐπιθυμοῦσι τυγχάνοντες προφέρονται φωνὴν τὴν ἐν τῷ Ἰώβ, λέγων ἕκαστος τῷ Κυρίῳ· Ἀπόστα ἀπ' ἐμοῦ, ὁδοὺς σου εἰδέναι οὐ βούλομαι· τί ἱκανὸς ὅτι*  
5 *δουλεύσομεν αὐτῷ;*

Lemma 38 *Ἔνεκεν τῆς ταλαιπωρίας τῶν πτωχῶν καὶ τοῦ στεναγμοῦ τῶν πενήτων νῦν ἀναστήσομαι, Ps 11:6*  
*λέγει Κύριος, θήσομαι ἐν σωτηρίῳ, παρηρησιάσομαι ἐν αὐτῷ.*

**frg. 170** [Θεοδώρου]

Οὐ περιόψομαι γὰρ αὐτοὺς ὀλοφυρομένους καὶ στένοντας διὰ τὴν εἰς αὐτοὺς τολμωμένην παρανομίαν, ἀλλὰ τὴν μακροθυμίαν καθάπερ τινὰ ὕπνον ἀποσεισάμενος περιφανῇ καὶ λαμπρὰν αὐτῶν τὴν σωτηρίαν ποιήσομαι. Οὕτω γὰρ ὁ Σύμμαχος ἡρμήνευσε· ‘τάξω σωτήριο ἐκφανές’. Καὶ διδάσκων ὡς ἀληθῶς ἔσται τὰ εἰρημένα προτέθεικεν.

**frg. 171** Κυρίλλου

Ἐξεγερθήσεσθαι λέγει· καὶ οὐ τί πού φαμεν σωματικὴν εἶναι τὴν ἀνάστασιν, ἥτοι τὴν ἔγερσιν, ἀλλ’ οἷον τὸ διανεῦσαι λοιπὸν ἐπὶ τῷ θέλειν τοῖς κάμνουσι χεῖρα νεῖμαι τὴν σώζουσιν.

168 ABCJ 169 ABCJ Lemma 38 ABCJ 170 ABCJ 171 ABCJ

168,1-2 cf. Orig. comm. in Ps 11:4, PG 12: 1200D6-9 (e schedis Grabii, quae cod. G adhibuerunt)  
169,1-5 cf. Did. Alex. comm. in Ps 11:5, ed. Mühlenberg 1975, 166.1-10 2 Prov 4:24 3-5 Iob 21:14-15 170,1-4 Tht. Cyr. comm. in Ps 11:6, PG 80: 944B8-15 3-4 Ps 11:6 σ’ 171,1-3 Cyr. Alex. comm. in Ps 11:6, PG 69: 797B9-12 (e cod. N)

Attr. fr. 169 Διδύμου] om. J Attr. fr. 170 Θεοδώρου] θεοδω B, θεοδ C

169,1 ἐξωλόθρευεν] ἐξωλόθρευεν C 170,4 ἐκφανές] ἐμφανές J | προτέθεικεν] προστέθεικεν B 171,2 κάμνουσι] λαμβάνουσι J

Lemma 38,1 Ἔνεκεν] ἀπὸ Ps (sed vide app. crit.) | ante τοῦ] ἀπὸ hab. Ps (sed vide app. crit.) 2 σωτηρίῳ] σωτηρίᾳ Ps (sed vide app. crit.) 170,4 ἐκφανές] ἐμφανές Tht. (sed vide app. crit.) προτέθεικεν] προστέθεικε Tht.

From Origen

The Lord *will destroy* the baser things, so that when all that has occurred with it has disappeared, he may reveal the original creation of God, together with which baser things were created.

From Didymos

He did not *destroy* the limbs of the body, but their *deceitful* use; for it is said in Proverbs: '*Put away from yourself a crooked mouth and put devious lips far from you.*' But those who are the subject of this passage, achieving what they desire, speak with Job's voice, each *saying to the Lord*: '*Away from me! I do not want to know your ways: How is he such, that we should serve him?*'

*Because of the distress of the poor and the groaning of the needy, now I will rise up, says the Lord, I will grant salvation; I shall speak freely about this.*

[From Theodore]

I will not overlook those who cry and sigh because of a bold transgression against them, but shaking off my long-suffering like some sleep I will make their *salvation* clear and bright. For Symmachus translated it like this: 'I will make salvation obvious.' And teaching that what has been said will be true, he added <...>.

From Cyril

He says to wake up; and we do not speak of some corporeal resurrection, or rising up, but rather a sort of indication of the willingness to stretch out a saving hand to those who struggle.

frg. 172 Ὠριγένους

Ὁ Παῦλος φησι καὶ τὸ *Ταλαίπωρος ἐγὼ ἄνθρωπος*, καὶ τὸ *Ἵς πτωχοὶ πολλοὺς δὲ πλουτίζοντες*, καὶ τὸ *Μέχρι τῆς ἄρτι ὥρας καὶ πεινώμεν καὶ διψῶμεν καὶ γυμνητεύομεν*, καὶ τὸ *Ὅντες ἐν τῷ σκῆνι στενάζομεν*.

frg. 173

Καὶ ἄλλως δὲ τῶν ἀλαζονευομένων στένουσιν οἱ πτωχοὶ τὴν τυραννίδα μὴ φέροντες. Διὸ φησιν ὁ Κύριος· *Ἀναστήσομαι ὡς ἂν δείξῃ μοι τὴν βουλὴν ἐν σωτηρίῳ παρρησιάζομαι ἐν αὐτῷ κατὰ τῶν ὑπερηφάνων*, καὶ τῆς *ταλαιπωρίας ἀπαλλάξω τοὺς πένητας*, κατὰ τὸν τῆς ἐπιδημίας καιρὸν *ἀναστὰς* καὶ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀφικόμενος, ὡς φανερωθῆναι τὴν *σωτηρίαν* τῶν  
 5 *ἔξω ταλαιπωρίας* καὶ τοῦ στενάζειν γεγενημένων. Τοιγαροῦν ὁ Παῦλος εἰπὼν· *Ταλαίπωρος ἐγὼ ἄνθρωπος, τίς με ῥύσεται ἐκ τοῦ σώματος τοῦ θανάτου τούτου*, ἐπάγει· *Εὐχαριστῶ τῷ Θεῷ διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ*. Ἐδήλωσε γὰρ ὅτι Κύριος ὁ ῥυσόμενος τὸν ταλαιπωροῦντα. Διὸ εἶχε σῶμα θανάτου ὁ καὶ νῦν λέγων· *Νῦν ἀναστήσομαι*. Φασὶ δὲ πτωχὸν μὲν τὸν ἐκπεσόντα πλούτου, *πένητα* δὲ τὸν ἐκ πόνου τὰ πρὸς τὸν βίον περιποιούμενον. Λέγει δὲ ἡ Γραφή·  
 10 *Πλούσιοι ἐπτάχευσαν*, καὶ τὸ *Ἐπταχέυσαμεν σφόδρα*, καὶ περὶ τοῦ Σωτῆρος ὡς *Ἐπτάχευσε δι' ἡμᾶς πλούσιος ὢν*, ἵνα ἡμεῖς *πλουτήσωμεν τῇ αὐτοῦ πτωχείᾳ*. Λέγει δὲ καί· *Τοῦ στεναγμοῦ τῶν πενήτων*, ὡς αἰεὶ στενονόντων ἐπὶ τῷ πόνῳ. Τὸ δὲ *Θήσομαι ἐν σωτηρίῳ* δηλοῖ τὸ 'ὀρίσω καὶ ποιήσω', ὡς καὶ τὸ *Ὅν ἐδῆκε κληρονόμον πάντων*. Ὁ ἐστὶν ἀνέδειξεν ὅποιον καὶ τὸ *Ἐδετο ὁ Θεὸς ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ* πρῶτον ἀποστόλους καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους τῆς  
 15 ἐκκλησίας *Ἐμᾶς ἔδετο τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἐπισκόπους ποιμαίνειν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν*, ὠρίσθαι καὶ πεποιθῆσθαι σημαῖνον.

Lemma 39 *Τὰ λόγια Κυρίου λόγια ἀγνά, ἀργύριον πεπυρωμένον, δοκίμιον τῇ γῇ, κεκαθαρισμένον* Ps 11:7 *ἐπταπλασίως*.

172 ABCJ 173 ABCJ Lemma 39 ABCJ

172,1-3 Orig. comm. in Ps 11:6, PG 12: 1201A7-11 (e schedis Grabii, quae cod. G adhibuerunt) 1 Rom 7:24 1-2 II Cor 6:10 2 I Cor 4:11 3 II Cor 5:4 173,1-16 cf. Did. Alex. comm. in Ps 11:6, ed. Mühlenberg 1975, 166.11-167.16 5-6 Rom 7:24 6-7 Rom 1:8 10 Ps 33:11 | Ps 78:8 10-11 II Cor 8:9 13 Hebr 1:2 13-14 I Cor 12:28 15 cf. Act 20:28

173,4 τῶν] ἡμῶν BC 9 [βίον] παρόντα praem. B 10 ὡς] ὅς B

172,1 φησι] ἔφη PG 2 Μέχρι] Ἄχρι PG | καὶ<sup>3</sup>... γυμνητεύομεν] καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς PG 3 ante Ὅντες] Οἱ hab. PG

From Origen

Paul says: *'Wretched man that I am'*, as well as *'As poor, yet making many rich'*, and *'To the present hour we are hungry and thirsty, we are naked'*, and *'For while we stay in this tent, we groan'*.

Unlike the ones who are boasting, the *poor* moan, as they do not bear the tyranny. Therefore the *Lord* says: *'I will stand up'*, in order to *place* my advice in *salvation*, to *speak freely about this* against the arrogant ones, and to free *the needy from distress*, arising on the appointed time of arrival and coming to us, so as to make manifest the *salvation* of those who became free from *distress* and moaning. Therefore Paul accordingly says: *'Wretched man that I am, who will deliver me from this body of death?'*, and he adds: *'I thank God through Jesus Christ.'* He thus clarified that the *Lord* is the one who delivers the distressed man. Therefore he had a mortal body, he who is now saying: *'I will stand up now.'* They call *'poor'* the one who has lost wealth, but *'needy'* the one who provides the necessities of life from hard work. Scripture says: *'The rich became poor'*, and *'We often begged'*, and about the Saviour it says: *'Though he was rich, he became poor for us, so we would be rich through his poverty'*. It also says: *'Of the groaning of the needy'*, because they always sigh from hard work. The expression *'I will place them in salvation'* denotes the sequence *'I will ordain and I will make'*. This is like in the expression *'Whom he appointed heir to everything'*: he showed that the meaning is similar to statements such as *'God has appointed in the Church first apostles'* and so on, and addressing the presbyters of the Church, *'The Holy Spirit has appointed you as overseers to shepherd the Church'*, likewise indicating the sequence to ordain and to make.

*The sayings of the Lord are pure sayings, silver refined by fire, tested for soil, purified seven times.*

## 174 Ὠριγένους

Καὶ ὁ *θησαυρίζων* δὲ ἐν οὐρανῷ, τιθεὶς ἐν *σωτηρίᾳ*, ταῦτά φησι, *παρρησιαζόμενος* ἐν θεῷ. Ἡ γὰρ συνειδήσις αὐτοῦ οὐ καταγινώσκει.

## 175 Εὐσεβίου

Ἡ καὶ οὕτως· οἱ *πταχοί* δι' ἐμὲ καὶ *πένητες* γεγονότες τῷ πνεύματι στένουσιν αἰεὶ, ταπεινούμενοι προσέχοντές μου τῷ λόγῳ καὶ πίστιν ἀκλινῇ διασώζοντες. Ὡν ἕνεκεν *ἀναστήσομαι*, καὶ κατὰ τὸ πρέπον τῇ ἐμῇ ἀναστάσει *σωτήριον* θήσομαι πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις· ἐφ' ᾧ περ ὡς *μεγάλῳ παρρησιάσομαι* κατορθώματι.

## 176 [Θεοδώρου]

Τὸ *ἑπταπλασίως* ἀντὶ τοῦ *πολυπλασίως* τέθεικεν· τοῦτο γὰρ σύννηθες τῇ θείᾳ Γραφῇ.

## 177 Κυρίλλου

Τουτέστιν *ἀγνοποιά*· νοσεῖ γὰρ κατ' οὐδένα τρόπον, λαμπρὰ δὲ οὕτως ἐστὶ καὶ *κεκαθαρμένα*, ὥστε δοκεῖν *ἀργύριον* εἶναι, *πεπυρωμένον* δὲ οὐχ ἄπαξ, ἀλλὰ καὶ *πλειστάκις*· τοῦτο γὰρ οἶμαι δηλοῦν τὸ *ἑπταπλασίως*. Δεδοκιμασμένα τοίνυν τοῖς ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς τοῦ Σωτῆρος τὰ λόγια.

## 178 Εὐσεβίου

Ὁ δὲ ἄργυρος *πολλάκις πυρούμενος* ἀμιγῆς ἐτέρας ὕλης ἐστίν· οὕτω καθαρὰ ψεύδους τοῦ *Κυρίου τὰ λόγια*.

174 ABCJ 175 ABCJ 176 ABCJ 177 ABCJ 178 ABCJ

174,1-2 cf. Orig. comm. in Ps 11:6, PG 12: 1201C11-13 (ex ed. Corderiana, quae cod. F adhibuit) 1 Mt 6:20 175,1-4 Eus. Caes. comm. in Ps 11:6, PG 23: 141B2-8 (e cod. A et al.; cf. Pitra 1883, 404.39-405.9 (e cod. N et al.)) 176,1 Tht. Cyr. comm. in Ps 11:7, PG 80: 944C3-5 177,1-4 Cyr. Alex. comm. in Ps 11:7, PG 69: 797C5-10 (e cod. N) 178,1-2 Eus. Caes. comm. in Ps 11:7, PG 23: 141B11-13 (e cod. A et al.)

Attr. fr. 176 Θεοδώρου] θεοδω BJ, θεοδ C

174,1 *σωτηρίᾳ*] *σωτηρίῳ* B 175,2 *μου*] *μοι* J | ἕνεκεν] ἕνεκα J 177,3 *τῆς*] *om.* J

175,3 *θήσομαι*] *στήσομαι* PG 176,1 *πολυπλασίως*] *πολλαπλασίως* Tht.



From Origen

He who *stores up treasures in heaven*, placing them *in safety*, says these <words of the Psalter verse>, because he can *speak freely with* God. For his conscience does not condemn him.

From Eusebios

Or like this: the *poor* who for my sake also became *needy* in spirit always sigh, becoming humble because they keep my word and preserve an unbending faith. For their sake *I will stand up* and according to what is fitting *I will appoint salvation* for all men through my resurrection, about which *I will freely speak* as a great asset.

[From Theodore]

<David> put '*seven times*' instead of 'many times': this is indeed customary in Holy Scripture.

From Cyril

<Here '*pure*'> means 'purifying': the <*sayings of the Lord*> are in no way noxious, but they are so bright and *purified*, that they seem to be *silver, refined* not once, but many times: I therefore think that this is the meaning of '*seven times*'. The sayings of the Saviour are therefore tested for those on earth.

From Eusebios

Silver that is *refined* many times is not mixed with any other material: likewise, *the sayings of the Lord* are pure from falsehoods.

**frg. 179** Ὠριγένους

Καὶ γὰρ καλὰ τινὰ ἢ λόγια παρὰ τοῖς οὐκ ἐκ τῆς μερίδος Κυρίου οὐκ ἔστιν ἀγνά, ἅτε ψευδέσι μυρίοις συμπεφυρμένα.

Lemma 40 Σύ, Κύριε, φυλάξεις ἡμᾶς καὶ διατηρήσεις ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τῆς γενεᾶς ταύτης καὶ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα.

Ps 11:8

**frg. 180** [Θεοδώρου]

Ὑπὸ γὰρ τῆς σῆς φρουρούμενοι χάριτος οὐ μόνον τῆς παρὰ σου γενεᾶς τὰς πάγας διαφευξόμεθα, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς αἰωνίου σωτηρίας τευξόμεθα.

**frg. 181** Ἀθανασίου

Διατοῦτό φησιν· Φυλάξεις ἡμᾶς, ἐπειδὴ κυκλοῦντες κυκλοῦσιν ἡμᾶς οἱ ἀσεβεῖς ἐπιβουλεύονται τῇ ἡμῶν σωτηρίᾳ. Οὗτοι δ' ἂν εἶεν αἱ ἀντικείμεναι καὶ πονηραὶ δυνάμεις.

**frg. 182** Εὐσεβίου

Ἐπειδὴ φυλάξης τοὺς σοὺς πτωχοὺς, Κύριε, καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἡμᾶς περιτειχίσῃς ἅμα τῇ ἐρχομένῃ γενεᾷ τῇ καλουμένῃ αἰωνία, οἱ παράνομοι τότε, ἐκτὸς γενόμενοι τῆς εἰς πάντας ἀνθρώπους χυθησομένης σου χάριτος, κύκλῳ περιπατήσουσι, θεωροὶ γεννησόμενοι τῶν σωζομένων· καὶ τοῦτο ἔσται ὅταν ὑψωθῶσιν οἱ εὐτελεῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων.

**frg. 183** Θεοδώρου Ἀντιοχείας

Τῷ δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς γενεᾶς ταύτης προσυπακούεται τὸ 'τῆς πονηρᾶς'· οὕτω γὰρ καὶ ἡ ἀκολουθία σώζεται πρὸς τὰ ἀνώτερα, τουτέστιν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τῆς γενεᾶς ταύτης τῆς πονηρᾶς.

179 ABCJ Lemma 40 ABCJ 180 ABCJ 181 ABCJ 182 ABCJ 183 ABCJ

179,1-2 cf. Orig. comm. in Ps 11:7, PG 12: 1201D1-3 (ex ed. Corderiana, quae cod. F adhibuit) 180,1-2 Tht. Cyr. comm. in Ps 11:8, PG 80: 944C8-10 181,1-2 Athan. Alex. scholia in Ps 11:8, PG 27: 96B5-8 (e codd. A et J et al.) 1 cf. Ps 11:9 182,1-4 fons ignotus, ed. sub nom. Eus., PG 23: 141C1-7 (e cod. A et al.) 1 Ps 11:6a 3 Ps 11:9a 183,1-3 Theod. Mops. comm. in Ps 11:8, ed. Devreesse 1939, 73.17-22

Attr. fr. 180 Θεοδώρου] θεοδω B, θεοδ C

180,1 πάγας] παγίδας B 181,2 ἐπιβουλεύονται] ἐπιβουλεύοντες BC 183,1 καὶ] om. J

180,1 παρὰ σου] παρούσης Tht. 181,1 κυκλοῦσιν] non hab. PG 182,1 Κύριε] non hab. PG

From Origen

Even good things or *sayings* on the part of those who are not on the side of the Lord are not *pure*, but baked together with countless falsehoods.

*You, Lord, you will guard us and you will preserve us from this generation and forever.*

[From Theodore]

Guarded by your grace, we will not only escape the traps of your *generation*, but we will also attain eternal salvation.

From Athanasios

Therefore it says: '*You will guard us*', because when impious men surround us all about, they threaten our salvation. These are perhaps the adverse and evil powers.

From Eusebios

Whenever *you guard* your *poor*, Lord, and whenever you fortify us together with the coming *generation* which is called eternal, then the transgressors who have put themselves outside your grace which is poured over all men, *will walk about all around*, becoming the spectators of those who are saved: this will happen when the righteous men are exalted.

From Theodore of Antioch

The words '*From this generation*' are understood as also including the adjective 'wicked'. For in this way even the next generation is saved from the one before, that is: *from this generation* of men, the wicked one.

Lemma 41 *Κύκλω οἱ ἀσεβεῖς περιπατοῦσιν· κατὰ τὸ ὕψος σου ἐπολυώρησας τοὺς υἱοὺς τῶν ἀνθρώπων.*

Ps 11:9

**frg. 184** [Θεοδώρου]

Οἱ μὲν οὖν δυσσεβεῖα συζώντες, τὴν εὐθείαν καταλιπόντες ὁδόν, τῇδε κάκεισε περιπλανῶνται, κυκλοῦν καὶ οἰοῖν πολιορκεῖν τοὺς ἐπιεικεστέρους πειρώμενοι. Σὺ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ τῆς φύσεως ὕψους φαινόμενος, τῆς σῆς ἀξιοῖς κηδεμονίας τοὺς ὑπ' ἐκείνων πολεμουμένους, νῦν μὲν ψυχαγωγῶν ἐν ταῖς θλίψεσι, μετὰ βραχὺ δὲ τελείαν τὴν σωτηρίαν  
5 δωρούμενος.

**frg. 185** [Εὐσεβίου]

Ἐπειδὴ ὁ κύκλος τῇ εὐθείᾳ ἐναντίος ἐστὶ κατὰ τὴν σκολιότητα καὶ εὐθύτητα, οἱ δὲ ἀσεβεῖς κύκλω περιπατοῦσιν, οἱ εὐσεβεῖς ἄρα εὐθείαν περιπατοῦσιν.

**frg. 186** Θεοδώρου Ἀντιοχείας

Ἐπειδὴ τοὺς ὑπὸ τῶν ἀσεβῶν κυκλωθέντας οὐκ ἔνεστιν ἑτέρως τὴν τούτων ἀπαλλαγὴν εὑρασθαι, μὴ τῷ Θεῷ βοηθῶ χρωμένους.

**frg. 187** Διδύμου

Κατὰ τοῦτο δὲ τὸ σημαίνοντον τοῦ διατηρεῖν καὶ ὁ Σωτὴρ περὶ τῶν μαθητῶν ἔλεγε τῷ πατρί· *Πάτερ ἄγιε, τήρησον αὐτούς· ὅτε ἤμην μετ' αὐτῶν, ἐγὼ ἐτήρουν αὐτούς.* Ἔστι γὰρ ἕτερον σημαίνοντον, καθὼς περὶ τοῦ Ἀδὰμ λέγεται πρὸς τὸν ὄφιν· *Αὐτός σου τηρήσει κεφαλὴν, σὺ δὲ τηρήσεις αὐτοῦ πτέρναν, ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐπιτηρήσει.* Ὅταν δὲ τὴν ἐντολὴν

**Lemma 41** ABCJ **184** ABCJ, ab ὑπ' (l. 3) ABJ **185** ABJ **186** ABJ **187** ABJ

**184,1-5** Tht. Cyr. comm. in Ps 11:9, PG 80: 944C13-D6 **1** cf. Ps 26:11b **185,1-2** Evagr. Pont., ed. sub nom. Eus., PG 23: 141C10-13 (e cod. A et al.) **186,1-2** Theod. Mops. comm. in Ps 11:9, ed. Devreesse 1939, 74 in ima pagina **187,1-9** cf. Did. Alex. comm. in Ps 11:8-9, ed. Mühlenberg 1975, 167.17-168.6 **1** Ps 11:8b **2** Io 17:11 | Io 17:12 **3-4** Gen 3:15

**Attr. fr. 184** Θεοδώρου] θεοδ BC

**184,3** τοὺς] τοῖς ABJ **4** πολεμουμένους] scripsi, πολεμουμένοις ABJ **185,1** οἱ] ὁ A<sup>a. corr.</sup> **186,2** χρωμένους] χρώμενος A **187,4** τηρήσεις] τηρήσες (sic) J | ἐπιτηρήσει] ἐπιτηρήσεις B

**184,1** εὐθείαν] θείαν Tht. (sed vide app. crit.)

*All around the impious are walking about; according to your exalted state you showed regard for the sons of men.*

[From Theodore]

Those who live together in impiety, having left the *straight* path, wander about here and there, trying to *encircle* and as it were to besiege more reasonable people. But you, when you manifest yourself from the heights of nature, deem those assailed by such people to be worthy of your care, now guiding them spiritually through these afflictions, but in a short while granting them complete salvation.

[From Eusebios]

Because a *circle* is the opposite of a straight path, according to their being curved as opposed to straight, *the impious* thus *walk in a circle*, while the pious *walk* a straight path.

From Theodore of Antioch

Because it is not possible that those encircled by the *impious* men find in another way the deliverance from them, except if they use God as a helper.

From Didymos

In accordance with this meaning of *protecting* also the Saviour spoke about his disciples to the Father: '*Holy Father, protect them: while I was with them, I protected them.*' Because there is another meaning, which God used when he spoke about Adam to the snake: '*He will watch your head, you will watch his heel*' instead of 'he will observe'. When we pay attention to the command '*watch over your heart with every*

- 5 τηρήσωμεν τὴν *πάσῃ φυλακῇ τήρει σὴν καρδίαν*, ὥς οὐκ αὐταρκεῖς τοῦ σπουδαζομένου τυχεῖν ἀνεπιβουλεύτως (*ἐὰν γὰρ μὴ Κύριος φυλάξῃ πόλιν, εἰς μάτην ἡγρύπνησεν ὁ φυλάσσων αὐτήν*), εὐχὴν δὲ τῷ δυναμένῳ προσάγομεν τὴν *σύ, Κύριε, φυλάξεις ἡμᾶς*. Ἐν ὑψηλοῖς γὰρ ὑπάρχων *κατὰ τὸ πολὺ ὕψος* τῆς ἀγαθότητός σου *τοὺς υἱοὺς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐπολυώρησας*, κρίνας αὐτοὺς ἀξίους εἶναι τοῦ προστασίαν ἔχειν ἐκ προνοίας τῆς σῆς.

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ABJ

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187,5 Prov 4:23a 6 Ps 126:1d-e 7 Ps 11:8a 8 Ps 11:9b

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187,5 ὥς] λέγουσαν τότε δεῖγμα ἱκανὸν προφέρομεν τῆς πρὸς θεὸν ἀγαπήσεως καὶ προαίρεσιν παρεχόμενοι ἀντιλαμβάνομεν βοήθειαν praem. B 6 ἀνεπιβουλεύτως] ἄνευ τῆς ἐκεῖθεν χειρὸς B

*guard* but are not self-sufficient in managing to do this successfully and innocently (*'unless the Lord indeed guards the city, the guard kept awake in vain'*), we bring a prayer to him who can: *'You, Lord, will guard us.'* Because from the beginning you existed in the heights, *you esteemed highly the sons of men* according to *the high sublimity* of your goodness. Because you have judged them worthy to have <the benefit of> your protection out of your providence.



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# THE EXEGETICAL ANNOTATIONS FROM THE END OF THE TWELFTH CENTURY IN CODEX MARCHALIANUS: JEREMIAH AND HOSEA

MARIACHIARA FINCATI



## 1. CODEX MARCHALIANUS, AN ANNOTATED MANUSCRIPT

Codex Marchalianus (Rahlfs Q) is an ancient Greek manuscript of the Prophetic Books preserved in the Vatican Library as Vaticanus gr. 2125.<sup>1</sup> It was produced in Egypt between the end of the sixth and the beginning of the eighth century.<sup>2</sup> Its main text, displayed full page in a script that resembles Coptic characters, is considered a major witness of the Alexandrine textual tradition, but quite soon after its production it received textual corrections and marginal annotations drawn from a witness of the hexaplaric text, from which also the colophons placed on pp. 171–172 (before the book of Isaiah) and on p. 568 (before the book of Ezekiel) are copied.<sup>3</sup>

In providing hexaplaric readings, codex Marchalianus is similar to a few other ancient Septuagint manuscripts in majuscule script, particularly to the coeval MS Paris, Coisl. 1 (Rahlfs M).<sup>4</sup> This manuscript, containing the Octateuch and the Books of Kingdoms and having a text displayed on two columns, was glossed with a high number of hexaplaric notes by the same four copyists who wrote the main text.<sup>5</sup> In the following centuries, a relatively copious amount of scholia and patristic quotations were

<sup>1</sup> Now digitized and available on [http://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS\\_Vat.gr.2125](http://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.gr.2125). A black-and-white facsimile was published by Cozza Luzi & Ceriani 1890. Description in Rahlfs & Fraenkel 2004, 346–350.

<sup>2</sup> Schubart dates the ancient writing by comparing it with that of Alexandrine Paschal letters from the years 577 to 700 (1925, 156). See the image of a Paschal letter from the seventh/eighth century in La'da & Papatthomas 2004, 12. Crisci assumes the end of the seventh or beginning of the eighth century as the more probable dating (2000, 18).

<sup>3</sup> Ziegler 1984, 44; Ziegler 1939, 51 with reference to Lütkekmann & Rahlfs 1915, 246; Field 1875, I:c; Mercati 1941, 7.

<sup>4</sup> Available online on <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b84683074>. Description in Rahlfs & Fraenkel 2004, 307–308. It is dated to the seventh century by Cavallo (1967, 106).

<sup>5</sup> Rahlfs & Fraenkel 2004, 307.

added by a number of hands. The most recent of those added, in the twelfth century, portions of traditional exegetical texts next to probably personal observations.<sup>6</sup>

Codex Marchalianus reached Southern Italy probably between the eighth and the ninth century; its writing was carefully retraced with overwriting in ink, and breathings and accents were added, sometime in the middle of the tenth century, probably in the area of Reggio. At the arrival of the Normans, it was transferred to Constantinople together with other manuscripts of religious texts.<sup>7</sup>

## 2. ANNOTATIONS FROM THE TWELFTH CENTURY

In the last decades of the twelfth century, codex Marchalianus appears to have been the property of the scholiast who wrote a large amount of exegetical notes in its margins.<sup>8</sup> As Giovanni Mercati pointed out, the scholiast speaks of the manuscript as his own book:<sup>9</sup>

Ταῦτα οὐκ εἰσὶ μὲν ἐν τῷ ἐμῷ βί(βλίῳ·) εὐρίσκονται δὲ ἐρμηνευθ(έν)τ(α) παρὰ τοῦ Χρυ(σοστόμου) ὡς ὄντα τῆς βί(βλου) τοῦ Ἱερεμίας : κεί(μενον) κατὰ τῆς Αἰγύπτου) ἐπὶ δύναμιν Φαραὼ Νεχαώ, ὃν ἐπάταξε Ναβουχοδονόσορ : οὕτως ὁ Νεχαώ ἀνελὼν τὸν Ἰωσίαν κατέστησεν Ἰωαχάζ [...] (p. 520, upper margin).

These (verses) are not in my book; but they are found explained by Chrysostom as being from the book of Jeremiah. Text: “Against Egypt, on the force of Pharaoh Nechao, whom Nabuchodonosor struck” (cf. Jer 26:2 LXX). So Nechao after killing Iosia appointed Ioachaz [...].

<sup>6</sup> Rahlfs & Fraenkel described the handwriting as a “hastiger Minuskelschrift” from the eleventh century (2004, 307). These scholia deserve further investigation and await proper description. Another ancient manuscript with hexaplaric notes added shortly after its production is MS Milan, Ambr. A 147 inf.: the notes are comparatively few in number, and their ink has faded almost completely (see Ceriani 1864, xii). The Ambrosian manuscript was supplemented with some minor textual variants and some textual additions in the centuries immediately following its production, and underwent a major restoration between the eleventh and the twelfth century (Fincati 2016, 17–25). Marginal notes in Byzantine manuscripts, also those added after the transition to minuscule script (eighth/ninth century), often consist of hexaplaric variants, sometimes combined with catena annotations, or, more frequently, with reading instructions (with reference to liturgical pericopes). Autoschediastic scholia on behalf of readers are not frequent, but much investigation has still to be done in this field. I have outlined some autoschediastic scholia concerning textual matters in Fincati 2017.

<sup>7</sup> Mazzucchi 2010, 136–137.

<sup>8</sup> This contrasts the statement by Karo & Lietzmann, who dated the marginal ‘catena’ to the fourteenth century (1902, 620). For the earlier dating, see Mazzucchi 2010, 134. The writing shows some resemblance with that of Joannikios from the end of the twelfth century (RGK II:283 and Taf. 156, and Cavallo 2000, 232).

<sup>9</sup> Mercati 1953, 29. See also Mazzucchi 2010, 134–135.

What follows is a portion of Ps.-Chrysostom's commentary on Jer 46:2 MT (PG 64: 1017D–1020A).<sup>10</sup>

One could object that the note could have been copied from an antigraphon,<sup>11</sup> but further observations rule out this suggestion. Moreover, the informal writing, quite difficult to decipher, and the author's disregard of the evident preciousness of the codex, make it likely that he annotated the manuscript for his own use and that he indeed owned it.

The owner glossed all the prophetic books except Daniel. Precisely the first part of the book of Daniel in Theodotion's version, i.e. the tale of Susanna, is glossed by the same hand in codex Vaticanus (Vat. gr. 1209).<sup>12</sup> That hand furthermore glossed Demosthenes's *Orations* in MS Paris. gr. 2934. Beginning from an observation of the latter manuscript, Mazzucchi tentatively identified the scholiast of all three codices. Indeed, a scholion to Demosthenes's *Oration* 45, 54 (f. 277<sup>v</sup>) reflects interest in a topic addressed by John Kamateros, patriarch of Constantinople in the years 1198–1206, in one of his canonical responses.<sup>13</sup> Kamateros is reported to have written “mellifluous and cheerful polemics against the Hebrews”, revealing an interest shared with the twelfth-century scholia on Exodus in codex Vaticanus.<sup>14</sup>

It may be suggested, therefore, that John Kamateros was the scholiast who glossed codex Marchalianus, codex Vaticanus and the Paris Demosthenes.<sup>15</sup> A further argument in support of that hypothesis was recently put forward by Mazzucchi: an ex-libris in MS Milan, Ambr. M 66 sup. (rhetorical works of Aphthonios and Hermogenes, densely annotated with marginalia by what appears to be the same cursive hand) identifies John Kamateros as the owner of that manuscript. His ownership can

<sup>10</sup> More information on this commentary is given below (n. 22; see also CPG 4447). Its author used a translation of Jeremiah with Hebrew chapter sequence; Jer 46 MT corresponds to Jer 26 LXX. What the scholiast of codex Marchalianus claims to be absent from his book is the Greek text of chapters 46–51 according to MT, i.e. the section “Oracles over the nations”. In fact these *are* in Q, at pp. 433–452 (chapters 25–32 of LXX). Since he did not find them in the same position as in his commentary, i.e. immediately before chapter 52 (which is on pp. 519–522), the scholiast thought those chapters absent. Consequently, he copied some verses of their text and their exegesis from Ps.-Chrysostom's commentary (on Jer 52:2, PG 64: 1017D–1020A) in the margins of p. 520 and subsequent pages. For the divergence between the Greek and Hebrew texts, see Vonach 2011, 2696–2713 and Fischer 2016.

<sup>11</sup> This was Ceriani's conjecture: see Mercati 1953, 29.

<sup>12</sup> Mazzucchi 2010, 134, and Versace 2011, 667–671.

<sup>13</sup> PG 119: 889B–893A.

<sup>14</sup> Versace 2011, 644, 647 and 649 (on the scholia on Exodus). See Nikephoros Chrysoberges, *Oration II*, ed. Browning 1978, 61, quoted in Mazzucchi 2010, 135 n. 7 (on John Kamateros): Σιγῶ τὰς πρὸς Ἑβραίους ἀντιλογίας τὰς μειλίχους καὶ ἰλαράς.

<sup>15</sup> Mazzucchi 2010, 135; see also Versace 2011, 675–678.

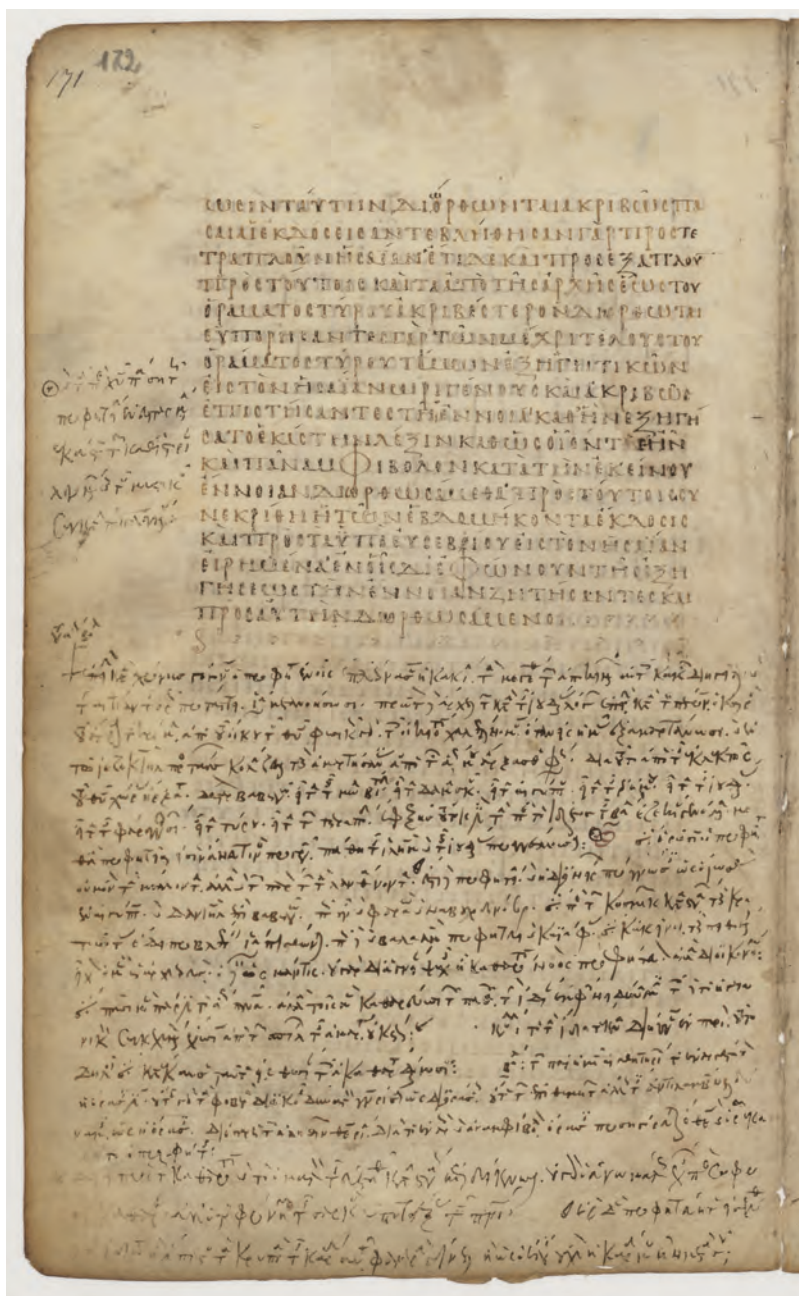


FIG. 1. MS Vat. gr. 2125, p. 172. Image reproduced by permission of the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.



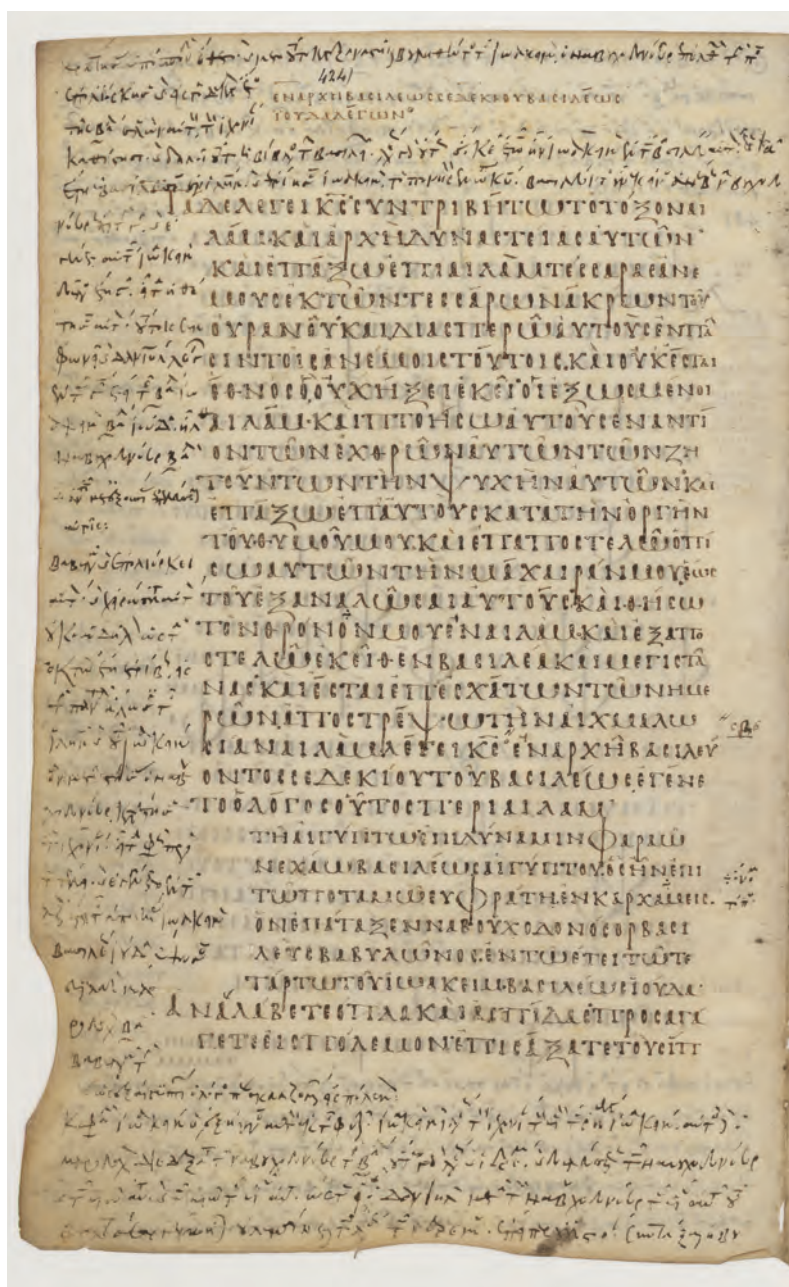


FIG. 2. MS Vat. gr. 2125, p. 424. Image reproduced by permission of the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.

therefore be extended to all the manuscripts showing the same handwriting in marginal annotations.<sup>16</sup> The identification is particularly meaningful because it would shed light on the intellectual interests and activity of a highly educated scholar and ecclesiastical authority. However, as in my opinion further evidence is needed in order to accept the proposed reading and the likeness of the handwriting, I will keep this hypothesis as provisional and refrain from naming Kamateros as the annotator.

With this study, I aim to describe the working methods of this twelfth-century annotator by analyzing some sections of his annotations in codex Marchalianus. I will concentrate on the beginning of Jeremiah and, for purposes of comparison, the prophet Hosea.

### 3. TWO SERIES OF ANNOTATIONS

The first observation, verifiable for both Jeremiah and Hosea, is that the scholiast inserted his annotations on two successive occasions, distinguishable on the basis of the writing style and content. As to the writing, the first series of notes uses a smaller module and has a neater appearance than the second, which instead looks more flowing: letters are more spaced out and the calamus has a different thickness.

Fig. 1 shows this difference: in the first series of notes, majuscule  $\kappa$  generally has the oblique strokes joined to the midpoint of the vertical one, or very close to it; in the second series, the angle (often a curved line) made by the oblique strokes is more frequently detached from the vertical line. Note also the transition to a high and single-stroked  $\tau$  (second line from the bottom); in the first series of glosses,  $\tau$  tends to be short and traced in two strokes.

The distinction between the first and the second series of glosses, reflecting a double scholiastic activity, is confirmed by the disposition of the notes in relation to biblical passages. Fig. 2 offers an excellent example: at first, three short notes were placed near the word they gloss:

- at the midpoint of the external margin, the note introduced by the mark  $\div$  refers to  $\theta\rho\acute{o}\nu\omicron\nu$  (line 15):<sup>17</sup>  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\iota\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \mu\epsilon\tau'\ \acute{\epsilon}\xi\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota\alpha\varsigma\ \acute{\epsilon}\pi\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\omicron\mu\alpha\iota\ \acute{\alpha}\upsilon\tau\omicron\iota\varsigma$  (“instead of ‘with power I will approach them’”);

<sup>16</sup> Mazzucchi 2019, 441–442.

<sup>17</sup> Jer 25:18:  $\text{Καὶ θήσω τὸν θρόνον μου ἐν Αἰλὰμ καὶ ἐξαποστελῶ ἐκεῖθεν βασιλέα καὶ μεγιστᾶνας}$  (“And I will set my throne in Ailam and send out from there a king and nobles”). I cite the LXX text of Jeremiah from Ziegler 1957 but add accents and breathing marks to the Greek transcriptions of Hebrew names (relying upon those found in codex Marchalianus and—when absent there—in codex Vaticanus); English translations of Jeremiah and Hosea are taken from NETS. All other translations are mine.



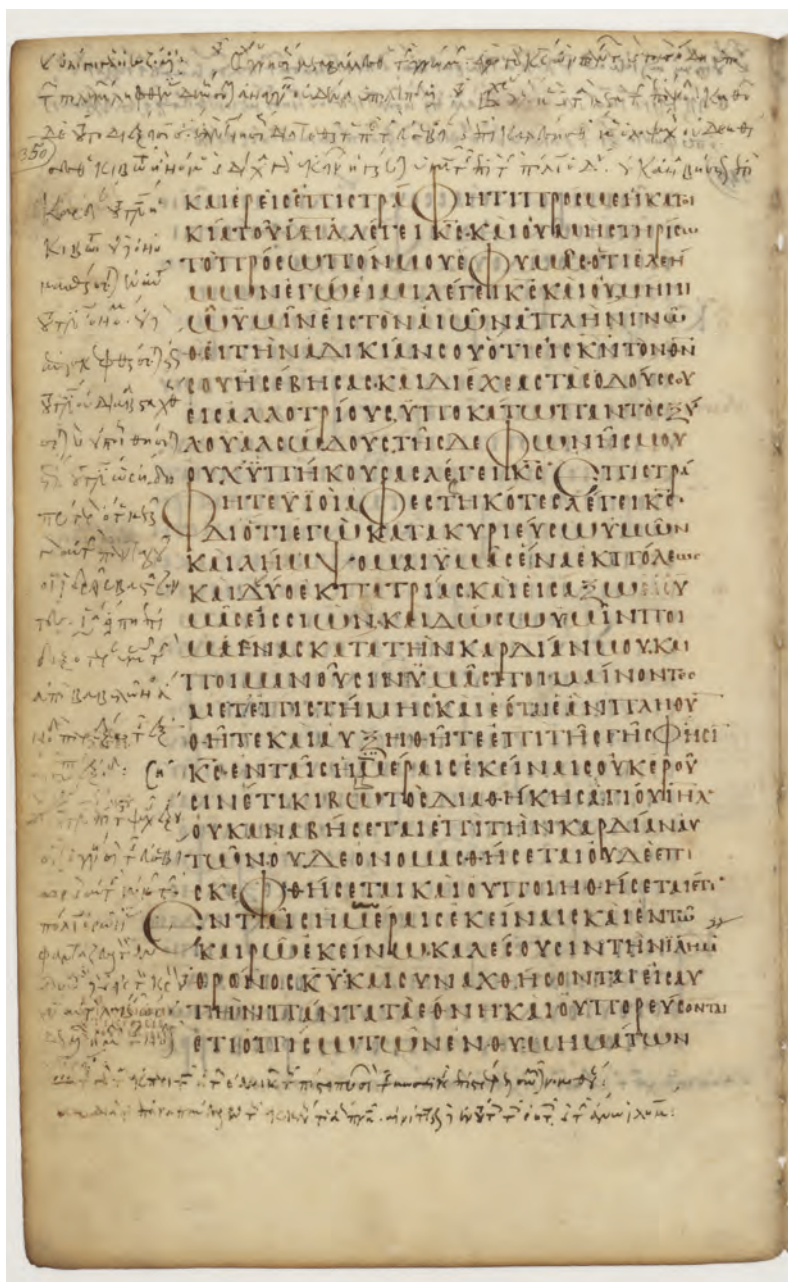


FIG. 3. MS Vat. gr. 2125, p. 350. Image reproduced by permission of the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.

- lower down in the internal margin, a note introduced by the same mark refers to *Καρχαμεις* (*sic*, line 24)<sup>18</sup> in order to clarify that it is a place name (*ὄνομα τόπου*);
- on the left hand side of the lower margin, a note introduced by ∟ refers to *Ἀναλάβετε* (line 28):<sup>19</sup> ὡς ἐξ Αἰγυπτίων ὁ λόγος παρασκευαζομένων εἰς πόλεμον (“as the word coming from the Egyptians who were ready for the war”).

Later, the annotator added a longer comment in the blank spaces of the interior margins, from the top to the bottom of the folio, jumping over his earlier notes.

#### 4. SOURCES FOR THE BOOK OF JEREMIAH

As to the contents of the glosses in codex Marchalianus and their provenance, the case of Jeremiah speaks very clearly.

There exist two main catenae to the Book of Jeremiah: the earlier type B, also called the catena of multiple authors (or, by some: Monophysite catena), possibly going back to the sixth century;<sup>20</sup> and type A, or the catena of two authors, probably compiled around the ninth/tenth century.<sup>21</sup> The type B catena contains excerpts from various authors, including Origen, John Chrysostom, Severos of Antioch and Olympiodoros. The type A catena consists of excerpts from the commentary by Theodoret of Cyrrhus combined (only for Jer 1–4) with a pseudepigraphic commentary attributed to John Chrysostom in all manuscripts of its direct tradition (CPG 4447).<sup>22</sup>

<sup>18</sup> Jer 26:2: Τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ ἐπὶ δύναντιν Φαραὼ Νεχαὼ βασιλέως Αἰγύπτου, ὃς ἦν ἐπὶ τῷ ποταμῷ Εὐφράτῃ ἐν Χαρχαμίς, ὃν ἐπάταξε Ναβουχοδονόσορ βασιλεὺς Βαβυλώνος ἐν τῷ ἔτει τῷ τετάρτῳ τοῦ Ἰωακίμ βασιλέως Ἰούδα (“For Egypt, regarding the force of Pharaoh Nechao, king of Egypt, who was by the river Euphrates in Charchamis, whom king Nabuchodonosor of Babylon struck in the fourth year of King Ioakim of Iouda”).

<sup>19</sup> Jer 26:3: Ἀναλάβετε ὅπλα καὶ ἀσπίδας καὶ προσαγάγετε εἰς πόλεμον (“Take up weapons and shields, and advance for battle”).

<sup>20</sup> CPG C 66. See Vianès 2000, 79 and pp. 405–419 of her contribution to the present volume.

<sup>21</sup> CPG C 65. Aussedat 2006a, 145.

<sup>22</sup> In 1623 the Roman priest Michael Ghislerius—a converted Jew who received the surname and the first name of Pope Pius V when he was baptized and then ordained—published a commentary on Jeremiah. It includes the Greek catena he copied from a “vetusto codice Bibliothecae Vaticanae” (MS Vat. gr. 1154, a twelfth-century witness of the type B catena, according to Faulhaber 1899, 92). Ghislerius completed Chrysostom’s authentic passages in the type B catena with those he found attributed to Chrysostom in MSS Vat. gr. 675 and 1204 (witnesses of the type A catena). Having thereupon found in MS Ottob. gr. 7 a copy of the entire commentary of Ps.-Chrysostom, he edited it all at the end of each chapter or group of chapters, marking it with an asterisk. PG 64: 740B–1037B reprints the fragments attributed to John Chrysostom in Ghislerius’s edition but does not accurately report the asterisks: a reliable edition of the commentary is still wanting. Its direct tradition is limited to a small number of witnesses: Florence, Laur. Plut. 9. 13 (ff. 78<sup>v</sup>–124<sup>v</sup>, 10<sup>th</sup> cent.), Moscow, GIM, gr. 114 (Vlad. 55) (ff. 88<sup>r</sup>–146<sup>r</sup>, end of the 10<sup>th</sup> cent.),

The indebtedness of the twelfth-century annotations on Jeremiah in codex Marchalianus to the exegetical tradition on which the catenae rely can be described as follows:

- first series of notes: (very few) scholia selected from the type B catena, always without attribution.<sup>23</sup>
- second series of notes: a selection of longer passages from Ps.-Chrysostom's commentary, all of which are attributed to Chrysostom by the scholiast.<sup>24</sup> This work was accessed directly instead of through the type A catena. This shows clearly from the observation that the passages extend to the whole book of Jeremiah, and are not just limited to the first four chapters; even in the section on Jer 1–4, the gloss regularly cites parts of the commentary that are absent from the catena version. A clear example is Jer 3:16: fig. 3 shows that the scholiast retains more of Ps.-Chrysostom's commentary than did the compiler of the type A catena.<sup>25</sup>

The annotator added a first series of notes that he took from the type B catena, and later a second series taken from Ps.-Chrysostom's commentary.

Venice, Marc. gr. Z. 87 (ff. 152<sup>r</sup>–187<sup>r</sup>, 13<sup>th</sup> cent.), and some later copies from the sixteenth century and later, among which Ottob. gr. 7.


<sup>23</sup> Except for the note on Jer 4:17, attributed to Chrysostom. The scholia are from Chrysostom (on 1:8, 2:2, 3:14 and 4:11.17); from Severos (on 1:11); from Olympiodoros (on 1:14, 2:10.31.34, 3:12.18 and 4:2.5.11.15.20); from Chrysostom/Olympiodoros (on 1:17); from Theodoret (on 2:3.34 and 4:10.11); from Victor of Antioch (on 2:13.23, 3:1 and 4:13); from Eusebios (on 3:16); from Cyril of Alexandria (on 3:24); from Origen (on 4:7). The glosses on 2:14 and 4:27.28.30 are without attribution in the catena.

<sup>24</sup> The long comment on Jer 25:15 LXX, mentioned above in relation to fig. 2, belongs to this second series.

<sup>25</sup> The whole scholion in codex Marchalianus is attested, with slight modifications, in the commentary of Ps.-Chrysostom (MS Florence, Laur. Plut. 9. 13, ff. 85<sup>v</sup>–86<sup>r</sup>), while the type A catena and PG 64: 788A only retained the text from οὐκ ἀναβήσεται onwards (Aussedat 2006c, 47): τοῦ Χρυ(σοστόμου). Λέγει μὲν καὶ τὰ μετὰ τὴν ἐπάνοδον, καθόλου δὲ τοῦτο διέξεισιν, ὅτι ἐὰν γνησίως διατεθῇτε περὶ τὴν εὐσέβειαν καὶ ἐπικαλέσησθέ με ὁλοψύχως, οὐ δεηθήσεσθε κιβωτ(οῦ) ἢ νόμου· καὶ δίχα γὰρ ἐκείνων ἡγήσομαι ὑμῖν τῆς ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν ὁδοῦ. Οὐκ ἀναβήσεται ἐπὶ καρδίαν, τουτέστιν· ἡ κιβωτός. Οὐδὲ ὀνομασθήσεται ἐν αὐτῇ, τουτέστιν· ὁ νόμος. Οὐδὲ ἐπισκεφθήσεται ἔτι, τουτέστιν· οὐ διαβασταχθήσεται. Καὶ οὐ ποιηθήσεται ἔτι, τουτέστιν· ὡς ἤδη πρότερον ὅτε μετήγον αὐτὴν πανταχοῦ οἱ ἱερεῖς βαστάζοντες, ἵνα εἴπῃ· ἐπιδοξότεραν ὑμῖν τὴν ἀπὸ Βαβυλῶνος ἄνοδον παρέξω τῆς ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου ἐξόδου) ("An excerpt from Chrysostom: it says, on one hand, also what is going to happen after the return, but in general it relates the following: "If you distribute legitimately according to piety and you invoke me with your whole soul, you will not miss an ark or a law, because I will actually lead you without them along the way to the city." *It shall not come up in the heart*, that is: the ark. *And it shall not be named in it*, that is: the law. *And it shall be considered no more*, that is: it shall not be carried. *And it shall not be made again*, that is: as already before, when the priests used to transfer it everywhere carrying it, so that he should say: "I shall provide for you an escape from Babylon more glorious than the exodus from Egypt").

## 5. FIRST CASE STUDY: THE BOOK OF JEREMIAH

The annotator of codex Marchalianus did not *copy* his sources mechanically but rather summarized and re-wrote them. This approach can be illustrated with a detailed presentation of his annotations on the first three pages of the Jeremiah section, compared with the type B catena and the commentary of Ps.-Chrysostom.<sup>26</sup>

First, the annotator copied some short notes from the type B catena, adding them on the external margin of p. 341.<sup>27</sup> A catena excerpt from John Chrysostom, preceded by the mark , is written on the right hand margin, next to Jer 1:8 (p. 341, line 4 from the bottom), and expands to the first line of the lower margin:<sup>28</sup>

Q mg

Ἐγὼ ἐντέλλομαι καὶ σὺ φοβῇ· ὅρα τὰ ἐκκλησιαστικά προανατυπούμενα· Ἰδοὺ ἀποστέλλω ὑμᾶς ὡς πρόβατα ἐν μέσῳ λύκων καὶ οὐκ εἶπον οἱ ἀπόστολοι·

Ποῦ πέμπεις· εἶδες τὸ μέσον τῶν προφητῶν καὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων.


Type B catena (Aussedet 2006b, 13)

Ἰωάννου

Ἐγὼ ἐντέλλομαι καὶ σὺ φοβῇ· ὅρα τὰ ἐκκλησιαστικά προανατυπούμενα· Ἰδοὺ ἀποστέλλω ὑμᾶς ὡς πρόβατα ἐν μέσῳ λύκων καὶ οὐκ εἶπον·

Ποῦ πέμπεις· εἶδες τὸ μέσον τῶν προφητῶν καὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων.

The difference is minor: the scholiast added a clarifying subject οἱ ἀπόστολοι after the verb εἶπον.<sup>29</sup>

Then he turned the page and inserted another note from John Chrysostom, again taken from the type B catena without changes. It relates to σήμερον in Jer 1:10 (p. 342, line 3; mark ) and it occupies the first line of the upper margin:<sup>30</sup>

<sup>26</sup> I consult the commentary through MS Florence, Laur., Plut. 9. 13, ff. 78<sup>v</sup>–124<sup>v</sup> and add references to PG 64: 740B–1037B whenever possible (see n. 22 above). For the type B catena, I use Aussedet 2006b (edition of Jer 1–4).

<sup>27</sup> For the moment, I omit the text added by the scholiast before the book of Jeremiah (p. 340); see pp. 478–481 below.

<sup>28</sup> Jer 1:8: Μὴ φοβηθῇς ἀπὸ προσώπου αὐτῶν, ὅτι μετὰ σοῦ ἐγώ εἰμι τοῦ ἐξαιρεῖσθαί σε, λέγει κύριος (“Do not be afraid before them, because I am with you to deliver you, says the Lord”). In the following tables, paragraph returns do not reflect the layout of the text in the manuscript, but are intended for synoptical comparison of the passages. *Iota mutum* is always omitted by the scholiast, but I render it as *subscriptum*. Quotations of biblical passages are italicized. Punctuation of the Greek text is mine.

<sup>29</sup> The note (which occurs in PG 64: 745CD) translates as follows: “An excerpt from John: I command and you are afraid: see that what concerns the Church is prefigured (here). *Behold, I am sending you out as sheep in the midst of wolves* (Matt 10:16). And (the apostles) did not say: ‘Where are you sending us?’ Look at the difference between the prophets and the apostles”.

<sup>30</sup> Jer 1:10: Ἰδοὺ κατέστακά σε σήμερον ἐπὶ ἔθνη καὶ βασιλείας ἐκριζοῦν καὶ κατασκάπτειν καὶ ἀπολλύειν καὶ ἀνοικοδομεῖν καὶ καταφυτεύειν (“Behold, today I have appointed you over nations and over kingdoms, to uproot and to pull down and to destroy, and to rebuild and to plant”). For the excerpt, see Aussedet 2006b, 15 and PG 64: 752A.

Καὶ μὴν ἄνω ἔλεγεν πρὶν ἢ σε ἐξελεῖν ἐκ μήτρας ἡγίακά σε. Πῶς οὖν ἐνταῦθα σήμερον λέγει; Ἐκεῖνο τῇ προγνώσει, τοῦτο τῇ ἐνεργείᾳ.

And verily it said earlier: *Before you came forth from the womb, I had consecrated you* (Jer 1:5). What then does he mean here by “today”? In the previous passage he means by prediction, in this one he means in actuality.

Another note on Jer 1:10 (p. 342, line 4 of the main text) is positioned on the second line of the upper margin and is marked with C<sup>1</sup>; it comes from the catena, but is shortened.

Q mg

Ταῦτα οὐ  
περὶ τοῦ προφήτου εἴρηται,  
ἀλλὰ περὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ  
τ(οῦ) ἐκριζώσαντ(ος)  
ἀπὸ πάσης ψυχῆς  
τὴν βα(σι)λ(είαν) τοῦ πονηροῦ:

These words are not said in relation to the prophet, but in relation to Christ, who uprooted the kingdom of Evil from every soul.

Type B catena (Aussedat 2006b, 15)

Ὡριγένους  
Ταῦτα γὰρ οὐχ ἰστόρητο  
περὶ τοῦ προφήτου ὅτι ἐξερίζωσε βασιλείας,  
ἀλλὰ περὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ  
ἐκριζώσαντος  
ἀπὸ πάσης ψυχῆς πιστευούσης αὐτῷ  
τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ Ἀντικειμένου.  
Τίς δὲ καὶ κατέσκαψε τὰ οἰκοδομήματα τῆς κακίας καὶ τῶν  
μοχθηρῶν δογμάτων ἢ ὁ Σωτὴρ καὶ Κύριος ἡμῶν ἀπολλύς  
αὐτὰ ἵν' ἐν τῷ τόπῳ ἡμῶν ἐκριζουμένων καὶ κατασκαπτομέ-  
νων οἰκοδομήσῃ καὶ καταφυτεύσῃ τὰ κρείττονα;

An excerpt from Origen:

These words are not recorded in relation to the prophet, that he uprooted kingdoms, but in relation to Christ, who uprooted the kingdom of the Adversary from every soul that has faith in him. Who pulled down the buildings of Evil and of knavish beliefs if not our Saviour and Lord who demolished them so that at the place where we have been uprooted and pulled down, he might rebuild and plant better things?<sup>31</sup>

The third note on p. 342, also placed in the upper margin, concerns καρῦνιν in Jer 1:11 (line 8 of the main text):<sup>32</sup>

Q mg

Type B catena (Aussedat 2006b, 16)  
Σενήρου

<sup>31</sup> This passage shows an affinity with the *Testimonies against the Jews*, spuriously attributed to Gregory of Nyssa (CPG 3221), PG 46: 225A (test. 16). On this text and type of literature, see pp. 110–113 of the contribution by Sébastien Morlet in the present volume.

<sup>32</sup> Καὶ ἐγένετο λόγος κυρίου πρὸς με λέγων Τί σὺ ὁρᾷς; καὶ εἶπα Βακτηρίαν καρῦνιν (“And a word of the Lord came to me, saying, ‘What do you see?’. And I said, ‘A staff of nut wood’ ”).

Τὴν ἐπενεχθησομένην παιδείαν ἐδῆλου τὴν εἰς ἐγρήγορσιν τοὺς ἐν ἁμαρτ(ιαῖς) καθεύδοντας ἐπανάγουσαν· καρυῖνη διὰ τοῦτο ὀφθεῖσα, ἐπειδὴ στύφειν καὶ δριμύττειν ἡ παιδεία ὡς τὸ τοῦ καρύου λέπος ἐπίσταται.

Λέγεται δὲ ὅτι ἡ καρυῖνη ῥάβδος καὶ τὰ κάρυα τοῖς ἐσθίουσι ταῦτα ἀγρυπνίαν ἐμποιοῦσι.

Τὴν ἐπενεχθησομένην παιδείαν ἐδῆλου τὴν εἰς ἐγρήγορσιν τοὺς ἐν ἁμαρτίαις καθεύδοντας ἐπανάγουσαν· καρυῖνη διὰ τοῦτο ὀφθεῖσα ἐπειδὴ στύφειν καὶ δριμύττειν ἡ παιδεία καθάπερ καὶ τὸ τοῦ καρύου λέπος ἐπίσταται.

Φασὶ γὰρ οἱ ταῦτα κατεζητακοῦτες τὴν καρυῖνην ῥάβδον καὶ μὴν καὶ τὰ κάρυα φυσικῶς ἐγρήγορσιν τοῖς αὐτῶν μετέχουσιν ἐμποιεῖν.

An excerpt from Severos:

It was showing the education to come, the one that leads those who are sleeping in sins to wakefulness. For this reason (the rod) that was seen was 'of nut wood', because education can be harsh and severe, as the husk of a nut. It is said that the rod of nut wood and the nuts produce insomnia in those who eat them.

It was showing the education to come, the one that leads those who are sleeping in sins to wakefulness. For this reason (the rod) that was seen was 'of nut wood', because education can be harsh and severe, as the husk of a nut. Those who investigated this matter say that the rod of nut wood and surely also the nuts by their nature produce vigilance in those who partake of them.

The first part of the note is copied almost without changes; the second part is rewritten in simpler syntax.

Finally, a note by Olympiodoros (also taken from the type B catena) is written in the external margin. It refers to βορρᾶ in Jer 1:13 (p. 342, line 16 of the main text):<sup>33</sup>

Q mg

Τὸν Βαβυλωνιόν φησιν·  
βορειότερα γὰρ ἡ Βαβυλῶν  
ὡς πρὸς τὴν Ἰερουσα(λ)ήμ:

The text denotes the one from Babylon, for Babylon is actually north of Jerusalem.

Type B catena (Aussedat 2006b, 19)

Ὀλυμπιοδώρου

Διὰ τὸν Βαβυλωνιόν φησιν·  
βορειότερα γὰρ ἡ Βαβυλῶν  
ὡς πρὸς τὴν Ἰερουσαλήμ,  
πρὸς δὲ διάνοιαν εἰς πρόσωπον τοῦ σκληροῦ βορείου ὁ διάβολος ἐκλαμβάνεται.

An excerpt from Olympiodoros:

The text says this because of the one from Babylon: Babylon is actually north of Jerusalem. According to the deeper meaning, it is the devil who stands for the harsh north.

The scholiast omits the allegorical interpretation.

<sup>33</sup> Καὶ ἐγένετο λόγος κυρίου πρὸς με ἐκ δευτέρου λέγων Τί σὺ ὀράς; καὶ εἶπα Λέβητα ὑποκαίμενον, καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ προσώπου βορρᾶ ("And a word of the Lord came to me a second time, saying, 'What do you see?' And I said, 'A cauldron being heated, and its face is from the north'").



The first series of scholia in codex Marchalianus continues with the list of passages mentioned above.<sup>34</sup> We instead turn to what is added in the lower part of p. 340 (fig. 4), before the beginning of Jeremiah:

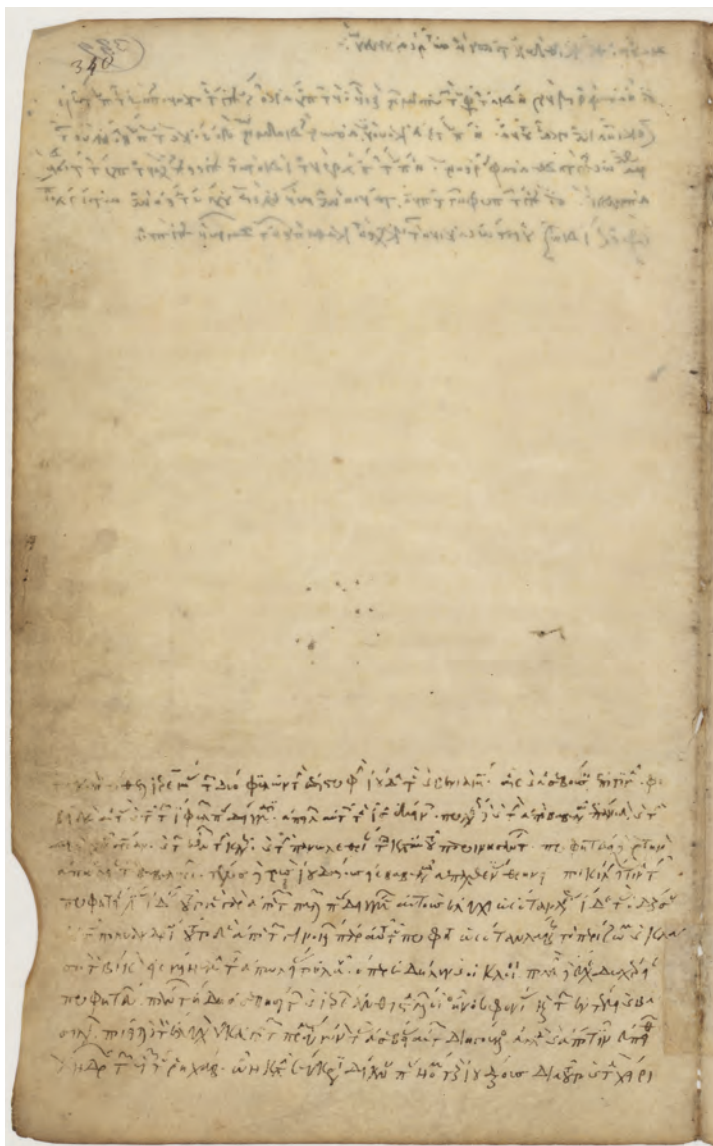


FIG. 4. MS Vat. gr. 2125, p. 340. Image reproduced by permission of the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.

<sup>34</sup> See n. 23 above.



This is an excerpt from the prologue to the catena, normally found before the type B catena.<sup>35</sup> The scholiast copied it not at the top of the page, but almost at the end, at the same height as the first note he initially added on the opposite page (Ἐγὼ ἐντέλλομαι καὶ σὺ φοβῆῃ κτλ.: see above).

Q mg

Σκοπὸν τίθεται Ἱερεμί-  
ας τῶν δύο φυλῶν τὴν  
ἐπιστροφὴν, Ἰούδα τε καὶ  
Βενιαμίν· αἷς καὶ ἀσεβού-  
σαις ἐπιτιμᾷ.

Φοβεῖ δὲ αὐτάς καὶ τῷ τῶν  
ἰ' φυλῶν παραδείγματι,  
ἀπειλῶν αὐτοῖς τὰ ἴσα  
ἐκείνοις.

Προλέγει δὲ

καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ Βαβυλῶ(νος)  
ἐπάνοδον,  
καὶ τὴν διὰ Χ(ριστο)ῦ σ(ω-  
τηρ)ίαν, καὶ τῶν ἐθνῶν τὴν  
κλή(σιν), καὶ τὴν πανω-  
λεθρίαν τῶν κατ' αὐτοῦ  
παροινησάντων· προφη-  
τεύει δὲ καὶ τὴν ἀπώλειαν  
τῶν Βαβυλωνίων.

Τέλος δὲ τοὺς Ἰουδαίους εἰς  
Βαβυλῶ(να) ἀπαχθέντας  
θρηνεῖ.

Type B catena (Aussedat 2006b, 6)

ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου

Σκοπὸν δὲ τίθεται τῶν δύο φυλῶν τὴν ἐπιστροφὴν Ἰούδα τε καὶ  
Βενιαμίν· αἷς καὶ ἀσεβούσαις ἐπιτιμᾷ.

Προτέτακται δὲ χρησίμως τῆς προφητείας ὁ χρόνος ἐν ᾧ τε  
ἤρξατο καὶ ἐν ᾧ κατέληξεν ὡς ἂν πολυπραγμονοῦντες τὴν τότε  
τῶν Ἰουδαίων κατάστασιν τῆς θείας ἐπ' αὐτοὺς γινώμεν ὀργῆς  
τὴν αἰτίαν. Ἦν ἵνα κωλύσωσιν παρακαλεῖ πρὸς μετάνοιαν τῇ  
τῶν ἐσομένων διατυπώσει προεκφοβῶν τὰ αὐτὰ τε διαφόρως  
ἀνακυκλεῖ κατὰ Παῦλον εἰρηκότα· *Τὰ αὐτὰ γράφειν ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐκ  
ὀκνηρὸν ὑμῖν δὲ ἀσφαλές.*

Φοβεῖ δὲ αὐτοὺς καὶ τῷ τῶν δέκα φυλῶν παραδείγματι τὰ αὐτὰ  
λέγων· ἀσεβοῦντας δεήσει παθεῖν παραπλήσια.

Λέγει δὲ καὶ τὸν πρὸ τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας λιμόν, περὶ οὗ καὶ Ἰωὴλ  
προεφήτευσεν,

καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ Βαβυλῶνος ἐπάνοδον παραδεικνύς

καὶ τὴν διὰ Χριστοῦ σωτηρίαν καὶ τῶν ἐθνῶν τὴν κλήσιν καὶ  
τῶν εἰς αὐτὸν παροινησάντων πανωλεθρίαν· προφητεύει καὶ  
κατὰ Βαβυλῶνος καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτοῖς ἢ καὶ ἄλλως πολεμησάντων  
τὴν Ἱερουσαλήμ.

Τέλος δὲ τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἀπαχθέντας εἰς Βαβυλῶνα θρηνεῖ.

<sup>35</sup> In MS Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria 2373, however, it introduces the type A catena.

Jeremiah places as his aim the conversion of the two tribes, Judas and Benjamin, which he rebukes as being impious. He scares them with the example of the ten tribes by threatening them with the same misfortunes as those. He foretells the return from Babylon, and the salvation through Christ, and the call of the nations, and the utter destruction of those who maltreated him. He also prophesies the devastation of the Babylonians. At the end he bewails the Jews who were carried off to Babylon.

From an unattributed work:

(Jeremiah) places as his aim the conversion of the two tribes, Judas and Benjamin, which he rebukes as being impious. The time of the prophecy, when it began and ended, is usefully arranged before, so that we could know the cause of the divine wrath against the Jews by enquiring into their standing at that time. In order for them to forestall it, he exhorts them to repentance, scaring them in advance by representing what will be in the future, and he repeats the same things in different ways, as Paul said: *To write the same things to you is not troublesome to me, and for you it is a safeguard* (Phil 3:1). He scares them also with the examples of the ten tribes by saying the same things: it will be necessary that the impious suffer similar troubles. He speaks also of the famine, about which also Joel prophesied, and the return from Babylon, pointing out also the salvation through Christ, and the call of the nations, and the utter destruction of those who maltreated him. He also prophesies against Babylon, and against those who made war to Jerusalem with them or in some other way. At the end he bewails the Jews who were carried off to Babylon.

Immediately after the last word (θρηνεί), the scholiast inserted a section of Ps.-Chrysostom's prologue.<sup>36</sup> The calamus appears slightly thinner, and the letter disposition is airier (pp. 340–341):

Q mg

Ποικίλην δέ τινα τὴν προφητείαν  
ἔστιν ἰδεῖν· τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ ἀπὸ τῶν  
παλαιῶν παραδειγμάτων αὐτοὺς  
ἐλέγχει, ὡς ὅταν λέγῃ· Ἴδε τὰς ὁδοὺς  
σου ἐν τῷ πολυανδρίῳ· τοῦτο δὲ ἀπὸ  
τῶν γινομένων

παρ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ προφήτου, ὡς ὅταν λάβῃ τὸ περίζωμα (α) καὶ  
κλάσῃ τὸν βίκον εἰς μήνυμα τῆς  
ἀπωλείας τοῦ λαοῦ· ὅπερ ἐδήλουν  
καὶ οἱ κλοιοί.

MS Laur. Plut. 9. 13, ff. 78<sup>v</sup>–79<sup>r</sup>

Ποικίλην δέ τινα τὴν προφητείαν ἔστιν ἰδεῖν· τοῦτο  
μὲν γὰρ ἀπὸ τῶν παλαιῶν παραδειγμάτων αὐτοὺς  
ἐλέγχει· ὡς ὅταν λέγῃ· Ἴδε τὰς ὁδοὺς σου ἐν τῷ  
πολυανδρίῳ· τοῦτο δὲ ἀπὸ τινων

παρ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ προφήτου γινόμε [78<sup>v</sup>] νον (sic),  
ὡς ὅταν λαμβάνῃ τὸ περίζωμα καὶ τὰ ἀκόλουθα  
ποιῇ (ἢ ex eī ead. m.), καὶ τὸν βίκον ὃν ἔκλασε κατὰ  
πρόσωπον τοῦ λαοῦ μήνυμα τῆς ἀπωλείας τοῦ  
πλήθους, καὶ τοὺς κλοιοὺς οὓς περιέθετο.

<sup>36</sup> He omitted the first two sentences (here from MS Laur. Plut. 9. 13, f. 78<sup>v</sup>; compare PG 64: 744C): Τὸν μὲν οὖν χρόνον, καθ' ὃν προεφήτευσεν ὁ μακάριος προφήτης Ἰερεμίας, καὶ ἀπὸ ποίου βασιλέως ἤρξατο, καὶ εἰς ποῖον προφητεύων ἐτελεύτησε, σαφῶς ἐν τοῖς προοιμίοις τοῦ προφήτου ἔστι μαθεῖν. Πᾶσαν δὲ τὴν προφητείαν κατὰ τῶν δύο ποιεῖται φυλῶν, ἥδη τῶν δέκα αἰχμαλώτων γενομένων ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων ("In the opening sections of the Prophet one can learn clearly the time about which the blessed prophet Jeremiah prophesied, and from which king he began, and to which king he was prophesying when he ended. He makes the whole prophecy about the two tribes, since the (remaining) ten tribes had already been made captive by the Assyrians").

Πολλὴν δὲ ἔσχε δυσχέρειαν προφη-  
τεύων, πάντων ἤδη ἀσεβησάντων  
καὶ ἱερέων ἀνθισταμένων οἷος ἦν ὁ  
Σοφονίας  
καὶ τῶν ἐν τέλει

καὶ βασιλέων.

Ποιεῖται δὲ τὸν ἔλεγχον οὐκ ἀπὸ  
τῶν πραγμάτων μόνον τὰς ἀσεβείας  
αὐτῶν διηγούμενος,

ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπὸ τινων εὐπειθῶν  
ἀνδρῶν τῶν υἱῶν τοῦ Ῥηχάβ, ὧν  
κατὰ σύγκρισιν δείκνυ(σι) παρανό-  
μ(ου)ς τοὺς Ἰουδαίους.

Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τὰ χεῖρι [341] στα  
πέπονθεν ὕποπτος ἐπὶ προδοσίας  
γενόμενος, καὶ δέσμιος καταστάς,  
καὶ ἐν βορβόρῳ βληθ(είς).

διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ὁ Θ(εὸς) ἐπαρῆξαι  
αὐτῷ συνέθετο.

Λέγει δὲ καὶ κατὰ τῶν ἐθνῶν, πρὸς  
ὠφέλειαν

οὐ μόνον Ἑβραίων, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτῶν  
ἐκείνων καθ' ὧν λέγει, ἵνα ὁρῶντες  
τὴν ἔκβασιν πείθοντο ὡς Δεσπότης  
τῶν ἀπάντων ἐστὶν ὁ Θ(εὸς).

One should understand  
this prophecy as something  
multifaceted. Actually, he  
reproaches them on the one hand  
on the basis of ancient examples,  
like when he says: *Look at your ways  
in the common burial place* (Jer 2:23);  
on the other hand, on the basis of  
something enacted by the prophet  
himself, like when he takes the  
loincloth (Jer 13:1–7) and crushes  
the jug as a sign of the destruction  
of the people (Jer 19:1–12), which  
thing the collars also showed. He  
obtained great unpopularity by  
prophesying, since everyone was  
already impious, even priests—  
such as Sophonias was—and those

Πολλὴν δὲ τίνα δυσχέρειαν ἐν τοῖς χρόνοις τοῖς αὐτοῦ  
ἔσχε, πάντων ἤδη εἰς ἀσέβειαν ἐκκλινάντων  
καὶ ἱερέων ἀνθισταμένων οἷος ἦν ὁ Σοφονίας, καθ' οὗ  
καὶ φαίνεται λέγων,

καὶ τινων τῶν ἐν τέλει ὄντων, καὶ ἄλλιν πρὸς τὸν

Πασχώρ ἀποτεινόμενος,

καὶ βασιλέων ἡκιστα δεχομένων τὴν παραίνεσιν.

Ποιεῖται δὲ τὸν ἔλεγχον οὐκ ἀπὸ τῶν πραγμάτων  
μόνον τὰς ἀσεβείας λέγων σαφῶς,

ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπὸ τινων εὐπειθῶν ἀνδρῶν, ὡς μέμνυται  
τῶν υἱῶν Ἰωναδάβ, υἱοῦ Ῥηχάβ, ὧν κατὰ σύγκρισιν  
δείκνυσιν παρανόμους Ἰουδαίους.

Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τὰ χεῖριστα φαίνεται πεπονθῶς· τοῦτο  
μὲν ὕποπτος ἐπὶ προδοσία γενόμε [79<sup>1</sup>] νος, τοῦτο δὲ  
ἐν δεσμωτηρίῳ κατακλειόμενος, τοῦτο δὲ ἐν λάκκῳ  
βορβόρου βαλλόμενος.

Ταύτης ἕνεκεν τῆς αἰτίας εὐθὺς ἐν ἀρχῇ ὑπισχνεῖται  
αὐτῷ ὁ Θ(εὸς) παρῆξειν τὴν ἰσχύν· προλέγων μὲν  
αὐτῷ τὰ δεινὰ, ἐπαμύνειν δὲ ἐπαγγεῖλάμενος.

Λέγει καὶ κατὰ τῶν ἐθνῶν πρὸς ὠφέλειαν

οὐ μόνον Ἑβραίων, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτῶν ἐκείνων καθ'  
ὧν λέγει, ἵνα ὁρῶντες τὴν ἔκβασιν πείθοντο, ὁ  
Δεσπότης τῶν ἀπάντων ἐστὶν ὁ Θεός.

One should understand this prophecy as  
something multifaceted. Actually, he reproaches  
them on the one hand on the basis of ancient  
examples, like when he says: *Look at your ways in  
the common burial place* (Jer 2:23); on the other  
hand, on the basis of something enacted by the  
prophet himself, like when he takes the loincloth  
and performs the actions that follow (Jer 13:1–7),  
and the jug he crushed in the sight of the people as  
a sign of the destruction of the crowd (Jer 19:1–12),  
and the collars he put on (Jer 34:1–9 LXX). He  
obtained great unpopularity during his times,  
since everyone was already inclining towards  
impiety, and even priests were opposed (to him), as  
Sophonias was (Jer 21:1), against whom he seems  
to speak, and those in power, and again when (the  
prophet) addresses Paschor (Jer 20:1–6), when the  
kings were not accepting the exhortation at all. He

in power, and kings. He made his reproach by clearly describing their impieties not only on the basis of their deeds, but also on the basis of some obedient men, the sons of Rechab: by comparison with them he shows that the Jews (are) lawless (Jer 42 LXX). Because of this he suffered the worst things: he became an object of suspicion (Jer 44:13 LXX), he was shut captive (Jer 44:15–16 LXX), he was thrown into the mire (Jer 45:6 LXX). Because of this, God devised to help him (Jer 1:8). He speaks also against the nations, in favour not only of the Hebrews, but also of those against whom he speaks, so that, seeing the outcome, they may believe that God is the Lord of all.

made his reproach not only by clearly calling out their impieties on the basis of their deeds, but also on the basis of some obedient men, mentioning the sons of Ionadab, son of Rechab: by comparison with them he shows that the Jews (are) lawless (Jer 42 LXX). Because of this he seems to have suffered the worst things: he became an object of suspicion (Jer 44:13 LXX), he was shut in prison (Jer 44:15–16 LXX), he was thrown into a cistern of mire (Jer 45:6 LXX). For this reason, God promises him right at the beginning to assist him with strength, preannouncing to him terrible things, but promising to succour him (Jer 1:8). He speaks also against the nations, in favour not only of the Hebrews, but also of those against whom he speaks, so that, seeing the outcome, they may believe (that) the Lord of all is God.

The scholiast's tendency to summarize shows clearly. He simplified or shortened some sentences, such as "he underwent the worst things" (τὰ χεῖριστα πέπονθεν) instead of "he seems to have undergone the worst things" (τὰ χεῖριστα φαίνεται πεπονθώς,) or "therefore" (διὰ τοῦτο) instead of "for this reason" (Ταύτης ἕνεκεν τῆς αἰτίας).

The annotator goes on adding a note on Ἰωσίου in Jer 1:2 (line 6 of the main text in codex Marchalianus, p. 341), marked by ∟. It occupies the upper half of the outer margin.<sup>37</sup> A comment on Jer 1:3 (line 9) is written in the inner margin, jumping over the note from Chrysostom the annotator had added earlier (on Jer 1:8; see pp. 474–475 above) and expanding into the lower margin. It is followed by excerpts from Ps.-Chrysostom's commentary on Jer 1:5 (line 18, mark ∟) and on Jer 1:7 (line 5 from the bottom, mark ΘΕ). A note on Jer 1:5 (line 17, mark C<sup>1</sup>) is added in the outer margin. Such excerpts from Ps.-Chrysostom's commentary generally occupy all the space that the first notes (i.e. those drawn from the type B Catena) had left blank.

## 6. SUMMARY REMARKS ON SOURCES AND METHODS

The way the scholiast operated corresponds closely to the method employed by the author of the *chaîne abrégée* as described by Mathilde Aussadat. One can use the same

<sup>37</sup> Apart from some divergences and omissions, the note corresponds to Laur. Plut. 9. 13, f. 79<sup>v</sup> (PG 64: 746A).

words to outline the basic principles that guided the scholiast: “sélection, résumé, enrichissement”.<sup>38</sup> The annotator faithfully copied some of the excerpts he chose, but rewrote others, often shortening them by omitting a part or by summarizing them. As far as the book of Jeremiah is concerned, he added to the excerpts from the type B catena fragments taken from Ps.-Chrysostom’s commentary, which was available to him in direct tradition, and which he summarized and rewrote in the form of scholia.

A detailed comparison between excerpts of the *chaîne abrégée* and the marginalia of Q shows that they do not have anything in common besides their method: the author of the *chaîne abrégée* and the scholiast of codex Marchalianus worked in the same way, but with a different outcome.<sup>39</sup>

## 7. SECOND CASE STUDY: HOSEA

Analogous observations can be made with regard to the notes on Hosea: also in that section of codex Marchalianus two series of annotations can be distinguished according to the writing style and content, as in the examples above. The first apparently derives from the *Catena Philothei* on the Twelve Prophets, which consists of excerpts from the commentaries of Theodoret of Cyrrhus, Hesychios of Jerusalem, and Cyril of Alexandria:<sup>40</sup> the annotator copied some of them, without attribution, in the upper and the external margins. A second series of scholia, most of them written in the lower margin, differs from the first one with respect to the writing style, which is more flowing and traced with a thicker calamus; nonetheless, these notes too appear to have been sourced from the same catena, particularly from its sections taken from Theodoret. As in the case of Jeremiah, the scholiast reworked and summarized most of the excerpts.

<sup>38</sup> Aussedat 2006a, 221. The *chaîne abrégée* seems to be a reworked version of the type B catena. It occurs in the portion containing the Major Prophets of the so-called Bible of Niketas, from the end of the tenth century (MS Florence, Laur., Plut. 5. 9: Belting & Cavallo 1979), and in MS Florence, Laur., Plut. 11. 4 (11<sup>th</sup> cent.): see Aussedat 2006a, 144 (with an incorrect manuscript reference), and Vianès 1995, 317.

<sup>39</sup> Cf. the text of the *chaîne abrégée* on Jer 1:13 (Aussedat 2006a, 233) with our scholiast’s note, where the source is not changed except for the final words. *Chaîne abrégée*: Λέβητα καλεῖ τὴν Ἱερουσαλήμ, ἔκκαυσιν τὴν συμφορὰν· ἀπὸ βορρᾶ δὲ ἵνα μηνύσῃ τῶν βαβυλωνίων τὴν ἔφοδον (“The text calls Jerusalem a cauldron, and the catastrophe a burning; he mentions ‘from the north’ to indicate the attack of the Babylonians”). MS Q p. 342<sup>ms</sup>: Τουτέστιν ἡ ἔκκαυσις ἵνα εἴπῃ ὡς ἀπὸ τοῦ βορείου μέρους ἡ ἔκκαυσις γίνεται τοῦ λέβητος. Καλεῖ δὲ λέβητα τὴν Ἱερουσαλήμ, ἔκκαυσιν δὲ τὰς συμφοράς (τὴν συμφορὰν in MS Laur. Plut. 9. 13; “That is the burning: that he may say that the burning of the cauldron comes from the north. It calls Jerusalem a cauldron, the catastrophe a burning”). Other examples can be found.

<sup>40</sup> See CPG C 55; Karo & Lietzmann 1902, 331; Devreesse 1928, 1146.

The note on Hos 1:2 (MS Q, p. 25), marked with ∟ and placed in the upper margin, is a drastic abridgement of its counterpart in the catena (itself taken from Cyril's commentary on the Twelve Prophets):<sup>41</sup>

Q mg	<i>Catena Philothei</i> <sup>42</sup> Κυρ(ίλλου) Τὸ ἐκπορνεύουσα ἐκπορνεύουσι ἡ γῆ Ἀντὶ τοῦ πεπόρνευκεν ἀθετήσασα τὸ ἀκολου- θεῖν αὐτῷ.
	ἀντὶ τοῦ πεπόρνευκεν ἡ γῆ νοητέον. Πεπορνεύκει δὲ τίνα τρόπον; Ἀπὸ ὀπισθεν τοῦ κυρίου· τουτέστιν τὴν ἀκολούθησιν ἀθετήσασα.
	An excerpt from Cyril: This means: 'it com- mitted whoredom by ceasing to follow him'.
	You must understand that 'in committing whoredom the land will commit whoredom' means that 'the land committed whoredom'. In which way had it committed whoredom? <i>From behind the Lord</i> , that is by ceasing to follow him.

The same is true for the subsequent notes on Hos 1:2 and 1:3, taken—through the catena—from the commentary by Hesychios of Jerusalem.<sup>43</sup> They are marked ∟ and C respectively (p. 25).

Q mg	<i>Catena Philothei</i> <sup>44</sup> Τὴν συναγωγὴν τῶν Ἰουδαίων αἰνίττεται· <ἀπέστη γὰρ> Θ(εο)ῦ, καὶ εἰδώλοις ἐδοῦλεuse.
	Τὴν συναγωγὴν τῶν Ἰουδαίων καὶ τὰ ἀρχαῖα τέκνα τὰ ἐκ ταύτης αἰνίττεται· ἀπέστησαν γὰρ Θ(εο)ῦ, καὶ ἐν εἰδώλοις ἐπόρνευσαν.
It hints at the assembly of the Jews; for it departed from God and served the idols.	It hints at the assembly of the Jews and at the ancient chil- dren from it. For they departed from God and committed whoredom with the idols.

<sup>41</sup> Hos 1:2: Ἀρχὴ λόγου κυρίου πρὸς Ὡσηέ· καὶ εἶπεν κύριος πρὸς Ὡσηέ Βάδιζε λάβε σεαυτῷ γυναῖκα πορνείας καὶ τέκνα πορνείας, διότι ἐκπορνεύουσα ἐκπορνεύσει ἡ γῆ ἀπὸ ὀπισθεν τοῦ κυρίου ("The beginning of the word of the Lord in Hosee. And the Lord said to Hosee, 'Go, take for yourself a wife of whoredom and children of whoredom, for the land in committing whoredom will commit whoredom from behind the Lord'").

<sup>42</sup> The *Catena Philothei* has not been edited. Here and in the next examples I cite it according to MS Vat. Chig. R. VIII. 54 (here: f. 5<sup>r</sup>), while referring (for the sake of comparison) to the editions of Theodoret, Hesychios and Cyril. For this particular case, cf. Pusey 1868, I:24.

<sup>43</sup> Hos 1:3 Καὶ ἐπορεύθη καὶ ἔλαβεν τὴν Γομὲρ θυγατέρα Δεβηλαίμ, καὶ συνέλαβε καὶ ἔτεκεν αὐτῷ υἱόν ("And he went and took Gomer daughter of Debelaim, and she conceived and bore him a son").

<sup>44</sup> MS Vat. Chig. R. VIII. 54 (f. 5<sup>r</sup>). Cf. Eriksson 2012, 113.

Q mg

Τὸν Χ(ριστὸν) παρατίθεται  
ἐκ τῆς συναγωγῆς τῶν  
Ἰουδαίων κατὰ

σάρκα·

Ἰερσάελ (*sic pro* Ἰεσράελ)

σπορά Θ(εο)ῦ ἐρμηνεύεται.

Ἐξ ἁγίου δὲ πν(εύματος) ὁ  
Χ(ριστὸς) συλλαμβάνεται·

τούτου τὸ αἷμα ἐπὶ

τὸν οἶκον Ἰούδα [...]

ἠπειλήσεν,

ἀνθ' ὧν αὐτὸν ἐσταύρω-  
σαν.

It presents Christ (born) from the assembly of the Jews according to the flesh: Jezrael means 'God's seed'. Christ is conceived from the Holy Spirit; (God) threatened to avenge his blood upon the house of Judah, in return for those who crucified him.

*Catena Philothei*

Τὸν Χ(ριστὸν) παρατίθεται ἐκ τῆς συναγωγῆς τῶν Ἰουδαίων  
κατὰ

σάρκα γεννώμενον·

Ἰεζραὲλ δὲ διὰ τοῦτο λεγόμενον, ἐπειδὴ

σπορά Θ(εο)ῦ Ἰεζραὲλ ἐρμηνεύεται.

Ἐξ ἁγίου δὲ πν(εύματος) ὁ Χ(ριστὸς) συλλαμβάνεται· τούτου  
τὸ αἷμα ἐπὶ

τὸν οἶκον Ἰούδα ἐκδικῆσαι ἠπειλήσεν,

ἀνθ' ὧν αὐτὸν ἐσταύρωσαν.

It presents Christ, who was born from the assembly of the Jews according to the flesh. Jezrael actually is called this way for this reason: because Jezrael means 'God's seed'. Christ is conceived from the Holy Spirit; (God) threatened to avenge his blood upon the house of Judah, in return for those who crucified him.

Other notes are from Theodoret of Cyrrhus; they appear slightly rephrased, but their direct source, the *Catena Philothei*, is clearly recognisable.

A note on Hos 1:4 τὸ αἷμα τοῦ Ἰεζραὲλ follows in the upper part of the external margin, directly after the notes from Hesychios on Hos 1:2–3 cited above.<sup>45</sup> It shows some resemblance to a passage from Theodoret; direct dependence cannot be assumed with certainty.

Q mg<sup>46</sup>

Ὁ μὲν Ἰηοῦ φησὶ τοῦ  
Ναβουθαὶ ἡξί<ώθη>  
ἐκδική(σεως).

*Catena Philothei*<sup>47</sup>

Ὁ δὲ Ἰηοῦ, ὁ τούτου κατὰ θεῖαν βουλὴν γενόμενος τιμωρῶς, ὃ  
ὑπέσχετο ὁ Θεὸς διὰ τὰ κατὰ τῆς Ἰεζαβὲλ αὐτῷ γεγενημένα, εἰς  
τετάρτην γενεὰν διαρκέσειν τὴν βασιλείαν.

<sup>45</sup> Hos 1:4: Καὶ εἶπε κύριος πρὸς αὐτόν Κάλεσον τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ἰεζραὲλ, διότι ἔτι μικρὸν καὶ ἐκδικήσω τὸ αἷμα τοῦ Ἰεζραὲλ ἐπὶ τὸν οἶκον Ἰηοῦ καὶ ἀποστρέψω βασιλείαν οἴκου Ἰσραὴλ ("And the Lord said to him, 'Call his name Iezrael, for in yet a little while I will also avenge the blood of Iezrael on the house of Ieou, and I will turn away the kingdom of the house of Israel'").

<sup>46</sup> The scholion is rubbed (p. 25): brackets contain possible reconstructions.

<sup>47</sup> MS Vat. Chig. R. VIII. 54, f. 5<sup>v</sup>. Compare with PG 81: 1557CD (Theodoret).



Ἐπειδὴ <οἱ τοῦ> Ἰηοῦ διὰ-  
δοχοῖ <τὴν τοῦ Α>χαὰβ  
ἐξήλω<σαν τὴν ἀ>νομίαν  
τὸ τῆς ὀρ<γῆς><sup>48</sup> τοῦ θεοῦ  
ποτήριον πί<ονται> καὶ  
πανωλεθρίαν ὑ<πο>στή-  
σονται.

It says: Jehu was judged  
worthy of vindicating  
Naboth. Since Jehu's  
successors emulated  
Achaab's lawless conduct,  
they shall drink the cup  
of God's wrath and cause  
utter devastation.

Ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν οἱ ἐκ τούτου λήθην τῆς θείας ἔλαβον εὐεργεσίας  
καὶ τὴν τῶν πρὸ αὐτῶν βεβασιλευκότων ἐξήλωσαν δυσσέβειαν,  
ἀπειλεῖ ὁ Θεὸς καὶ ταύτην καταπαύσειν τὴν βασιλείαν καὶ τοῦ  
Ἰσραὴλ τὸ τόξον συντρίψειν, τουτέστι, καταλύσειν δύναμιν ἐν  
τῇ κοιλάδι τοῦ Ἰεζραὲλ.

Jehu, who according to divine command came to avenge this  
one (= Naboth) and to whom God promised that his king-  
dom would last until the fourth generation because of his  
deeds against Jezabel. Since his descendants forgot the divine  
favour and emulated the impiety of those who had reigned  
before them, God threatens to end also this kingdom, and to  
shatter Israel's bow, that is: to destroy its power in the valley  
of Jezrael.

In this case, too, the scholiast added further notes at a second stage. It is not clear why he did so: again they are taken from the *Catena Philothei*. One of these notes concerns Hos 1:4 Ἰεζραὲλ. It is placed in the external margin and concludes at the point where the name Ἰεζραὲλ occurs in the main text (p. 25, line 15):

Q mg

Ἰεσράελ δὲ ἐκαλεῖτο τὸ  
χω(ρίον) ἐν ᾧ Ναβου-  
θαὶ τὴν ἄδικον σφαγὴν  
ὑπέμεινε.

Jesrael is the name  
given to the place where  
Naboth suffered the  
unjust slaughter.

*Catena Philothei*<sup>49</sup>

Ἰεζραὲλ τὸ χωρίον ἐστίν, ἐν ᾧ Ναβουθαὶ τὴν ἄδικον ἐκείνην  
ὑπέμεινε σφαγὴν.

Jezrael is the place where Naboth suffered that unjust  
slaughter.

Both in the catena and in Theodoret's commentary this passage immediately precedes the one on Hos 1:4 quoted above.

The second note of the second series is written in the lower margin (still on p. 25). It preserves the first singular person of God's speech in the biblical text (Hos 1:4–5):<sup>50</sup>

Ὅν τρόπον φη(σὶ) τὸ αἷμα τοῦ Ναβουθαὶ τὸ χεθὲν ἐν τῷ χω(ρίῳ) Ἰεσράελ ἐκδική(σεως) ἤξιωσα διὰ  
τοῦ Ἰηοῦ ἀνελόντος τὴν πάντολμον Ἰεζάβελ, οὕτως καὶ τοὺς παρανόμους) βα(σι)λ(εῖς) τοῦ Ἰ(σρα)-  
ὴλ ἀμυνοῦμαι καὶ ἀπωλεῖα παραδώσω ὡς τοῖς εἰδώλοις λατρεύνοντας.

<sup>48</sup> Here the writing jumps over an ancient note, belonging to an earlier layer of the manuscript.

<sup>49</sup> MS Vat. Chig. R. VIII. 54, f. 5<sup>v</sup>. Compare with PG 81: 1557C (Theodoret).

<sup>50</sup> The scholiast frequently adapts the text of a commentary to the grammatical form of the biblical text: in Jer 2:8, οἱ προφῆται is glossed with οἱ ψευδοπροφῆται. Compare Chrysostom's excerpt in the type B catena: Τοὺς ψευδοπροφῆτας φησὶν ἐνταῦθα (Aussedat 2006b, 27).

It says: in the same way that I considered Naboth's blood (poured in the region of Jezrael) worthy of vengeance at the hand of Jehu who killed the all-daring Jezabel, so will I also repay the lawless kings of Israel and I will consign them to destruction because they serve the idols.

This note resembles two passages in the *Catena Philothei*. Whichever of both he took, the annotator rephrased it considerably:

*Catena Philothei*: Theodoret of Cyrrhus<sup>51</sup>

[...] διδάσκων, ὅτι καθάπερ δίκας εἰσέπραξε τοὺς τὸν Ναβουθὲ κατασφάζαντας διὰ τοῦ προπάτορος αὐτοῦ Ἰηοῦ, οὕτω καὶ αὐτοὺς τῆς εἰς αὐτὸν ἀγνωμοσύνης ἀπαιτήσει ποιήν.

[...] by teaching that, as (God) dealt justice to those who slaughtered Naboth through his forefather Jehu, in the same way he will demand satisfaction from them for their folly against him.

*Catena Philothei*: Cyril of Alexandria<sup>52</sup>

Ὡσπερ γὰρ ἐκδεδίκηκεν ἐκ τοῦ οἴκου Ἀχαάβ διὰ τῆς Ἰηοῦ βασιλείας, οὕτως ἐκδικήσει καὶ ἐκ τοῦ οἴκου Ἰηοῦ. Ἐν γὰρ ταῖς ἡμέραις τῶν υἱῶν αὐτοῦ πεπολέμηκεν Ἀζαήλ βασιλεὺς Συρίας, καὶ μέντοι καὶ Ἄδερ, καὶ νενικήκασιν τὸν Ἰσραήλ, πλείστας δὲ θσας τῶν ἐν Σαμαρείᾳ πεπορθήκασιν πόλεις.

As (God) had punished the house of Achaab by means of the kingdom of Jehu, in the same way he will punish also the house of Jehu. Actually, in the days of his sons, Azael king of Syria had made war, and so had Ader, and they had conquered Israel, and they had plundered most of the cities of Samaria.

## 8. PROFILE OF THE SCHOLIAST

Does his choice of source texts help us profile the scholiast's interests and the purpose of his annotations? The sources all belong to standard Greek exegetical tradition, with the possible exception of Ps.-Chrysostom's commentary, which was not widely disseminated.<sup>53</sup> A reader interested in this particular commentary—unpleasant to read, poor in style, often incomprehensible because of its (corrupt) references to the Hebrew text—would appear to be someone interested in textual (or at times historical) explanations rather than in allegorical deductions. This preference is broadly confirmed by the excerpts selected throughout.<sup>54</sup>

But in-depth textual analysis, characteristic of Ps.-Chrysostom's commentary, does not seem to have been equally zealously pursued by the twelfth-century annotator. In his interpretation of Jer 2:23–24, where the Greek text is completely different from the Hebrew, Ps.-Chrysostom provides literal translations (attributed to 'the Hebrew',

<sup>51</sup> MS Vat. Chig. R. VIII. 54, f. 5<sup>v</sup>. Compare with PG 81: 1557D (Theodoret).

<sup>52</sup> MS Vat. Chig. R. VIII. 54, f. 5<sup>v</sup>. Compare with Pusey 1868, I:26 (Cyril).

<sup>53</sup> See n. 22 above. Note, however, that the commentary is attributed to one of the most authoritative Greek exegetes and was employed also by the compiler of the *chaîne abrégée*.

<sup>54</sup> See, for example, the omission of the allegorical interpretation in Jer 1:13 (p. 476 above).

ὁ ἑβραῖος). The scholiast of codex Marchalianus copied the first three alternative readings of Jer 2:23–24,<sup>55</sup> but omitted the subsequent portion of the commentary that contains the ‘Hebrew’ renditions of three more sentences, retaining only the exegesis of the LXX text. His attitude towards the hexaplaric notes (to our eyes, one of the main reasons for the value of codex Marchalianus), speaks volumes about his interest in textual matters: the scholiast often wrote his annotations over them or—even worse—obliterated their text with attributions to Chrysostom (τοῦ Χρυ).<sup>56</sup>

His ‘personal’ note, transcribed at the beginning of this article (p. 466), provides further elements allowing an assessment of the scholiast’s lack of expertise concerning the relationship between the Greek and the Hebrew text of Jeremiah—admittedly, a complicated matter because of the difference in order between the Greek and Hebrew pericopes. At Jer 25:13 (p. 423) he went on ‘copying’ the commentary by Ps.-Chrysostom, disregarding the content of the folia he was filling up (= Jer 25:14–27:34 LXX).<sup>57</sup> He stopped copying on p. 433 (Jer 27:34–42 LXX), saving the exegesis of the chalice of God’s ire (Jer 25:15–38 MT = 32:1–24 LXX) in order to write it where the LXX really reported it: namely, from p. 453 on. What he declares to be “absent in (his) book” exactly corresponds to the portion of text he disregarded while copying the commentary: Jer 25:14–32:14 LXX (i.e.: 46:2–51 MT, in displaced order).

Variants and one-word glosses that the scholiast added between the lines of the original text of the manuscript generally either make the Greek translation smoother or bring it closer to the Hebrew. However, both qualities are not the scholiast’s credit

<sup>55</sup> In the note accompanying Jer 2:23–24: Πολυάνδριον δὲ ὁ Ἑβραῖος οὐκ ἔχει ἀλλ’ Ἰδὲ τὸν τόπον τοῦ Γαῖ· ἐν ᾧ πρὸς τὰς θυγατέρας) τῶν Μαδιανιτῶν ἐκτραπέντες, εἰς εἰδωλολατρείαν ἐξώκειλαν. Πολυάνδριον ἡρμήνευσαν ἀπὸ τοῦ πληθ(ους) τῶν αὐτόθι ἀναιρεθέντων. Ὁψὲ φωνήν αὐτ(ῆς) ὠλόλυξε. Κατὰ τὸν Ἑβραῖον οὕτως ἔχει· Ὡς πρωτότοκον μοσχάρ(ιον) σκιρτᾷ. Τὰς ὁδοὺς αὐτ(οῦ) ἐπλάτυνεν· ὁ Ἑβραῖος οὕτως· ὡς δάμα(λῖς) δεδιδαγμένη ἐν πανερέμ(ω) ἄλλεσθαι (“The Hebrew does not have ‘common burial-place’, but ‘See the place of Gai’, where they drifted into idolatry when they turned towards the daughters of the Madianites. They translated ‘common burial-place’ because of the great number of those who were killed there. *Her voice cried out in the evening*. According to the Hebrew the text is as follows: as a little calf it leaps. *‘She widened her ways’*. The Hebrew reads as follows: as a heifer accustomed to skip around in a desolated land”).

<sup>56</sup> Examples are pp. 345 (on Jer 2:17.18) and 350 (on Jer 3:17). On Jer 2:18 he added a scholion attesting that ‘the Hebrew’ reads Σιώρ instead of Γήων, and wrote the attribution τοῦ Χρυ over the same hexaplaric reading Σιώρ.

<sup>57</sup> At this point, the commentary has a long excursus on the duration of the Babylonian exile (seventy years according to Jer 25:11–12 LXX). On p. 426, at the very beginning of the upper margin, the scholiast interrupted the transcription (<κύριε παντο>κράτορ: Laur. Plut. 9. 13, f. 107<sup>v1</sup>; absent from PG 64). Then he wrote the mark ∙ and added: μετὰ φύλλα γ’ τὴν ἀκολουθ(ίαν). The commentary in fact resumes on p. 432, preceded by the same mark ∙. The scholiast spared the margins of pp. 426–431 because he had previously added there scholia taken from the type B catena: p. 432 is the first page he found free from other annotations.

nor do they articulate any special attention to textual divergences on his part, but result from the influence of the catena tradition. They can be classified as follows:

- (1) textual variants common to other biblical manuscripts, mainly of the Antiochene/Lucianic tradition. Some examples:
  - Hos 4:8 (p. 31, line 16): the pronoun ἄλλοι is added *inter lineas* after λήψονται, exactly as in MS Chig. R. VIII. 54 (f. 8<sup>r</sup>, last line).<sup>58</sup>
  - Hos 4:9 (p. 31, lines 18–19): the pronouns αὐτὸν and αὐτοῦ (*bis*) are turned into αὐτοὺς and αὐτῶν (*bis*), in line with the Hebrew text.<sup>59</sup>
  - Hos 4:19 (p. 32, line 5 from below): a mark ÷ placed above σὺ εἶ introduces the variant συριεῖ written in the inner margin after γρ(απτέον).<sup>60</sup>
- (2) one-word glosses drawn from catenae or commentaries or lexicæ:
  - Hos 5:4 (p. 33): τὸν λογισμὸν αὐτῶν, proposed as an alternative for διαβούλια; the addition may depend on Theodoret's commentary: λογισμοῖς γὰρ ἀτόποις χρησάμενοις (PG 81: 1577C; MS Chig. R. VIII. 54, f. 9<sup>r</sup>).
  - Hos 7:4 (p. 36): φοῦρνος above κλίβανος; possibly from a lexicon.<sup>61</sup>
  - Jer 2:22 (p. 346): νίτρον instead of πόαν; the addition depends on Ps.-Chrysostom's commentary.<sup>62</sup>

Both groups ultimately derive from the same kind of sources, i.e. exegetical works. One-word glosses are the extreme result of the process of summarizing the source, as may be ascertained, for example, in the case of Jer 2:22.

## 9. CONCLUDING REMARKS

The annotator of codex Marchalianus was very probably the author of the selection and reworkings of these notes on the basis of previous sources; in other words, he was himself the 'catenist'. Had he merely copied the work of a previous compiler, he would have displayed the notes according to a more systematic order. What the margins of

<sup>58</sup> The addition, which parallels the Hebrew, is attested in manuscripts of the Lucianic recension (group 46': see Ziegler 1984, 75), in MS Venice, Marc. gr. Z. 5 (15<sup>th</sup> century), and in the commentary by Theodore of Mopsuestia (ed. Sprenger 1977, 23).

<sup>59</sup> These variants are common to all the manuscripts of the Lucianic recension. MS Chig. R. VIII. 54 has αὐτοὺς and αὐτῶν, but maintains the second αὐτοῦ.

<sup>60</sup> The variant is common to all the manuscripts of the Lucianic recension and to all those of Ziegler's C(atenae) group (including MS Chig. R. VIII. 54). The LXX readings depend on a misreading of the Hebrew ('attāh instead of 'ōtāh: see Bons 2002, 96).

<sup>61</sup> Zonaras, *Lexicon*, s.v. κλίβανος (ed. Tittmann 1808, II:1217).

<sup>62</sup> MS Laur. Plut. 9. 13, f. 83<sup>ri</sup> (νῆτρον). Compare Aussedat 2006c, 26.

Marchalianus show is rather a collection of interpretations at its first stage of composition.

On the other hand, the annotator did not intend to create an exegetical product to be handed down: his scholia appear to be written for personal use, as witnessed by the informal writing used, which is not reader-friendly. As the owner of a very ancient and important manuscript, he seems to have employed it for his own study of the biblical text, or for his lessons (if he was also a *didaskalos*).

The same kind of activity and the same ‘methodology’ are witnessed by a very similar, if not the same, coeval handwriting in several other important codices of the Bible: the codex Vaticanus is the most telling example, but also Coislinianus 1 displays a similar cursive hand adding notes according to the same ‘exegetical method’, namely, the collection and selection from different sources, with special attention to what concerns the relation between Christianity and Judaism.<sup>63</sup> Quite surprisingly, this handwriting and this way of glossing ancient authoritative works occur also in other precious manuscripts of classical texts such as rhetorical, philosophical and mathematical ones.<sup>64</sup>

It has been suggested that the glosses in all of those manuscripts are from their owner, the rhetorician John Kamateros, later patriarch of Constantinople. My research has not adduced elements in favour of this identification (which would require an extensive and detailed palaeographic survey of the handwriting in every manuscript). Yet my observations on the annotator’s methods will hopefully facilitate comparison between Marchalianus and the notes added in other valuable Greek manuscripts that were densely annotated at the same period and quite possibly by the same hand.

<sup>63</sup> For example: MS Paris, Coisl. 1, f. 10<sup>r</sup>, has, next to Gen 9:22, a note taken from the type III catena on Genesis (= *rédaction brève*, *rameau P*, ed. Petit 1993, II:181 no. 797); on ff. 21<sup>r</sup> and 22<sup>r</sup>, next to Gen 26:4–5 and Gen 27:9 respectively, two observations are introduced by *σημείωσαι κατὰ ἰουδαίων* (“pay attention: against the Jews”).

<sup>64</sup> So far, this handwriting has been found in the following manuscripts, in addition to the codices Marchalianus, Vaticanus, Coisl. 1 and Paris. gr. 2934: MS Patmos 33, Vat. gr. 1594 (Ptolemy’s *Opera*) and Milan, Ambr. L 93 sup. (gr. 490) (Porphyry and Aristotle), according to Versace 2011, 681.

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